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**CUNEIFORM MONOGRAPHS 23**

**THE PANTHEON OF URUK  
DURING THE NEO-BABYLONIAN PERIOD**

Paul-Alain Beaulieu



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*In memoriam*

*Claude Beaulieu (1913–2002)*

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## PREFACE

The present study grew out of the Catalogue Project of the Yale Babylonian Collection, which was funded by the National Endowment for the Humanities and Yale University from 1988 until 1996. During that period I was responsible for cataloguing all the Yale texts dated after ca. 1500 B.C., a very large number of which turned out to belong to the Neo-Babylonian archive of the Eanna temple in Uruk. The importance of this material for the religious history of Babylonia in the first millennium is obvious. As I was then experiencing a growing interest in the religion of Ancient Mesopotamia, I decided to focus my attention on the religious and cultic aspects of the Eanna temple archive; the present volume is the first major result of this research. It must be emphasized that without my participation in the Catalogue Project and the financial support of the NEH, which allowed me to cull and investigate large amounts of data from a vast archive of unpublished texts, the present study would not have been possible.

Research cannot be initiated and carried out outside a favorable human and intellectual environment. My gratitude therefore extends to Profs. William W. Hallo, Benjamin R. Foster, and Gary Beckman, my former teachers and then colleagues at Yale, for continuous support of my work and for many years of fruitful discussions and learning. Moreover, I am deeply indebted to Ulla Kasten, whose sense of organization and congenial spirit did so much to facilitate my research and indeed to make it at all possible.

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## ABBREVIATIONS

A	tablets in the collections of the Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago (to be published by David Weisberg)
AASF	Annales Academiae Scientiarum Fennicae, Series B
ABL	R.F. Harper, <i>Assyrian and Babylonian Letters</i> (London and Chicago, 1892–1914)
ABRT	J.A. Craig, <i>Assyrian and Babylonian Religious Texts</i> (Leipzig, 1895–1897)
ADFU	Ausgrabungen der deutschen Forschungsgemeinschaft in Uruk-Warka
ADOG	Abhandlungen der deutschen Orient-Gesellschaft
AJK	<i>Archiv für Keilschriftforschung</i>
AJO	<i>Archiv für Orientforschung</i>
AHw	W. von Soden, <i>Akkadisches Handwörterbuch</i> (Wiesbaden, 1965–1981)
AION	<i>Annali dell'Istituto Orientale di Napoli</i>
ANET	J.B. Pritchard, ed., <i>Ancient Near Eastern Texts Relating to the Old Testament</i> , 3rd ed. (Princeton, 1969)
AnOr	Analecta Orientalia
AnOr 8	A. Pohl, <i>Neubabylonische Rechtsurkunden aus den Berliner Staatlichen Museen 1</i> (Rome, 1933)
AnOr 9	A. Pohl, <i>Neubabylonische Rechtsurkunden aus den Berliner Staatlichen Museen 2</i> (Rome, 1934)
AO	tablets in the collections of the Musée du Louvre, Paris
AOAT	Alter Orient und Altes Testament
AOS	American Oriental Series
ARM	Archives royales de Mari
ArOr	<i>Archiv Orientalni</i>
ARRIM	<i>Annual Review of the Royal Inscriptions of Mesopotamia Project</i>
ARRIM 7	G. Frame, D. Frayne, G.J.P. McEwan, "Cuneiform Texts in the Collections of McGill University, Montreal," (1989)
Ash.	tablets in the collections of the Ashmolean Museum, Oxford
AS	Assyriological Studies
ASJ	<i>Acta Sumerologica</i>
AUWE	Ausgrabungen in Uruk-Warka Endberichte
AUWE 5	E. Gehlken, <i>Uruk: Spätbabylonische Wirtschaftstexte aus dem Eanna-Archiv, Teil I: Texte verschiedenen Inhalts</i> (Mainz am Rhein, 1990)
AUWE 8	K. Kessler, <i>Uruk: Urkunden aus Privathäusern I: Die Archive der Söhne des Bel-ušallim, des Nabû-ušallim und des Bēl-supe-muḫur</i> (Mainz am Rhein, 1991)
AUWE 11	E. Gehlken, <i>Uruk: Spätbabylonische Wirtschaftstexte aus dem Eanna-Archiv, Teil II: Texte verschiedenen Inhalts</i> (Mainz am Rhein, 1996)
BaghMitt	<i>Baghdader Mitteilungen</i>
BE	Babylonian Expedition of the University of Pennsylvania, Series A, Cuneiform Texts

# Abbreviations

BiMes	Bibliotheca Mesopotamica
BIN	Babylonian Inscriptions in the Collection of James Buchanan Nies
BIN 1	C.E. Keiser, <i>Letters and Contracts from Erech Written in the Neo-Babylonian Period</i> (New Haven and London, 1917)
BIN 2	J.B. Nies, C.E. Keiser, <i>Historical, Religious and Economic Texts and Antiquities</i> (New Haven and London, 1920)
BIN 7	J.B. Alexander, <i>Early Babylonian Letters and Economic Texts</i> (New Haven and London, 1943)
BiOr	<i>Bibliotheca Orientalis</i>
BM	tablets in the collections of the British Museum, London
BRM	Babylonian Records in the Library of J. Pierpont Morgan
BRM 2	A.T. Clay, <i>Legal Documents from Erech dated in the Seleucid Era (312–65 B.C.)</i> (New York, 1913)
BRM 4	A.T. Clay, <i>Epics, Hymns, Omens and Other Texts</i> (New Haven, 1923)
CAD	<i>The Assyrian Dictionary of the Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago</i>
CBS	tablets in the collections of the University Museum of the University of Pennsylvania, Philadelphia
CDCPP	R. Sack, <i>Cuneiform Documents from the Chaldean and Persian Periods</i> (Selinsgrove, 1994)
Cincinnati	W.W. Hallo and D.B. Weisberg, "A Guided Tour through Babylonian History: Cuneiform Inscriptions in the Cincinnati Art Museum," <i>JANES</i> 12 (1992) 49–90
CM	Cuneiform Monographs
CT	Cuneiform Texts from Babylonian Tablets in the British Museum
CTN	Cuneiform Texts from Nimrud
CTN III	S. Dalley and J.N. Postgate, <i>The Tablets from Fort Shalmaneser</i> (Oxford, 1984)
CTN IV	D.J. Wiseman and J.A. Black, <i>Literary Texts from the Temple of Nabû</i> (Oxford, 1996)
Cyr.	J.N. Strassmaier, <i>Inscriben von Cyrus, König von Babylon</i> (Leipzig, 1890)
Dar.	J.N. Strassmaier, <i>Inscriben von Darius, König von Babylon</i> (Leipzig, 1897)
FAOS	Freiburger Altorientalische Studien
FLP	tablets in the collections of The Free Library of Philadelphia, Rare Book Department
GAG	W. von Soden, <i>Grundriß der Akkadischen Grammatik</i> (AnOr 33/47; Rome, 1969)
GCCI 1	R.P. Dougherty, <i>Archives from Erech, Time of Nebuchadnezzar and Nabonidus</i> (Goucher College Cuneiform Inscriptions 1; New Haven, 1923)
GCCI 2	R.P. Dougherty, <i>Archives from Erech, Neo-Babylonian and Persian Periods</i> (Goucher College Cuneiform Inscriptions 2; New Haven, 1933)
Hh	The lexical series H̄AR-ra = h̄ubullu
HUCA	<i>Hebrew Union College Annual</i>

# Abbreviations

IBK	K. Oberhuber, <i>Sumerische und Akkadische Keilschriftdenkmäler des archäologischen Museums zu Florenz</i> (Innsbrucker Beiträge zur Kulturwissenschaft, Sonderheft 8; Innsbruck, 1960)
JANES	The Journal of the Ancient Near Eastern Society
JAOS	<i>Journal of the American Oriental Society</i>
JBL	<i>Journal of Biblical Literature</i>
JCS	<i>Journal of Cuneiform Studies</i>
JEOL	<i>Jaarbericht van het Vooraziatisch-Egyptisch Genootschap Ex Oriente Lux</i>
JESHO	<i>Journal of the Economic and Social History of the Orient</i>
JNES	<i>Journal of Near Eastern Studies</i>
JRAS	<i>Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society</i>
JTVI	<i>Journal of the Transactions of the Victoria Institute</i>
K	tablets in the Kuyunjik Collection, British Museum, London.
KAR	<i>Keilschrifttexte aus Assur religiösen Inhalts</i>
KAV	<i>Keilschrifttexte aus Assur verschiedenen Inhalts</i>
Knopf	C.S. Knopf, "Some Ancient Records from Babylonia," in <i>Hewett Anniversary Volume</i> , pp. 231–232 and pls. XIX–XXVII
L	tablets in the collections of the Istanbul Arkeologi Müzeleri
LAPO	<i>Littératures anciennes du Proche-Orient</i>
LKA	E. Ebeling, <i>Literarische Keilschrifttexte aus Assur</i> (Berlin, 1953)
LKU	A. Falkenstein, <i>Literarische Keilschrifttexte aus Uruk</i> (Berlin, 1931)
LOT	Library of Oriental Texts
LTBA	L. Matouš and W. von Soden, <i>Die lexikalischen Tafelserien der Babylonier und Assyrer</i> (Berlin, 1933)
M.A.R.I.	<i>Mari, Annales de recherches interdisciplinaires</i>
MDP	Mémoires de la Délégation en Perse
MDP 2	V. Scheil, <i>Textes élamites-sémitiques, première série</i> (Paris, 1900)
MDP 6	V. Scheil, <i>Textes élamites-sémitiques, troisième série</i> (Paris, 1905)
MIO	<i>Mitteilungen des Instituts für Orientforschung</i>
MLC	tablets in the Morgan Library Collection, Yale University
Moldenke	A.B. Moldenke, <i>Babylonian Contract Tablets in the Metropolitan Museum of Art</i> (New York, 1893)
MSL	Materialien zum sumerischen Lexikon, Materials for the Sumerian Lexicon
MSL 4	B. Landsberger et al., <i>Part I: Emesal Vocabulary, Part II: Old Babylonian Grammatical Texts, Part III: Neobabylonian Grammatical Texts</i> (Rome, 1956)
MSL 8	B. Landsberger, <i>The Fauna of Ancient Mesopotamia, first and second part (8/I and 8/II)</i> (Rome, 1960–1962)
MSL 14	M. Civil, M.W. Green, and W.G. Lambert, <i>Ea A = nâqu, Aa A = nâqu, with their Forerunners and Related Texts</i> (Rome, 1979)
MSL 15	M. Civil, <i>The Series diri = watru</i> (unpublished)
MVAG	<i>Mitteilungen der Vorderasiatisch-Ägyptischen Gesellschaft</i>
N.A.B.U.	<i>Nouvelles assyriologiques brèves et utilitaires</i>
NBC	tablets in the Nies Babylonian Collection, Yale University

# Abbreviations

NBDUM	E.W. Moore, <i>Neo-Babylonian Documents in the University of Michigan Collection</i> (Ann Arbor, 1939)
Nbk.	J.N. Strassmaier, <i>Inschriften von Nabuchodonosor, König von Babylon</i> (Leipzig, 1889)
Nbn.	J.N. Strassmaier, <i>Inschriften von Nabonidus, König von Babylon</i> (Leipzig, 1887)
NCBT Nikolskij	tablets in the Newell Collection of Babylonian Tablets, Yale University N.M. Nikolskij, <i>Drevnosti Vostochnyja I/2</i> (Moscow, 1891), pp. 143–65 and pl. IX (one stone tablet, reedited by E.F. Weidner, “Babylonische Privaturkunden aus dem 7.Jh.v.Chr., <i>AfO</i> 16, 1952–1953, pp. 43–45)
NU	H. Hunger, “Das Archiv des Nabû-ušallim,” <i>BaghMitt</i> 5 (1970) 193–304
OBO	Orbis Biblicus et Orientalis
OECT	Oxford Editions of Cuneiform Texts
OECT 1	S. Langdon, <i>The H. Weld-Blundell Collection in the Ashmolean Museum</i> (Oxford, 1923)
OECT 6	S. Langdon, <i>Babylonian Penitential Psalms</i> (Paris, 1927)
OIP	Oriental Institute Publications
OIP 2	D.D. Luckenbill, <i>The Annals of Sennacherib</i> (Chicago, 1924)
OLA	Orientalia Lovaniensia Analecta
OPBF	Occasional Publications of the Babylonian Fund
OPSNKF	Occasional Publications of the Samuel Noah Kramer Fund
OrNS	<i>Orientalia, Nova Series</i>
PBS	Publications of the Babylonian Section, University Museum, University of Pennsylvania
PDT	M. Çiğ, H. Kızılyay, A. Salonen, <i>Die Puzriš-Dagan-Texte der Istanbul Archäologischen Museen</i> (AASF 92; Helsinki, 1954)
PIHANS	Publications de l’Institut historique-archéologique néerlandais de Stamboul
PTS	tablets in the collections of the Princeton Theological Seminary
R	H.C. Rawlinson, <i>The Cuneiform Inscriptions of Western Asia</i> (London, 1861–1884)
RA	<i>Revue d’assyriologie et d’archéologie orientale</i>
RAI	Rencontre Assyriologique Internationale
RGTC	Répertoire géographique des textes cunéiformes
RGTC 5	K. Nashef, <i>Die Orts- und Gewässernamen der mittelbabylonischen und mittelassyrischen Zeit</i> (Wiesbaden, 1982)
RGTC 8	R. Zadok, <i>Geographical Names According to New- and Late-Babylonian Texts</i> (Wiesbaden, 1985)
RIMB	The Royal Inscriptions of Mesopotamia—Babylonian Periods
RIME	The Royal Inscriptions of Mesopotamia—Early Periods
RLA	Reallexikon der Assyriologie und vorderasiatischen Archäologie
Rm.	tablets in the collections of the British Museum, London
RT	<i>Recueil de travaux relatifs à la philologie et à l’archéologie égyptiennes et assyriennes</i>
SAA	State Archives of Assyria
SAAB	<i>State Archives of Assyria Bulletin</i>

# Abbreviations

SAACT	State Archives of Assyria Cuneiform Texts
SAAS	State Archives of Assyria Studies
SAOC	Studies in Ancient Oriental Civilization
SBH	G.A. Reisner, <i>Sumerisch-babylonische Hymnen nach Thontafeln griechischer Zeit</i> (Berlin, 1896)
SBL	Society for Biblical Literature
SLB	Studia ad tabulas cuneiformes collectas a F.M.Th. de Liagre Böhl pertinentia
SLT	E. Chiera, <i>Sumerian Lexical Texts</i> (OIP 11; Chicago, 1929)
Spar	I. Spar, “Three Neo-Babylonian Trial Depositions from Uruk,” in M.A. Powell, R.H. Sack, eds., <i>Studies in Honor of Tom B. Jones</i> (AOAT 203; Neukirchen-Vluyn, 1979) 157–172
SpTU I	H. Hunger, <i>Spätbabylonische Texte aus Uruk I</i> (ADFU 9; Berlin, 1976)
SpTU II	E. von Weiher, <i>Spätbabylonische Texte aus Uruk II</i> (ADFU 10; Berlin 1983)
SpTU III	E. von Weiher, <i>Spätbabylonische Texte aus Uruk III</i> (ADFU 12; Berlin, 1988)
SpTU IV	E. von Weiher, <i>Uruk: Spätbabylonische Texte aus dem Planquadrat U 18, Teil IV</i> (AUWE 12; Mainz am Rhein, 1993)
SpTU V	E. von Weiher, <i>Uruk: Spätbabylonische Texte aus dem Planquadrat U 18, Teil V</i> (AUWE 13; Mainz am Rhein, 1998)
STC	L.W. King, <i>The Seven Tablets of Creation</i> (London, 1902)
Stigers	H.G. Stigers, “Neo- and Late Babylonian Business Documents from the John Frederick Lewis Collection,” <i>JCS</i> 28 (1976) 3–59
StOr	<i>Studia Orientalia</i>
Streck, Asb.	M. Streck, <i>Assurbanipal und die letzten assyrischen Könige bis zum Untergang Nineveh’s</i> , 3 vols. (VAB VII; Leipzig, 1916)
SWU	H. Freydank, <i>Spätbabylonische Wirtschaftstexte aus Uruk</i> (Deutsche Akademie der Wissenschaften zu Berlin, Institut für Orientforschung 71; Berlin, 1971)
TAPS	Transactions of the American Philosophical Society
TBC	Texts from the Babylonian Collection (New Haven)
TBC 1	M. deJong Ellis, <i>Neo-Babylonian Texts in the Yale Babylonian Collection</i> (New Haven, 1985)
TCL	Textes cunéiformes du Louvre
TCL 9	G. Contenau, <i>Contrats et lettres d’Assyrie et de Babylonie</i> (Paris, 1926)
TCL 12	G. Contenau, <i>Contrats néo-babyloniens I: de Téglath-phalasar III à Nabonide</i> (Paris, 1927)
TCL 13	G. Contenau, <i>Contrats néo-babyloniens II: Achéménides et Séleucides</i> (Paris, 1929)
TCL 15	H. de Genouillac, <i>Textes religieux sumériens du Louvre I</i> (Paris, 1930)
TCS	Texts from Cuneiform Sources
TBER	J.-M. Durand, <i>Textes babyloniens d’époque récente</i> (Paris, 1981)
TEBR	F. Joannès, <i>Textes économiques de la Babylonie récente</i> (Paris, 1982)
Totten	D. Owen, “Cuneiform Texts in the Collection of Professor Norman Totten Part II,” <i>Mesopotamia</i> 10–11 (1975–1976) 15–32

## Abbreviations

UCP	University of California Publications in Semitic Philology
UCP 9/1	H.F. Lutz, <i>Neo-Babylonian Documents from Erech, Part I</i>
UCP 9/2	H.F. Lutz, <i>Neo-Babylonian Documents from Erech, Part II</i>
UET 4	H.H. Figulla, <i>Business Documents of the New-Babylonian Period</i> (Ur Excavations Texts 4; London, 1949)
UVB	<i>Vorläufige Bericht über die ... Ausgrabungen in Uruk-Warka</i>
VAB	Vorderasiatische Bibliothek
VAB IV	S. Langdon, <i>Die neubabylonischen Königsinschriften</i> (Leipzig, 1912)
VAT	tablets in the collections of the Vorderasiatisches Museum, Berlin
VS	Vorderasiatische Schriftdenkmäler (Berlin)
VS 1	Copies by L. Messerschmidt and A. Ungnad (Leipzig, 1907)
VS 6	Copies by A. Ungnad (Leipzig, 1908)
VS 20	H. Freydank, L. Jakob-Rost, <i>Spätbabylonische Rechtsurkunden und Wirtschaftstexte aus Uruk</i> (Berlin, 1978)
W	tablets found during the archaeological expedition of the Deutsche Orient-Gesellschaft in Uruk-Warka
WO	<i>Die Welt des Orients</i>
WZKM	<i>Wiener Zeitschrift für die Kunde des Morgenlandes</i>
YBC	tablets in the Yale Babylonian Collection, Yale University
YNER	Yale Near Eastern Researches
YOS	Yale Oriental Series—Babylonian Texts
YOS 3	A.T. Clay, <i>Neo-Babylonian Letters from Erech</i> (New Haven and London, 1919)
YOS 6	R.P. Dougherty, <i>Records from Erech, Time of Nabonidus (555–538 B.C.)</i> (New Haven and London, 1920)
YOS 7	A. Tremayne, <i>Records from Erech, Time of Cyrus and Cambyses</i> (New Haven and London, 1925)
YOS 11	J. van Dijk, A. Goetze, M.I. Hussey, <i>Early Mesopotamian Incantations and Rituals</i> (New Haven and London, 1985)
YOS 13	J.J. Finkelstein, <i>Late Old Babylonian Documents and Letters</i> (New Haven and London, 1972)
YOS 15	unpublished; texts from various collections copied by A. Goetze
YOS 17	D.B. Weisberg, <i>Texts from the Time of Nebuchadnezzar</i> (New Haven and London, 1980)
YOS 19	P.-A. Beaulieu, <i>Legal and Administrative Texts from the Reign of Nabonidus</i> (New Haven and London, 2000)
YSOR	Yale Oriental Series—Researches
ZA	<i>Zeitschrift für Assyriologie und vorderasiatische Archäologie</i>

### Other abbreviations

col.	column
det.	determinative
DN	divine name
e.g.	<i>exempli gratia</i> (for example)
fem.	feminine

## Abbreviations

ff.	and following
fig.	figure
GN	geographical name
i.e.	<i>id est</i> (that is to say)
le.e.	left edge
lex.	lexicographical
lo.e.	lower edge
masc.	masculine
n.	note
no.	number
nos.	numbers
obv.	obverse
occ.	occasionally
p.	page
pl.	plate
pls.	plates
plur.	plural
PN	personal name
pp.	pages
q.v.	<i>quod vide</i> (which see)
rev.	reverse
s.v.	<i>sub voce/verbo</i> (under the word)
sing.	singular
syll.	syllabically
T	transliteration
Tr	translation
u.e.	upper edge
vol.	volume

Breaks are indicated by o's between brackets, e.g. [o o o o o], with a larger or smaller number of o's indicating the approximate length of the break. Signs which are only partly destroyed are represented by x's between half-brackets.

Dates of documents are recorded as follows: (name of king, year, month, day). Thus the date NBK2.08.10.02 means "reign of Nebuchadnezzar II, 8th year, 10th month, 2nd day." Information not recorded or damaged is denoted by (xx). Intercalary Ulūlu is (6A) and intercalary Addaru is (13). Abbreviations for names of kings are as follow, their regnal years computed starting with the accession year:

AM	Amēl-Marduk (562–560 B.C.)
ART	Artaxerxes (I, 465–424 B.C.; II, 405–359 B.C.; III, 359–338 B.C.)
ASB	Assurbanipal (669–630 B.C.)
BAR	Barziya (522 B.C.)
CAM	Cambyses II (530–522 B.C.)
CYR	Cyrus II (539–530 B.C.)
DAR I	Darius I (522–486 B.C.)

KAN	Kandalānu (648–627 B.C.)
NBK2	Nebuchadnezzar II (605–562 B.C.)
NBKU	Nebuchadnezzar (III, 522 B.C.; IV, 521 B.C.)
MB2	Merodach-Baladan II (722–710 and 703 B.C.)
MZŠ	Marduk-zākir-šumi I (9th century B.C.)
NBN	Nabonidus (556–539 B.C.)
NER	Neriglissar (560–556 B.C.)
NPL	Nabopolassar (626–605 B.C.)
SŠI	Sîn-šar-iškun (628–612 B.C.)
ŠŠU	Šamaš-šum-ukīn (668–648 B.C.)

## 1. INTRODUCTION

### 1.1. Subject of this Study

The study of Mesopotamian religion has until recently focused mainly on the rich corpora of literary and scholarly texts found in ancient libraries. Hymns, prayers, incantations, lists of gods, rituals, and myths have provided the backbone around which scholars have gradually fleshed out our knowledge of the complex belief systems of the Sumerians, Assyrians, and Babylonians. These, however, for all their importance, make up only a small percentage of the overall corpus of cuneiform texts retrieved by the spade of the archaeologist. The evidence from economic and administrative documents, which belong to the general category of “archival texts,” has been used only parsimoniously for the study of religion, and mostly as auxiliary data to confirm the finds based on literary and scholarly texts, not as an autonomous source which might potentially shed light on the religion of ancient Mesopotamia from a different angle.

A number of recent studies have effectively reversed this tendency. In his work *Der kultische Kalender der Ur III-Zeit*, published in 1993, Sallaberger has made extensive use of the numerous administrative records of the 3rd dynasty of Ur and reconstructed many aspects of the official cult in the cities of the empire’s core. This has resulted in a considerable expansion of our knowledge of the local pantheons of southern Mesopotamia at the end of the 3rd millennium. A similar study concentrating on the cults and pantheons of central and southern Babylonia during the Old Babylonian period is Richter’s *Untersuchungen zu den lokalen Panthea Süd- und Mittelbabyloniens in altbabylonischer Zeit*, published in 1999. In addition to studying the archival data, Richter also considers the evidence from god lists and other scholarly texts. Other works have concentrated on a single archive and reconstructed the pantheons of important city states of the third millennium. These are Mander, *Il pantheon di Abu-Šālabīkh*, published in 1986; Selz, *Untersuchungen zur Götterwelt des altsumerischen Stadtstaates Lagaš*, published in 1995; and Pomponio and Xella, *Les dieux d’Ebla: Etude analytique des divinités éblaïtes à l’époque des archives royales du III<sup>e</sup> millénaire*, published in 1997. These recent books are largely based on the evidence gleaned from the archival records found in official archives, and their authors have all emphasized the investigation of the pantheon as an organic whole, thereby signalling a departure from an earlier trend which favored the study of a single god diachronically.<sup>1</sup>

The present monograph is very much in line with this new approach which privileges the local history of religion, but shifts the focus to first millennium Babylonia, taking as its subject the pantheon of the city of Uruk during the Neo-Babylonian period, and as its main source material the archive of the Eanna temple, the sanctuary of the goddess Ištar, which was the focal point of Uruk’s civic and religious life for most of the city’s history. The earliest dated documents from the Eanna archive come from the reign of

<sup>1</sup> For example, VON WEIHER 1971 on Nergal, POMONIO 1978 on Nabû, GALTER 1981 on Ea, SOMMERFELD 1982 on Marduk, and HALL 1985 on Sîn.

Merodach-Baladan II at the end of the 8th century, and the latest ones from the latter part of the reign of Darius I, during the first decade of the 5th century. The bulk of the material dates to the period of the Neo-Babylonian dynasty (626–539 B.C.) and the first two decades of Persian rule (539–520 B.C.). Additional data can be gleaned from the archives found in private houses, from the inscriptions of Assyrian and Babylonian kings who ruled between the 9th and 6th centuries, and from scattered allusions found in literary and scholarly texts. This information, albeit crucial in some respects, amounts to a trickle compared with that derived from the Eanna archive.

The chronological span of our source material means that the term 'Neo-Babylonian' must be understood here in its broader sense, one reflecting cultural rather than dynastic history. In terms of cultural history the Neo-Babylonian period begins as early as the 9th century B.C., when Babylonia emerged from the period of decline which followed the fall of the Second Dynasty of Isin in the latter part of the 11th century. The 9th century revival was essentially the accomplishment of two kings, Nabû-apla-iddina and Marduk-zākir-šumi I, and not surprisingly the earliest first millennium sources documenting the cultic activities of the Eanna temple are dated to their reigns.<sup>2</sup> This provides a chronological starting point for the present investigation. At the other end of our time range the accession of Xerxes (485–465 B.C.) to the throne seems an almost obligatory terminus, as many of the large temple and private archives accumulated since the 8th and 7th centuries almost entirely disappear around that time, depriving assyriologists of most of their source material. When we consider the particular case of Uruk, the 5th century appears even more as a turning point. Anu then replaced Ištar as the city's patron deity, and the local pantheon underwent extensive reorganization. Although the paucity of sources prevents us from following this evolution in detail, the study of onomastic indicates that by the second half of the 5th century Anu had firmly established his preeminence.<sup>3</sup> Therefore a study of the pantheon of Uruk during the Neo-Babylonian period must, taking into consideration both the availability of sources and the cohesiveness of the subject, end with the early part of the 5th century. While the present study concentrates on the Neo-Babylonian period, careful consideration has been given to the earlier and later source material from Uruk, insofar as it provides an essential background for understanding certain aspects of the pantheon and cults of the city during the period under discussion.

## 1.2. The Eanna Archive

Texts from the Eanna archive first came to light a century ago as the result of illicit digs conducted at the site of Warka. The many tablets that were then unearthed were sold on the antiquities market in Europe and the United States and came into the possession of various private and institutional collectors. The Babylonian Collection

<sup>2</sup> These sources are: a tablet dated to the reign of Nabû-apla-iddina, but available in the form of a much later copy, listing the entitlements to a share in the sacrificial offerings of Ištar and Nanaya (new copy and edition by McEwan 1983); and the kuduru of Ibni-Ištar, dated to the reign of Marduk-zākir-šumi I (Thureau-Dangin 1919).

<sup>3</sup> See for example the texts published by Stolper 1990, in which we see for the first time a predominance of Anu names in the onomastic of Uruk.

of Yale University acquired the largest share, some 4,700 tablets. The collection of the Princeton Theological Seminary contains nearly 1,500 tablets. Other institutions, such as the Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago, the Musée du Louvre in Paris, and the Vorderasiatisches Museum in Berlin, hold groups ranging from about one hundred to a few hundred tablets, while even smaller groups are scattered throughout museums and libraries around the world. Starting in 1912–13, and then from 1928–29 until now, with a few years of interruption during the Second World War, the Deutsche Orient-Gesellschaft has conducted regular excavations at the site of Warka, which have resulted in the discovery of 4,000 tablets and fragments from the Eanna archive, almost all of them found during the 12th and 13th campaigns.<sup>4</sup> After joins are made between all the fragments, however, this figure will be substantially reduced. These tablets are partly in the care of the Iraq Museum in Baghdad, while others are preserved in Berlin and Heidelberg. A rough, and probably conservative estimate of the total number of surviving texts from the Eanna archive, excluding unjoined and isolated fragments, would be well over 8,000.

This book is based on all the texts preserved at Yale, whether published or unpublished, on the tablets in the collection of the Princeton Theological Seminary, which are still almost entirely unpublished, and on the published material from other institutions. All previously published texts from Yale have been collated, but this has not been the case for published texts preserved in other institutions, with only a few exceptions that will be pointed out in the course of the discussion. The sources examined in this book represent the overwhelming majority of the surviving Eanna archive. As new texts are discovered and published more data will inevitably come to light, but it is unlikely that this additional information will substantially modify the conclusions of the present study.

The importance of a temple archive of this size for the study of the local pantheon of Uruk need hardly be stressed, especially considering that a meaningful portion of the texts deals with the cultic activities taking place daily in the Eanna temple and the other sanctuaries which depended on it. At the same time the limitations of our source material must be emphasized. Nearly all our data must be gathered from administrative and legal texts which represent only a very small fraction of the original Eanna archive. This means that our evidence is fragmentary, disconnected, and, above all, non explanatory. Archival texts yield only tidbits of information and are sometimes difficult to place in an overall context. We are sorely missing rituals and topographical texts such as are available for Nippur, Babylon, and Seleucid Uruk. Such documents would provide us with a background against which to evaluate the significance of the archival material. Consequently, we are poorly informed on the order of ceremonies and rituals in Eanna, the sacred landscape of the city, and the residential location of each god. With the exception of one fragmentary ritual (*LKU* 51) and an occasional allusion to a deity in historical-literary texts and royal inscriptions, all this must be reconstructed from terse archival notes. A further limitation of the source material is that our texts reflect only those aspects of the cultic activities in the temple which the scribes were required to record for accountability. All other aspects fall outside our purview.

<sup>4</sup> A discussion of these finds and of the actual number of tablets and fragments which were discovered in Uruk can be found in AUWE 5, pp. 6–8. In AUWE 5 and 11 Gehlken has published 239 texts and fragments from these excavations.

In spite of these drawbacks, the amount of firsthand information which can be gleaned from these texts is truly remarkable. They afford a detailed reconstruction of the hierarchy of the local pantheon, even revealing changes which occurred during the time of the Neo-Babylonian empire, such as the alleged reestablishment of the cult of Ištar-of-Uruk in its proper, ancient form, and the increased presence and importance of Marduk, Nabû, and the other gods favored by the Neo-Babylonian monarchs. More importantly, they illuminate aspects of the “civil religion” which other types of sources, such as the official inscriptions of the kings and the corpus of literary, religious, and scholarly literature transmitted by the scribal tradition, often ignore, or document only marginally. The clothing of gods, their paraphernalia, headdress, and jewelry, the offerings presented to them, the activities of prebendaries, the myriads of details of all sorts that were meticulously recorded by the scribes, day after day, all contribute to create a kaleidoscopic view of the daily routine of the Eanna temple. Moreover, archival texts possess a measure of truth and immediacy which other types of sources, because they are ideologically mediated and framed within literary genres adhering to rigid canons, do not possess.

### 1.3. Organization of this Study

The material analyzed in this study is presented in the following order. Chapter 2 is devoted to the offering lists, namely lists of sacrificial animals (Groups A and B) and lists of foodstuffs. Group A includes 12 previously unknown offering lists which rank the most important gods of Uruk in hierarchical order. The significance of this ranking for understanding the structure of the pantheon is assessed, and the possibility that changes occurred during the reign of Nebuchadnezzar II in the relative amounts of sacrificial offerings presented to each god is then considered. The chapter concludes with a brief discussion of the lists in which the gods are not systematically classified according to hierarchical order, namely lists of sacrificial animals belonging to Group B and lists of foodstuffs.

Chapters 3, 4, and 5 are devoted to the study of each goddess and god appearing in Group A of offering lists. The source material is presented in the following topical order for each deity: general considerations (name, spellings, identification, previous history at Uruk), the paraphernalia of the deity (insignias, furnishings, cultic vessels), the ornaments of the cult statue (tiara, crown, breast ornaments, jewelry), the clothing (tunic, scarf, turban, decorated garments), the offerings presented to the deity (unprocessed and processed food and drink, sacrificial animals), the cultic locales, the prebends, the personnel serving the deity, the religious ceremonies, and finally the toponyms named in honor of the deity.

Ištar, the patron goddess of Uruk, is the subject of chapter 3. Special attention is paid to the relation between this goddess and the city of Uruk since the inception of writing at the end of the 4th millennium until the Neo-Babylonian period, as well as her relation to the god Anu and the Eanna temple. This chapter also includes an analysis of the sources describing the return of the goddess Ištar to Uruk during the reign of Nebuchadnezzar II and the reestablishment of her cult in its appropriate form. The goddesses Nanaya, Bēltu-ša-Rēš, Ušur-amāssu, and Urkayītu are the subject of chapter 4; the relation of

Nanaya to Uruk since the time of the 3rd dynasty of Ur and her position in the pantheon are investigated in detail. The remaining “great gods of Uruk” included in Group A are discussed in chapter 5.

Chapters 6 to 8 are devoted to the deities not appearing in Group A of offering lists, and therefore labeled “minor gods and goddesses.” Goddesses are discussed in chapter 6, gods in chapter 7, while chapter 8 is devoted to the two classes of non-anthropomorphic deities residing in the Eanna temple: deified insignias, and deified *Mischwesen*. Appendices, bibliography, and indexes conclude the study. The remainder of chapter 1, which follows herewith, consists of a synthetic analysis of the sources relating to the material aspects of the cult in the Eanna temple and other temples of Uruk, addressing issues of a more general nature which are not treated in chapters 2 to 8.

### 1.4. The Cult Statue

The worship of deities in the form of cult statues is one of the dominant aspects of Mesopotamian civilization. Although gods were believed to exist on a transcendental plane, they were also substantially manifest in their images which, after elaborate rituals of consecration, were literally brought to life and became repositories of the divine presence.<sup>5</sup> The statue thus acquired a divine substance which well surpassed the mere sacredness of an icon. Jacobsen has summarized as follows the relationship between the deity and its image:<sup>6</sup>

We must think in term of a purely mystic unity, the statue mystically becoming what it represents, the god, without, however, in any way limiting the god, who remains transcendent. In so ‘becoming,’ the statue ceases to be mere earthly wood, precious metal and stones, ceases to be the work of human hands. It becomes transubstantiated, a divine being, the god it represents.

Cult statues were indeed worshiped as if they were the animated bodies of the gods. They were fed, dressed, adorned, taken in procession to other sanctuaries, and acted as full participants in various rituals.<sup>7</sup> The unceasing flurry of activities surrounding divine images was modeled on palatial, courtly life. City gods were worshiped as local rulers, often lauded with such epithets as “lady,” “lord,” “king,” and “queen” of their home city. A host of minor deities with their own chapels, rituals, cultic personnel, and paraphernalia, served the divine city rulers in various roles. The god list An=Anum represents the most accomplished expression of this ideology, classifying gods into separate courtly hierarchies, each one of them presided over by a major deity surrounded by the numerous members of its extended family, and commanding a retinue of viziers, ministers, messengers, doorkeepers, and various other servants. Most of the textual evidence treated in this study documents the bustle surrounding the divine images, and the fact that it is precisely this aspect of Mesopotamian religion which became emblematic of Babylon in Judeo-Christian consciousness is surely no coincidence. The

<sup>5</sup> See BERLEJUNG 1998, DICK 1999, BODEN 1999, and WALKER, DICK 2001.

<sup>6</sup> JACOBSEN 1987a, pp. 22–23.

<sup>7</sup> This is what OPPENHEIM 1977, pp. 183–198, aptly called “the care and feeding of the gods.”

relentless attacks waged by the prophets of Israel against Babylonian 'idol worship,' as well as the detailed accounts found in such later compositions as 'Bel and the Dragon' and the 'Letter of Jeremiah,' both of which display firsthand knowledge of the daily routine of a Mesopotamian sanctuary, have left an indelible imprint on the Western view of Babylonian religion. In the present study, the meticulously recorded cuneiform archives accumulated in one of the most important Babylonian temples of the 1st millennium B.C. will allow the gods and their worshipers to speak to us, as it were, directly, rather than through the *miroir déformant* of the Jewish and Christian scriptural traditions.

### 1.5. Cultic Paraphernalia

Sections dealing with paraphernalia include all cultic objects specifically connected with a deity, such as basic components of the shrine, ceremonial vehicles, furniture, insignias, and cultic vessels. In the course of time some items of paraphernalia had been deified and become the object of a separate cult. These are the Divine Chariot; *Ḫuṭāru*, the Divine Staff; *Išpatu*, the Divine Quiver; *Kakkabtu*, the Divine Star-Shaped Branding Iron; *Urigallu* and *Zaqiptu*, the Divine Standards. Items of cultic paraphernalia could be loaned from one deity to the other. PTS 3256, for instance, records that a group of cultic implements were taken to Larsa with the god Šamaš (1. *ú-de-e KÙ.BABBAR šá it-t[i]* 2. *UTU a-na UD.ʽUNUGʽki [šu-bu-lu]* "Silver implements which [were taken] to Larsa with the god Šamaš"), including a silver water sprinkler belonging to the goddess Ušur-amāssu (12. 1 *šá sa-la-mu KÙ.BABBAR* 13. *šá ʽURI-[INIM]-su*). In fact it is likely that many such cultic vessels were not the property of any particular god, but shared by all the residents of a temple, and could even be loaned to other sanctuaries. The following pieces of cultic paraphernalia are mentioned in connection with individual deities in the archive:

#### 1. Components of the shrine and cella

*atman ḫurāši* "golden shrine (i.e. shrine with gold plated walls)" (Ištar)  
*gidlū* "door curtain" (Ištar, Nanaya, Ušur-amāssu, Gula, ʽIGI.DU)  
*kigallu* "pedestal" (Urkayītu)  
*labbu* "lion (sculpture)" (Ištar)  
*šuppu* "braided curtain" (ʽIGI.DU)  
*šamū* "canopy" (Bēltu-ša-Rēš)  
*šiddu* "dividing curtain" (Nanaya, Ušur-amāssu)  
*šubtu* "altar, cultic socle, cultic seat" (Ištar, Nanaya, symbol of Bēl, symbol of Nabū)  
*tallu* "balustrade" (Ištar, Nanaya, Ušur-amāssu, Urkayītu)  
*zaratu* "tent" (Nanaya)

#### 2. Ceremonial Vehicles

*attaru* "wagon" (Ušur-amāssu)  
*narkabtu* "chariot" (Marduk, perhaps ʽIGI.DU of Udannu)

#### 3. Furniture

*adaru* "stand (for the *dannu* vat)" (Gula)  
*eršu* "bed" (Bēltu-ša-Rēš)

*kankannu* "potstand" (Ištar, Nanaya, Ušur-amāssu, Gula)  
*nignakku* "censer" (Gula-of-the-Courtyard)  
*kišukku* "grate" (Nanaya, Bēlet-balāṭi)  
*paššūru* "offering table" (Nanaya, Bēltu-ša-Rēš, Sîn-of-Heaven)  
*pišannu* "chest" (Ištar, Nanaya, Ušur-amāssu, Bēlet-Eanna of Udannu)  
*šiddatu* "stand for a container" (Ištar, Ušur-amāssu)

#### 4. Insignias

*dēpu* a weapon (Bēltu-ša-Rēš, Ušur-amāssu)  
*iš/ltuḫḫu* "whip" (perhaps Bēltu-ša-Rēš)

#### 5. Cultic Vessels

*dannu* "vat" (Ištar, Nanaya, Ušur-amāssu, Gula, Bēlet-balāṭi)  
*ḫussū* a type of vessel (Ušur-amāssu)  
*ḫuttu* "storage jar" (Marduk)  
*kallu* "bowl" (Ištar, Nanaya, Gula, Bēlet-balāṭi)  
*libbu* "heart-shaped vessel" (Gula, Ušur-amāssu)  
*makkassu* "bowl" (Ištar, Gula)  
*malītu* "bowl" (Gula, Ušur-amāssu)  
*maqqu* "libation bowl" (Urkayītu, Ninurta, Bēlet-balāṭi)  
*masabbu* "basket" (Gula)  
*masabbu karū* "basket on a stand" (Ušur-amāssu)  
*mašqu* "drinking vessel" (Bēlet-balāṭi)  
*mē-qālī* "water basin" (Ištar, Nanaya, Ušur-amāssu, Gula)  
*mušaḫḫinu* "kettle" (ʽIGI.DU of Udannu)  
*namḫaru* "vat" (Ušur-amāssu)  
*namzītu* "fermenting vat" (Ušur-amāssu)  
*našappu* a container (Ušur-amāssu)  
*qabūtu* "bowl" (ʽBE)  
*ruququ* "bowl" (Ušur-amāssu, Ninurta-of-the-Courtyard)  
*šappatu* a container (Bēlet-balāṭi)  
*šappu* a container (Ištar, Nanaya, perhaps Kilīlu)  
*šappu karū* "šappu container on a stand" (Gula)  
*ša-salā'-mē* "water sprinkler" (Ušur-amāssu, Gula)  
*šulāpu* an ornament (Ušur-amāssu, Gula)  
*šulpu* a vessel (Bēlet-balāṭi)  
*šussullu* "fish-box" (Ištar)  
*taḫḫu* "kettle" (Ištar, Nanaya)

#### 6. Textiles

*kilinnū* "linen towel" (Ištar, Nanaya)  
*paruktu* "canvas" (Kurunnītu)  
*sūnu* a cloth (Ušur-amāssu)  
*taḫapšu* "blanket" (Ušur-amāssu, Urkayītu)



## 1.6. Ornaments

Texts from the Eanna archive provide us with a wealth of surprisingly detailed information on the elaborate jewelry which adorned the main cult statues of Uruk.<sup>8</sup> Information on these ornaments can be collected from two types of texts: inventories, usually introduced by the word *šukuttu* “jewelry,” and administrative memoranda recording the handling of these ornaments for various purposes such as cleaning and repair. Important inventories of sacred jewelry from other sites and periods have previously been published. The most elaborate to date are four inventories found at Qatna and dated to the 14th century.<sup>9</sup> Among Old Babylonian inventories the most detailed are those describing the jewelry of the goddess Ištar of Lagaba.<sup>10</sup> Several Neo-Babylonian inventories of ornaments belonging to the gods of Sippar have recently been studied by Joannès.<sup>11</sup>

Jewelry is also often listed in administrative texts which record the delivery of individual ornaments to the jewelers (*kabšarru*) and goldsmiths (*kutimmu*) for cleaning (*mesû*) and repair (*batqu*), or allocations of unworked material for fashioning (*epēšu*) new jewelry. Items of jewelry could be loaned from one deity to another on the occasion of a specific ritual. FLP 1564, for example, lists a large number of ornaments belonging to the chest of Ušur-amāssu and put on the god Dumuzi, probably on the occasion of the ritual celebration of his death (§ 4.4.2.4; § 7.10). Items of jewelry could also be removed from the statue of a deity to be smelted and used to repair the jewelry of another deity, or to fashion new ornaments. NBC 4510 mentions an allocation of gold taken from the breast ornament and clothing ornaments of Nanaya to make jewelry for the goddess Kurunnītu; NCBT 380 records that a quantity of gold was removed from the offering table of Bēltu-ša-Rēš and the framed ornaments of Urkayītu to repair or fashion the breastplate of Ušur-amāssu; and YBC 9039 records a withdrawal of red gold from the repair container of Ušur-amāssu to make a suspension wire for the cylinder-seal-shaped beads of Ištar, which were probably strung on her necklace:

## YBC 9039

1. '1/2' MA.'NA' 5 (GÍN) KÙ.GI SA<sub>5</sub> TA
2. <sup>gi</sup>šad-du šá bat-qu šá É ðÛRI-INIM-'su'
3. a-na gú-ḫal-šu šá <sup>na</sup>4KIŠIB.M[ÉŠ]
4. šá ð15

1/2 mina and 5 (shekels) of red gold, from the repair container of the temple of Ušur-amāssu, (to make) a suspension wire for the cylinder-seal-shaped beads of Ištar.

<sup>8</sup> On the attire of statues in general during the late periods, see MATSUSHIMA 1993, with extensive bibliography on the subject.

<sup>9</sup> BOTTERO 1949. They date to the 14th century and list the jewelry of the goddess *Bēlet ekallim* and of the “god of the king.” Two inventories from Emar are published by WESTENHOLZ 2000, pp. 63–68, nos. 25 and 26; they describe the jewelry of the god Šaggar (ð30), and of the goddesses Aštar-ḫaši and ðNIN.KUR.RA.

<sup>10</sup> LEEMANS 1952. For Old Babylonian Mē-Turan (Tell Haddad) see the inventory published by AL-RAWI, BLACK 1983.

<sup>11</sup> JOANNÈS 1992.

Some texts specify that the jewelry to be smelted is “old” (*labīru*), which is to say, worn, chipped, or broken. This is the case for NCBT 333, which records that a quantity of gold needed for the breast ornament of Nanaya was obtained from old figurines of scorpion-men (2. GÍR.TAB.LÚ.U<sub>18</sub>.LU *la-bir-ú-tú*) removed from the statue of the goddess Ušur-amāssu.<sup>12</sup>

The dates of three jewelry inventories (*šukuttu ša DN*) can be correlated with the calendar of the clothing ceremony (*lubuštu*). YOS 17, 246, which is dated to the 1st day of the month Abu in the 8th year of Nebuchadnezzar II and lists the jewelry removed (*šukuttu arittu*) from the statue of Nanaya, must obviously be related to the clothing ceremony of the goddess Nanaya and other deities on the 1st day of the month Abu (§ 1.12.1). The same must be true of FLP 1564, dated one or two days earlier according to its incipit: “Necklaces from the chest of Ušur-amāssu (which) went on Dumuzi. Month Dūzu, 29th day, 5th year of Nabonidus, king of Babylon.” The clothing ceremony of the 1st day of Abu coincided with a string of ritual activities related to the cyclical death and burial of Dumuzi (§ 7.10). PTS 2950, which concludes with the following subscription: “Complete list of the jewelry of Ušur-amāssu (which), in the month Ayaru, on the 14th day, in the 2nd year of Neriglissar, king of Babylon, was selected and went on Ušur-amāssu,” can be correlated with the clothing ceremony of the 14th day of the month Ayaru (§ 1.12.1).

## 1.6.1. Headgear

The headdress of the cult statue is mentioned in several texts. The most spectacular document in this regard is YBC 11390, which contains an elaborate description of the tiara of the goddess Ušur-amāssu (§ 4.4.2.1). Unfortunately the vocabulary encountered in this text is largely made up of obscure technical words, some of them previously unknown. The tiaras of Ištar, Nanaya, and Ušur-amāssu were decorated with “quills” (*gappu*), allowing us to identify them as the feathered cylindrical headdress worn by kings and deities in late iconography.<sup>13</sup> Another frequently encountered ornament is the “frontal rosette” (*ayaru pānū*), which was affixed to the front part of the tiara or crown and also occurs several times in iconographic representations of deities. Here follow the principal words describing the headdress and its decorative components:

## 1. Headdress

*agū* “tiara” (Ištar, Nanaya, Ušur-amāssu, Urkayītu, perhaps Zababa)

*kulūlu* “crown” (perhaps Ištar, Nanaya, Ušur-amāssu, Urkayītu, Kurunnītu, the Goddesses)

## 2. Ornaments of Headdress

*arzallu* a jewel (for the tiara) (Ušur-amāssu, perhaps Zababa)

*ayaru* “rosette (for the tiara)” (Ušur-amāssu)

<sup>12</sup> See also FALES, POSTGATE 1992, p. 79, lines 9 and 11', for a similar occurrence in the Neo-Assyrian period.

<sup>13</sup> Examples are illustrated in BOEHMER 1980–1983, nos. 55, 56, and 106.

*ayaru pānū* “frontal rosette (for the crown and tiara)” (Ištar, Nanaya, Bēltu-ša-Rēš, Ušur-amāssu, the Goddesses)  
*erimmatu* “egg-shaped ornament (for the tiara)” (Ušur-amāssu)  
*gappu* “quill, feather (for the tiara)” (Ištar, Nanaya, Ušur-amāssu)  
*inbu* “fruit-shaped ornament (for the crown)” (Urkayītu)  
*sāmtu* “carnelian bead (for the crown)” (Nanaya, Urkayītu)  
*šihittu* “ornament in the shape of the *šihittu*-plant(?) (for the tiara)” (Urkayītu)  
*tarkīsu* an ornament (for the crown) (perhaps Ištar, Ušur-amāssu)

## 1.6.2. Breast Ornaments

The ornament named *irtu* “breast ornament” was an elaborate piece of jewelry worn on the chest.<sup>14</sup> There is no doubt that in many cases the *irtu* was a breastplate consisting of a gold plaque of varied shape (e.g. *ša uskāri* “crescent-shaped”), which could be enhanced with an engraved, embossed, or repoussé design (e.g. *ša apasāi* “with a representation of a sphinx;” *ša nēši* “with a representation of a lion”). Some texts, on the other hand, describe *irtus* made of jewels, beads, and stones strung on gold wires. These *irtus* probably formed webs of necklaces which covered the chest of the deity and thus substantially differed in appearance from a real breastplate. A recently published tablet from the archive mentions an allocation of 4 pomegranate-shaped beads of gold for a breast ornament (*irtu*) and bears on the reverse an incised drawing of a wide collar-shaped necklace composed of large jewels.<sup>15</sup> This indicates that in some cases there was little difference between necklace (*kišādu*) and breast ornament (*irtu*), the latter being just a more elaborate piece of jewelry. In fact, the words *kišādu* “neck, necklace” and *irtu* “chest, breastplate, breast ornament” did not refer to a particular type of ornament, but to size and function, the former covering only the neck, and the latter the chest or both neck and chest. This is illustrated by an inscription of Esarhaddon in which the ornaments of the deity are divided into two groups, those adorning the neck and those adorning the breast.<sup>16</sup> The following designations for various breast ornaments occur in the archive:

*irtu* “breast ornament” (Nanaya, Bēltu-ša-Rēš, Ušur-amāssu, Gula, Kurunnītu)  
*irat hurāši* “breast ornament of gold” (Ištar, Nanaya, Bēltu-ša-Rēš, Urkayītu)  
*irat hurāši ebbi* “breast ornament of pure gold” (Nanaya)  
*irtu ša uskāri* “crescent-shaped breastplate” (Ištar, Nanaya, Bēltu-ša-Rēš)  
*irtu ša birīt qālī* “breast ornament set between the hands” (Nanaya, Ušur-amāssu)  
*irat hurāši ša birīt qālī* “breast ornament of gold set between the hands” (Nanaya)  
*irtu aḥānu hurāši* “winged(?) breastplate of gold” (Ušur-amāssu)  
*irtu ša apasāi* “breastplate with a representation of a sphinx” (Nanaya)  
*irat hurāši ša apasāi* “breastplate of gold with a representation of a sphinx” (Nanaya)  
*irat hurāši ša nēši* “breastplate of gold with a representation of a lion” (Ištar, Nanaya)

<sup>14</sup> On breastplates see MAXWELL-HYSLOP 1971, pp. 216–222.

<sup>15</sup> JURSA 1997, no. 15, who also mentions an unpublished text from the British Museum with a similar drawing.

<sup>16</sup> See WALKER, DICK 2001, p. 26, line 37, and n. 90.

*irtu ša šēri tēbī* “breastplate with a representation of a rising snake” (Ušur-amāssu)  
*irat ša šēri tēbī hurāši* “breastplate of gold with a representation of a rising snake” (Ušur-amāssu)  
*irat hurāši šeheru ša šēri tēbī* “small breastplate of gold with a representation of a rising snake” (Nanaya)

## 1.6.3. Jewelry

Many other items of jewelry and small precious objects are mentioned in the archive. They can be divided into the following categories: 1. necklaces, chains, pins, and rings; 2. composite jewels; 3. articles of beauty; 4. figurines; 5. door-locking mechanisms. Excluded from the following list are the various words denoting attachments and catches which entered in the manufacture of these precious objects, as well as a number of still obscure terms.<sup>17</sup> Decorative gold sequins sown to the garments of Ištar, Nanaya, and Bēltu-ša-Rēš are discussed below in a separate section (§ 1.4.2). The generic term for jewelry is *šukuttu*, and it is attested in the archive in connection with the jewelry of Ištar, Nanaya, Bēltu-ša-Rēš, Ušur-amāssu, and Kurunnītu.

## 1. Necklaces, Chains, Rings, and Pins

*dudittu* “fibula” (Ištar, Nanaya, Bēltu-ša-Rēš, Ušur-amāssu)  
*ḥarḥaru* “chain” (Nanaya, Bēltu-ša-Rēš)  
*iṣabtu* (also *aṣabtu*) “ring, earring” (Ištar, Nanaya)  
*kišādu* “necklace” (made of *guḥalšu* “wires” and *ḫurru* “strings”) (Ištar, Nanaya, Ušur-amāssu, Bēlet-Eanna of Udannu)  
*qudāšu* “ring” (Nanaya)  
*semeru* “bracelet” (Ištar, Nanaya, Šarrat-Kullab)  
*semeru aspu* “cleft bracelet” (Ištar, Ušur-amāssu)  
*semeru ullu aspu* “cleft neck-ring (i.e. torque)” (Ištar)  
*unqu* “finger-ring” (Ištar, Nanaya, Ušur-amāssu)

## 2. Jewels

*arzallu* a piece of jewelry (Ištar, Nanaya, Gula)  
*ayaru* “rosette” (Ištar, Nanaya, Ušur-amāssu, Urkayītu)  
*ayaru ša tamlē* “inlaid rosette” (Ištar, Nanaya)  
*diglu* “gem” (Ištar, Nanaya)  
*elirimmatu* “egg-shaped ornament” (Ištar, Nanaya)  
*inbu* “fruit-shaped ornament” (Ištar, Nanaya, Ušur-amāssu, Kurunnītu)  
*in šēri* “snake-eye ornament” (Ištar)  
*kilīlu* “circlet” (Ištar, Nanaya)  
*kumāru* “frame, framed ornament” (Ištar, Nanaya, Ušur-amāssu, Urkayītu)  
*maknaktu* “seal” (Ištar, Nanaya)  
*šipru* “ornamental trim” (Ištar, Nanaya)

<sup>17</sup> The following words are still obscure: *agurru* (Ušur-amāssu); *ellitu* (Ištar, Nanaya); *ḫubuṣṣu* (Nanaya); *ibbitu* (Nanaya); *karpilu* (Ušur-amāssu); *kirītu* (Ištar); *lā-āšū* (Ištar, Nanaya); *milḫu* (Ušur-amāssu); *mitru* (Ištar, Nanaya); *raqqatu* (Nanaya, Ušur-amāssu); *suburūdu* (Nanaya); *šu-ri* (Ištar, Nanaya).

*šamšu* “sun-disk ornament” (Ištar, Nanaya, Bēltu-ša-Rēš, Ušur-amāssu)  
*šanduppu* an ornament (Nanaya)  
*tarkīsu* an ornament (Ištar, Nanaya, Aḫlamayītu)

## 3. Articles of Beauty

*muš/lītu* “comb” (Ištar, Nanaya)  
*mušālu* “cosmetic jar” (Ištar, Nanaya)  
*muttabiltu* a recipient, perhaps for cosmetics (Ištar, Nanaya)  
*nāmaru* “mirror” (Ištar, Nanaya)

## 4. Figurines

*girtablūlu* “scorpion-man” (Ušur-amāssu)  
*iššūru* “bird” (Ištar, Nanaya)  
*kaltappu* “footstool” (Ištar)  
*kasūsu* “falcon” (Ištar)  
*nēšu* “lion” (Ištar)  
*pazūzu* “Pazuzu head” (Ištar, Nanaya)  
*šabītu* “gazelle” (perhaps Ušur-amāssu)

## 5. Door-Locking Mechanisms

*ḥandūhu* a part of the lock (Ištar, Nanaya, Bēltu-ša-Rēš, Kilīlu and Barirītu, Adapa)  
*ḥargullu* “lock” (Ištar, Nanaya, Bēltu-ša-Rēš, Kilīlu and Barirītu, Adapa)  
*pingu* “knob” (Ištar, Nanaya, Bēltu-ša-Rēš, Antu, Bēl-āliya, Mār-bīti, Kilīlu and Barirītu, Adapa)  
*sanḫu* “ring” (Ištar, Nanaya, Kilīlu)  
*tarkullu* a part of the lock (Antu, Bēl-āliya, Mār-bīti)

## 1.6.4. Beads and Stones

The identification of stones mentioned in cuneiform texts is highly problematic.<sup>18</sup> One to one equivalences between an ancient name and the modern scientific designation of a stone classified according to laboratory analysis are almost impossible. The limitations of the written evidence are compounded by the wide use of artificial stones in Antiquity, and the fact that the scribes generally fail to discriminate between genuine and imitation.<sup>19</sup> Thus a necklace said to be of “lapis lazuli” (<sup>na</sup>4ZA.GÌN=*uqnū*) may well have been entirely made of frit imitating the color and texture of lapis.<sup>20</sup> Confirmation of this

<sup>18</sup> The question is addressed by MOOREY 1999, pp. 78–79. Mesopotamian taxonomy of stones is also discussed by POSTGATE 1997.

<sup>19</sup> There are exceptions to this, however. OPPENHEIM 1970, pp. 10–11 and 14–15, noted that the designations *kūri* “of the kiln” and *šadē* “of the mountain” after the names of certain stones in Middle Assyrian and Middle Babylonian texts refer, the former to their being glass imitations, the latter to their being genuine. The question of imitation lapis is also discussed by MOOREY 1999, p. 90. In a text from Mari, ARM XXI, 249, a necklace is said to be made of imitation (*tāqātu*) of *pappardilū* “banded agate” (discussion by Durand, pp. 229–230).

<sup>20</sup> OPPENHEIM 1967 discusses two texts from the Eanna archive, YOS 6, 168 and TCL 12, 84, which give the price of 55 minas of lapis-lazuli (*uqnū*) imported from the West as 36 2/3 shekels of silver. This price is much too low for genuine lapis-lazuli, which was generally imported from the northeast. Therefore the substance in question must be a glass imitation, possibly produced in Phoenicia or Syria.

was provided by Sollberger some years ago in his publication of an inscribed bead which names the stone it is made of as *pappardil(dil)ū*.<sup>21</sup> The stone is, at first glance, banded agate, but laboratory analysis revealed that it was in fact chert or chalcedony, treated in Antiquity to look like banded agate. Thus *pappardilū* could mean, in the first millennium, banded agate or any imitation thereof, and probably also any other genuine stone that resembled it.<sup>22</sup>

Contrary to ours, Mesopotamian taxonomy of stones was primarily concerned with appearance, not geological composition, hence such ancient names we translate as “lapis” and “carnelian” may include any stone of similar color and texture.<sup>23</sup> One presumes that only real stones entered in the manufacture of sacred jewelry, especially amulets and other ornaments incorporating stones believed to possess magical and prophylactic properties, but this cannot be proven. Beads were often mounted with caps (*ša mandīti*) made of gold. The following stones and beads occur in the present corpus, almost always with the determinative NA<sub>4</sub>:

## 1. According to Substance, Color, or Appearance

*aban ḥurāši* “gold bead” (Ištar, Nanaya, Ušur-amāssu, the Goddesses)  
*aban kaspi* “silver bead” (Ušur-amāssu)  
*aban lamassi* “*lamassu* stone” (Ušur-amāssu)  
*abnu* “stone, bead” (Ištar, Nanaya, Ušur-amāssu, Bēlet-Eanna of Udannu)  
*algamelīšu* “steatite” (Bēltu-ša-Rēš)  
*arzallu* a stone (Ištar, Nanaya, Ušur-amāssu)  
*ašgikū* “turquoise” (Ištar, Nanaya, Ušur-amāssu)  
*muššaru* a stone (Nanaya, Ušur-amāssu)  
*pappardilū* “banded agate” (Ištar, Nanaya, Bēltu-ša-Rēš, Ušur-amāssu)  
*saggilmud* a stone (Ištar, Nanaya, Ušur-amāssu)  
*sāmtu* “carnelian” (Ištar, Nanaya, Ušur-amāssu, Kurunnītu, the Goddesses)  
*tarkīsu* a stone or bead (Ištar, Nanaya)  
*uqnū* “lapis lazuli” (Ištar, Nanaya, Ušur-amāssu, Urkayītu, the Goddesses)  
*zakukū* “glass” (Nanaya)

## 2. According to Shape

*binītu* “fish-rope-shaped beads” (Ištar, Nanaya)  
*elirimmatu* “egg-shaped bead” (Ištar, Urkayītu)  
*īnu* “eye-stone” (Ištar, Nanaya, Urkayītu)  
*kunukku* “cylinder-seal-shaped bead” (Ištar, Nanaya, Bēltu-ša-Rēš, Ušur-amāssu, Urkayītu)

<sup>21</sup> SOLLBERGER 1987. The name of the stone is written <sup>na</sup>4BABBAR.DIL.DIL, but it is not entirely certain whether the second DIL belongs to the word. The two words <sup>na</sup>4BABBAR.DIL (*pappardilū*) and <sup>na</sup>4BABBAR.DIL.DIL (*pappardildilū*) possibly refer to variants of the same stone. The theory that this stone is agate, in addition to any stone which looks like agate, is proven by the inscription on the bead. Further discussion by FRAHM 1997, pp. 147–148, who argues that *pappardilū* and *papparminu* both refer to any stone patterned with dark (“black”) and pale (“white”) stripes.

<sup>22</sup> See DUBIN 1987, pp. 52–53, pl. 42, for manufacture of artificial banded agates in Antiquity. According to Dubin “banded agates were imitated so perfectly by ancient glass makers that it is often difficult to determine if a bead is stone or glass,” unless it is submitted to chemical analysis.

<sup>23</sup> Concurring remarks are made by STEINKELLER 1987b.

*nurmû* “pomegranate-shaped bead” (Ištar, Nanaya, Divine Chariot)  
*šipirtu* a shape of precious stones (Ušur-amāssu)  
*šibirtu* “unworked stone” (Ištar)  
*l/dubklqātu* a stone or bead (Nanaya)  
*tukpītu* “kidney-shaped bead” (Ištar, Nanaya, Ušur-amāssu)  
*zēr qiššē* “melon-seed-shaped bead” (Nanaya, Bēltu-ša-Rēš)

## 1.6.5. Gold

The terminology for gold in ancient Mesopotamia presents a number of difficulties. The identification of terms denoting varieties of gold and gold alloys is far from secure, and analysis of gold objects which have been retrieved in excavations has not been conducted on a systematic basis.<sup>24</sup> In texts from the Eanna archive gold occurs in two main varieties: gold proper (*hurāšu*), probably to be identified as yellow gold, and “red gold” (*hurāšu sāmu*), presumably the variety of gold which owes its reddish appearance to a higher content in copper.<sup>25</sup> Other varieties of gold and gold alloys mentioned in the archive are *ebbu* “pure,” *naltar* (meaning unknown), and *sādu* (meaning unknown).

## 1.6.6. Correlations Between Words and Artefacts

Stones, beads, and pieces of jewelry described in ancient inventories should ideally be matched with objects found in excavations. For Neo-Babylonian Uruk this task has been facilitated by the recent publication of all the finds of jewelry since the inception of the German excavations in 1912 until the 1985 campaign.<sup>26</sup> However, the number of objects found in Neo-Babylonian archaeological context is limited, and on a more general level the descriptions found in inventories and the vocabulary describing individual pieces of jewelry are still too imprecise to allow for secure identifications. Therefore only the following correlations can at present be confidently established. The object named *pa-zu-zu* which occurs in NBC 4894: 65 obviously refers to a pendant in the shape of the head of the demon Pazuzu, two examples of which were found in Neo-Babylonian context at Uruk.<sup>27</sup> In addition, the numerous occurrences of the cylinder-seal-shaped bead (*kunukku*) in texts are matched by the large number of surviving examples of cylindrical, biconic, and barrel-shaped beads used in jewelry, all of which were probably included under the designation *kunukku*; many examples of such beads were also found in Neo-Babylonian Uruk.<sup>28</sup>

<sup>24</sup> On gold in ancient Mesopotamia see MOOREY 1999, pp. 217–232, and LEEMANS 1957–1971.

<sup>25</sup> Although this has been questioned by WAETZOLDT 1985, it still remains the most likely identification.

<sup>26</sup> LIMPER 1988.

<sup>27</sup> LIMPER 1988, p. 45, nos. F 480 and 481, with photographs on pl. 34, nos. 207 and 208.

<sup>28</sup> LIMPER 1988, pls. 28 to 34 for photographs of these Neo-Babylonian beads.

## 1.7. Clothing

A large number of texts from the Neo-Babylonian archives of Uruk and Sippar provide us with detailed information on the ceremonial clothing of the deities (*lubuštu*).<sup>29</sup> In texts from Uruk we find data on the raw materials, textiles, and finished garments allocated for the main deities of the Eanna temple as well as occasionally for gods and goddesses residing in other temples and even in other cities, such as Larsa and Udanu.

## 1.7.1. Garments

The following articles of clothing are often summed up in lists of textiles under the word *miḫšu* “woven cloth,” which seems to function as a generic term for garments, clothing, and fabrics.

## 1. Articles of Clothing

*adīlu* “tassel(?)” (Ištar, Nanaya, Ušur-amāssu, Nabû, the Divine *Urdimmus*)  
*eru* “headband” (Ištar, Nanaya, Bēltu-ša-Rēš)  
*guḫalšu* “scarf, braids” (Ištar, Nanaya)  
*ḫullānu* “blanket, wrap” (Ištar, Nanaya, Bēltu-ša-Rēš, Ušur-amāssu, Urkayītu, Gula, <sup>d</sup>IGI.DU, and the Goddesses)  
*ḫušannu* “sash, belt” (Ištar, Nanaya, Bēltu-ša-Rēš, Ušur-amāssu, Urkayītu, Gula, <sup>d</sup>IGI.DU, Aḫlamayītu, the Divine *Urdimmus*, the Goddesses)  
*išḫelanabe* a garment (Ištar, Bēltu-ša-Rēš)  
*kusītu* a garment (Ištar, Nanaya, Gula, Aḫlamayītu, Antu)  
*lubāru* a garment (Ištar, Bēltu-ša-Rēš, Ušur-amāssu, Urkayītu, Gula, <sup>d</sup>IGI.DU, the Goddesses)  
*lubāru kulūlu* “head scarf” (Ištar, Nanaya)  
*lubāru mēḫu* a garment (Ištar, Bēltu-ša-Rēš)  
*mēzeḫu* “scarf” (Ištar)  
*mušīptu* a garment (perhaps Nanaya)  
*naḫlaptu* “wrap, outer garment” (Ištar, Nanaya, Bēltu-ša-Rēš, Ušur-amāssu, Urkayītu, Gula, <sup>d</sup>IGI.DU, <sup>d</sup>IGI.DU of Udanu, Aḫlamayītu, the Goddesses)  
*naṣbatu* a garment (Nanaya, Ušur-amāssu, Nabû)  
*nēbeḫu* “belt” (Ištar)  
*paršīgu* “turban” (Ištar, Nanaya, Bēltu-ša-Rēš, Ušur-amāssu, Urkayītu, Gula, <sup>d</sup>IGI.DU, the Divine *Urigallu* Standard of Ištar, the Divine *Urigallu* Standard of Ušur-amāssu, the Goddesses)  
*sūnu* “loincloth” (perhaps <sup>d</sup>IGI.DU, Dumuzi, the Goddesses)  
*šabū* “dyed garment” (Nanaya)  
*šibtu* a garment (Ištar, Nanaya, Bēltu-ša-Rēš, Ušur-amāssu, Urkayītu, Gula, <sup>d</sup>IGI.DU of Udanu, the Goddesses)  
*šubātu ša sadi* “gold-colored garment” (Ištar)

<sup>29</sup> On the clothing of deities at Sippar see MATSUSHIMA 1994 and 1995a, and GIOVINAZZO 1981. On garments used by deities in general see WAETZOLDT 1980–1983a.

*šalhu* a cloth (Ištar, Nanaya, Bēltu-ša-Rēš, Ušur-amāssu, Urkayītu, Gula, Adad, the Goddesses)

*šen(ū) kaspi* “silver shoe(s)” (Nabû)

*širiam* “jacket” (perhaps the Divine *Urdimmus*)

*talbuštu* a garment (*Huṭāru* the Divine Staff)

TÚG.BABBAR.RA *ša qabli* “light-colored waistband” (the Divine *Urdimmus*)

TÚG.KUR.RA a garment (perhaps the Divine *Urdimmus*)

*uzāru* a garment (the Divine *Urdimmus*)

## 2. Materials and Dyes<sup>30</sup>

*argamannu* “red purple wool” (Nanaya, Nabû)

*hašhūru* (also *haṭhūru*) “apple-colored dye for wool” (Ištar, Urkayītu)

*hūratu* a red-colored dye (Ištar, <sup>d</sup>IGI.DU, Dumuzi, *Huṭāru* the Divine Staff, the Divine *Urdimmus*)

*inzaḥurētu* a red-colored dye (Ištar, the Goddesses, Bēltu-ša-Rēš, Ušur-amāssu, Urkayītu, Gula, <sup>d</sup>IGI.DU, the Divine *Urigallu* Standard of Ištar, the Divine *Urigallu* Standard of Ušur-amāssu)

*miḥšu* “woven cloth, fabric” (Ištar, the Goddesses, Nanaya, Bēltu-ša-Rēš, Ušur-amāssu, Urkayītu, Gula, <sup>d</sup>IGI.DU, <sup>d</sup>IGI.DU of Udannu, Dumuzi, *Huṭāru* the Divine Staff, the Divine *Urigallu* Standard of Ištar, the Divine *Urigallu* Standard of Ušur-amāssu, the Divine *Urdimmus*)

*nabāsu* “red-colored wool” (<sup>d</sup>IGI.DU of Udannu)

*sādu* “gold-colored fabric” (Ištar)

*šīpu* a type of wool (the Divine *Urdimmus*)

*tabarru* “red-colored wool” (Ištar, the Goddesses, Nanaya, Bēltu-ša-Rēš, Ušur-amāssu, Urkayītu, Gula, <sup>d</sup>IGI.DU, <sup>d</sup>IGI.DU of Udannu, Aḥlamayītu, Adad, Dumuzi, *Huṭāru* the Divine Staff, the Divine *Urigallu* Standard of Ištar, the Divine *Urigallu* Standard of Ušur-amāssu, the Divine *Urdimmus*)

*takiltu* “blue-colored wool” (Ištar, Nanaya, Ušur-amāssu, Urkayītu, Gula, Bēlet-Eanna of Udannu, Adad, Dumuzi, the Divine *Urdimmus*)

*ṭīmu* “thread” (Ištar, Ušur-amāssu, Urkayītu, <sup>d</sup>IGI.DU, Aḥlamayītu, Dumuzi)

*ṭumannu* “linen, linen cloth” (Gula, <sup>d</sup>IGI.DU of Udannu, the Divine *Urdimmus*)

*uqnātu* “blue-colored wool” (*Huṭāru* the Divine Staff, the Divine *Urdimmus*)

## 3. Qualities

*da'mu* “dark-colored (fabric)” (Ištar, Nanaya)

*kabbaru* “thick (thread)” (Ušur-amāssu, Urkayītu)

*peṣū* “pale, bright, white-colored (fabric)” (Ištar, the Goddesses, Nanaya, Bēltu-ša-Rēš, Ušur-amāssu, Urkayītu, Gula, <sup>d</sup>IGI.DU, Dumuzi, the Divine *Urdimmus*)

*ruqqu* “thin (woven fabric)” (*Huṭāru* the Divine Staff, the Divine *Urdimmus*)

*šapū* “thick (woven fabric)” (*Huṭāru* the Divine Staff, the Divine *Urdimmus*)

<sup>30</sup> LEICHTY 1979 publishes a Neo-Babylonian text from Sippar which contains recipes for making dyes and for dyeing wool. Some of the dyes and wools listed here are mentioned in this text.

Texts recording administrative operations on textiles and clothing fall within the categories of “allotment” (*nadin*), “withdrawal” (*našū*), “receipt” (*maḥer*), and delivery “at the disposal” of craftsmen (*ina pāni*). Most of the operations involve weavers (*išparu*), and in one case a weaver of colored fabrics (*išpar birmi*). The balance of the texts involves cleaners (*ašlāku* or *pūšāyu*)<sup>31</sup> as well as craftsmen identified only by their names, without professional title. The purposes of the operations are only occasionally recorded in the texts, but when they are, the clothing ceremony (*ana lubuštu*) is the one most frequently mentioned,<sup>32</sup> while one single text mentions the cleaning (*ana zikūtu*).<sup>33</sup> The work performed by the craftsmen involved the cleaning and mending of the clothing worn by the divine images, but the frequent mention of allocations of cloths of various fabrics and colors also indicates that new garments were made periodically for the deities of the Eanna temple, possibly for each clothing ceremony.

The annual calendar of the ceremonial clothing of the divine images (*lubuštu*) can be reconstructed from a number of sources (§ 1.12.1). Not surprisingly, the dates of almost all the texts recording operations involving divine garments coincide with the calendar of the clothing ceremony. In point of fact, as already observed, a few texts recording allocations of garments or fabrics for the gods specifically mention that these operations were carried out in connection with the clothing ceremony. Table 1 lists all the relevant texts with their dates, as well as the operations recorded and the correlations which can be proposed with the calendar of the *lubuštu* ceremony. The texts are ordered in progressive order of month and day throughout the year. In many cases the date of a specific clothing ceremony is documented for only one or two deities, while the texts recording allocations of garments mention a much larger number of divine participants. This only highlights the fragmentary character of the evidence, and we can safely assume that most clothing ceremonies involved several deities, while it appears that a few of them applied to almost every divine resident of the Eanna temple.

Table 1. Administrative Operations on Sacred Garments and Correlations with the *lubuštu* Ceremony

Text	Date	Operations and Deities Mentioned, and Correlations with <i>lubuštu</i> Ceremonies
GCCI 2, 365	xx.05.02.07	woven fabric and thread received by PN, a weaver, to make garments for Urkayītu, the Goddesses, and <sup>d</sup> IGI.DU. Correlation: <i>lubuštu</i> ceremony of <sup>d</sup> IGI.DU of month 2, day 8.
NBC 4750	NBK2.31.02.14	list of woven fabric and garments belonging to the Lady-of-Uruk. Correlation: probable <i>lubuštu</i> ceremony of Ištar of month 2, day 14.

<sup>31</sup> According to CAD A/II, pp. 445–447, s.v. *ašlāku*, the reading of the logogram <sup>10</sup>TÚG.UD in the Neo-Babylonian period is more likely to be *pūšāyu* than *ašlāku* since we have no syllabic spellings of the latter.

<sup>32</sup> The word *lubuštu* can mean “clothing” as well as “clothing allowance” and “clothing ceremony,” as noted by MATSUSHIMA 1994, p. 178.

<sup>33</sup> AHw, p. 1592, “Schlußnachträge,” s.v. *zikūtu*, proposes the meaning “Reinigung” and quotes YOS 17, 251: 1. 5 *ga-da-šal-hu-me a-na 2. zi-ku-tu*. See also NCBT 667: 4. 1 (GUR) 3 PI (of dates) *ša zi-ku-tu ša lu-bu-‘uš-tu*.

## 1. Introduction

Text	Date	Operations and Deities Mentioned, and Correlations with <i>lubuštu</i> Ceremonies
YBC 9510	NBK2.11.02.14	withdrawal of wool and cloth by PN, a weaver, to make garments for the <i>lubuštu</i> ceremony of month 2, day 14, for the Lady-of-Uruk.
PTS 3257	NBN.00.04.28	woven cloth and thread received by PN, a weaver, to make garments for the <i>lubuštu</i> ceremony of month 5, day 1; the text mentions that the garments are for the Lady-of-Uruk, Nanaya, and Dumuzi.
GCCI 2, 108	CAM.07.04.29	woven fabric and thread received by PN, a weaver, for Dumuzi.  Correlation: probable <i>lubuštu</i> ceremony of Dumuzi of month 5, day 1.
YOS 19, 270	NBN.14.04.30	woven cloth and thread received by PNs, the weavers, to make garments for the Lady-of-Uruk, Nanaya, Bēltu-ša-Rēš, and Ušur-amāssu.  Correlation: <i>lubuštu</i> ceremony of unspecified gods of month 5, day 1, and probable <i>lubuštu</i> ceremony of Ištar, Nanaya, and Dumuzi on the same day.
NCBT 377	NPL.01.05.02	garments at disposal of PN, the man in charge of the <i>bīt-ḫilši</i> , for the <i>bīt-ḫilši</i> of Nabû and Nanaya, and the <i>bīt-ḫilši</i> of Ušur-amāssu.  Correlation: this is probably related to the same string of cultic activities as the <i>lubuštu</i> ceremony of month 5, day 1.
YOS 17, 301	NBK2.01.06.15	woven cloth and thread received by PNs, the weavers, to make garments for the Lady-of-Uruk, Nanaya, Bēltu-ša-Rēš, Ušur-amāssu, and Gula.  Correlation: <i>lubuštu</i> ceremony of unspecified gods of month 6, day 16; and <i>lubuštu</i> ceremony of Urkayītu on the same day.
YOS 17, 305	NBK2.03.07.05*	wool and alum at disposal of PNs, the weavers, to make garments for the <i>lubuštu</i> ceremony of month 7, day 8; the garments are for Nanaya.
NCBT 200	AM.01.07.07	woven fabric at disposal of the cleaners for washing; the garments belong to the Lady-of-Uruk, Nanaya, Bēltu-ša-Rēš, Ušur-amāssu, Gula, and the <i>bīt-ḫilši</i> .  Correlation: <i>lubuštu</i> ceremony of unspecified gods, and probable <i>lubuštu</i> of Nanaya, of month 7, day 8.

## 1.7. Clothing

Text	Date	Operations and Deities Mentioned, and Correlations with <i>lubuštu</i> Ceremonies
PTS 2094	NBN.04.08.23	allotment of woven cloth and garments to the cleaners for the <i>lubuštu</i> ceremony of month 9; the garments belong to the Lady-of-Uruk, Nanaya, Bēltu-ša-Rēš, Ušur-amāssu, Urkayītu, the Goddesses, Gula, and <sup>d</sup> IGI.DU.  Correlation: presumably the <i>lubuštu</i> ceremony of Ušur-amāssu and Urkayītu of month 9, day 3; and of Ištar, Nanaya, and Bēltu-ša-Rēš of month 9, day 6.
Totten 32	CYR.02.09.01	woven cloth and thread received by PN, a weaver, to make garments for Urkayītu and the Goddesses.  Correlation: perhaps the <i>lubuštu</i> ceremony of Ušur-amāssu and Urkayītu of month 9, day 3; and of Ištar, Nanaya, and Bēltu-ša-Rēš of month 9, day 6.
Cincinnati 20	NBK2.20.09.05	allotment of silver for garments for the Divine <i>Urdimmus</i> .  Correlation: <i>lubuštu</i> ceremony of Ištar, Nanaya, and Bēltu-ša-Rēš of month 9, day 6.
GCCI 2, 105	CAM.05.09.27	woven fabric and thread received by PN, the weaver, for <sup>d</sup> IGI.DU.  Correlation: <i>lubuštu</i> ceremony of <sup>d</sup> IGI.DU of month 9, day 28.
YOS 19, 277	NBN.14.09.28	account of thread for <sup>d</sup> IGI.DU.  Correlation: <i>lubuštu</i> ceremony of <sup>d</sup> IGI.DU of month 9, day 28.
UCP 9/2, 31	NER.01.09.29	receipt by PN, a fuller, of woven cloth and thread for the garments of <sup>d</sup> IGI.DU.  Correlation: <i>lubuštu</i> ceremony of <sup>d</sup> IGI.DU of month 9, day 28.
YOS 19, 290	NBN.03.10.03	wool at disposal of PN, probably for a garment for Bēlet-Eanna of Udannu.
YOS 17, 252	NBK2.05.10.19	dye at disposal of PN, a weaver, to make garments for Urkayītu.
PTS 3471	NBK2.23.10.27	wool at disposal of PN, a weaver, to make garments for the Lady-of-Uruk and Nanaya.
GCCI 2, 121	CAM.06.11.24	woven fabric and thread received by PN, a weaver, to make garments for Urkayītu, the Goddesses, and <sup>d</sup> IGI.DU.  Correlation: <i>lubuštu</i> ceremony of Urkayītu and <sup>d</sup> IGI.DU of month 11, day 26.

## 1. Introduction

Text	Date	Operations and Deities Mentioned, and Correlations with <i>lubuštu</i> Ceremonies
PTS 2282	NBN.13.11.25	woven fabric, thread, and garments (especially turbans) received by PN, a weaver, for the Goddesses, the Lady-of-Uruk, Bēltu-ša-Rēš, the Divine <i>Urigallu</i> Standard of the Lady-of-Uruk, Ušur-amāssu, Urkayītu, Gula, <sup>d</sup> IGI.DU, and the Divine <i>Urigallu</i> Standard of Ušur-amāssu.  Correlation: <i>lubuštu</i> ceremony of Urkayītu and <sup>d</sup> IGI.DU of month 11, day 26.
PTS 2881	NBN.14.11.25	woven cloth and thread received by PN, a weaver, to make garments for the Lady-of-Uruk, Nanaya, and Aḫlamayītu.  Correlation: <i>lubuštu</i> ceremony of Urkayītu and <sup>d</sup> IGI.DU of month 11, day 26.
YOS 7, 183	CAM.06.11.25	woven cloth and thread received by PN, a weaver, to make garments for the Lady-of-Uruk, Nanaya, Bēltu-ša-Rēš, Ušur-amāssu, Gula, the Divine <i>Urigallu</i> Standard of the Lady-of-Uruk, and the Divine <i>Urigallu</i> Standard of Ušur-amāssu.  Correlation: <i>lubuštu</i> ceremony of Urkayītu and <sup>d</sup> IGI.DU of month 11, day 26.
PTS 3230	NBN.00.11.26	woven cloth received by PNs to make garments for the Divine <i>Urdimmus</i> and the Divine Staff ( <i>Ḫuṭāru</i> ).  Correlation: <i>lubuštu</i> ceremony of Urkayītu and <sup>d</sup> IGI.DU of month 11, day 26.
YOS 17, 307	xx.03.11.27	woven cloth and garments received by PNs, the cleaners, allotted for <sup>d</sup> IGI.DU of Udannu.  Correlation: <i>lubuštu</i> ceremony of <sup>d</sup> IGI.DU (of Uruk) of month 11, day 26.
PTS 3190	NBK2.35.11.29	cloth at disposal of PNs, the cleaners, for the spare clothing ( <i>tēnū</i> ) of the Lady-of-Uruk, Nanaya, and Bēltu-ša-Rēš.  Correlation: probable <i>lubuštu</i> ceremony of Gula of month 12, day 1. Might also relate to the <i>lubuštu</i> ceremony of month 11, day 26.
YBC 9431	NBK2.23.11.29	woven cloth at disposal of PN, a weaver, to make garments for the Lady-of-Uruk.  Correlation: probable <i>lubuštu</i> ceremony of Gula of month 12, day 1.
YBC 7436	DAR1.00.12.01	receipt of woven cloth by PN, a weaver of colored fabrics, to make garments for the Divine <i>Urdimmus</i> .  Correlation: probable <i>lubuštu</i> ceremony of Gula of month 12, day 1.

## 1.7. Clothing

Text	Date	Operations and Deities Mentioned, and Correlations with <i>lubuštu</i> Ceremonies
FLP 1613	xx.09.12.xx	allocation of linen cloth for the <i>lubuštu</i> ceremony of <sup>d</sup> IGI.DU of Udannu.
GCCI 1, 388	NBN.03.xx.xx	linen allotted to weavers for <i>lubuštu</i> ceremonies of month 5, day 1; month 6, days 1 and 16; and month 7, day 8. Ušur-amāssu and Urkayītu are mentioned in the text, but not explicitly in connection with these ceremonies.
IBK 8, 165	CYR.01.xx.xx	general account of fabrics over 3 years for Ištar, Bēltu-ša-Rēš, Ušur-amāssu, Urkayītu, <sup>d</sup> IGI.DU, and Aḫlamayītu.
TCL 12, 107	NBN.13.xx.06	account of woven cloth and thread to make garments for the Lady-of-Uruk, Nanaya, and Ušur-amāssu.
YBC 9030	no date	ledger account of woven cloth and garments belonging to the Lady-of-Uruk, Ištar, Bēltu-ša-Rēš, <sup>d</sup> IGI.DU, and Aḫlamayītu.
YOS 19, 271	NBN.14.xx.15	woven cloth and thread received by PN to make garments for the Lady-of-Uruk, Nanaya, Bēltu-ša-Rēš, Ušur-amāssu, and Gula.

### 1.7.2. Decorated Garments

Gold sequins sown to the ceremonial garments of gods and kings were studied by Oppenheim, who proposed several correlations between texts and iconography.<sup>34</sup> However, only a handful of textual references from Uruk were known to him. The texts now available number no fewer than 25 and range from the 9th year of Kandalānu to the 8th year of Nabonidus. Only three goddesses wore garments decorated with sequins: Ištar, Nanaya, and Bēltu-ša-Rēš. The following sequins are attested: the lion (*nēšu*, *rabû* and *šeḫru* “large and small”), the star (*kakkabu*), the *ḫašû* (meaning unknown), the rosette (*ayaru*), and the *tenšû* (meaning unknown). The garments decorated with them were the *kusītu* garment,<sup>35</sup> the *lubāru mēṭu* garment, and the belt (*nēbeḫu*). Gold sequins usually occur in large numbers—more than 1,400 of them could be sown to a single *kusītu* garment—which indicates that their size was small.

The *kusītu* garment of Ištar was decorated with stars (*kakkabu*) and *ḫašûs*, and the *kusītu* garment of Nanaya with rosettes (*ayaru*) and *tenšûs*. The only exception to this pattern is NBC 4577, which records that on one occasion Ištar borrowed part of Nanaya’s decoration (§ 3.6.2). Lions (*nēšu*) decorated the belt (*nēbeḫu*) of Ištar and the *lubāru mēṭu* garment of Bēltu-ša-Rēš. The lion was the emblematic animal of Ištar, and therefore an appropriate ornament for the vestments worn by that goddess. The star was also a fitting symbol for Ištar, who was worshiped as the planet Venus, the “morning and evening star,” and is often represented in Neo-Assyrian glyptic amidst a nimbus of stars.

<sup>34</sup> OPPENHEIM 1949.

<sup>35</sup> The *kusītu* is attested only for Ištar and Nanaya, and it was borrowed from the Eanna temple on one occasion for the goddess Antu according to the letter YOS 3, 62 (§ 6.2).

## 1. Introduction

Periodically these ornaments were entrusted to craftsmen, usually goldsmiths (*ku-timmu*), either for repair (*ana batqu*) (BIN 2, 125: 4–7; NCBT 1008: 6; and YBC 9240: 14–15) or for polishing and cleaning (*ana mesī*) (YOS 6, 117: 7–8; YOS 17, 248: 10–11; and YOS 19, 269: 10). Two texts record receipts of such ornaments by the cleaners (*ašlāku* or *pūšāyu*) (NCBT 577: 12; and PTS 2927: 6). One text records that the sequins were removed from a statue in order to be broken into pieces (GCCCI 2, 69: 9. *a-na hu-up-pi-i šu-ru-du-nu*). Presumably these were worn beyond repair and set aside to be recast to make new ornaments. Such an operation is involved in NBC 4510, which records that rosettes and *tenšūs* were removed from the statue of Nanaya (3. *[ul]-tu muḥ-ḫi na-na-a ú-ri-du-nu*) to make new pieces of jewelry for the goddess Kurunnītu (5. *a-na šu-kut KÙ.GI.MEŠ 6. šá KAŠ.DIN.NAM-i-ti*).

Of the 19 texts (out of 25) which have date formulas in which both month and day are preserved, no less than 14 can be correlated with the calendar of the *lubuštu* ceremony. The fact that no such correlation can be proposed for the 5 remaining texts could mean either that our data on the days of the clothing ceremony is incomplete, or else that the affixing and removal of these ornaments did not always necessarily follow the calendar of the *lubuštu*. A case in point is AUWE 11, 162 and YBC 9395, both dated to the 12th day of the month Dûzu, and GCCCI 2, 69, dated to the 22nd day of that same month. These dates do not apparently coincide with the calendar of the *lubuštu* ceremony, but the ritual *LKU* 51 informs us that special ceremonies involving the goddess Nanaya took place during the month Dûzu, although the text does not specify the days on which these ceremonies were conducted (Appendix 2). Be that as it may, there is a strong possibility that the decorated vestments of Nanaya were displayed on those occasions.

Table 2 lists all the texts recording operations involving decorated garments, their dates, and the correlations which can be proposed with the *lubuštu* ceremony. The texts are arranged by progressive order of month and day to highlight their correspondences with that ceremony throughout the year.

Table 2. Administrative Operations on Decorated Garments and Correlations with the *lubuštu* Ceremony

Text	Date	Operation Involved, and Correlation with <i>lubuštu</i> Ceremonies.
NCBT 1008	NBK2.38.02.14	gold stars and <i>hašūs</i> belonging to the <i>kusītu</i> garment of the Lady-of-Uruk, some in the storage container, some delivered to craftsmen for repair; gold rosettes and <i>tenšūs</i> belonging to the <i>kusītu</i> garment of Nanaya, in storage container.  Correlation: <i>lubuštu</i> ceremony of unspecified gods of month 2, day 14, and probable <i>lubuštu</i> ceremony of Ištar on the same day.

## 1.7. Clothing

Text	Date	Operation Involved, and Correlation with <i>lubuštu</i> Ceremonies.
YBC 3438	NBK2.31.02.14	account of gold stars and <i>hašūs</i> , and gold rosettes and <i>tenšūs</i> , which are on the <i>kusītu</i> garments of [the Lady-of-Uruk] and Nanaya.  Correlation: <i>lubuštu</i> ceremony of unspecified gods of month 2, day 14, and probable <i>lubuštu</i> ceremony of Ištar on the same day.
YOS 17, 248	NBK2.21.02.26	gold stars and <i>hašūs</i> , and gold rosettes and <i>tenšūs</i> , belonging to the <i>kusītu</i> garments of the Lady-of-Uruk and Nanaya, allotted to the goldsmiths for cleaning.
AUWE 11, 162	NPL?.14.04.12	gold rosettes and <i>tenšūs</i> belonging to the <i>kusītu</i> garment of Nanaya at disposal of PNs, the goldsmiths.
YBC 9395	NPL.10.04.12	gold rosettes and <i>tenšūs</i> belonging to the <i>kusītu</i> garment of Nanaya, at disposal of PNs.
GCCI 2, 69	NPL.08.04.22	weighing of <i>mušiptu</i> garment and gold rosettes which are put on Nanaya; gold rosettes and <i>tenšūs</i> removed for recasting.
GCCI 2, 133	KAN.17.05.01	gold rosettes and <i>tenšūs</i> weighed together with the <i>mušiptu</i> garment; large and small gold lions weighed.  Correlation: <i>lubuštu</i> ceremony of unspecified gods of month 5, day 1, and probable <i>lubuštu</i> ceremony of Ištar, Nanaya, and Dumuzi on the same day.
GCCI 2, 367	KAN.09.05.01	gold rosettes and <i>tenšūs</i> weighed together with the <i>mušiptu</i> garment; large and small gold lions weighed.  Correlation: <i>lubuštu</i> ceremony of unspecified gods of month 5, day 1, and probable <i>lubuštu</i> ceremony of Ištar, Nanaya, and Dumuzi on the same day.
YBC 3441	NBK2.33.05.01	account of gold rosettes and <i>tenšūs</i> removed from the <i>kusītu</i> garment of Nanaya, some put in storage container.  Correlation: <i>lubuštu</i> ceremony of unspecified gods of month 5, day 1, and probable <i>lubuštu</i> ceremony of Ištar, Nanaya, and Dumuzi on the same day.
NBC 4510	NPL.08.05.03	gold rosettes and <i>tenšūs</i> removed from Nanaya to make gold jewelry for Kurunnītu, at disposal of PNs.  Correlation: <i>lubuštu</i> ceremony of unspecified gods of month 5, day 1, and probable <i>lubuštu</i> ceremony of Ištar, Nanaya, and Dumuzi on the same day.



## 1. Introduction

Text	Date	Operation Involved, and Correlation with <i>lubuštu</i> Ceremonies.
PTS 3067	NBK2.22.05.30	account of gold stars and <i>ḥašûs</i> , and gold rosettes and <i>tenšûs</i> , which are on the <i>kusîtu</i> garments of the Lady-of-Uruk and Nanaya.  Correlation: <i>lubuštu</i> ceremony of unspecified gods of month 6, day 1, and probable <i>lubuštu</i> ceremony of Urkayîtu on the same day.
NBC 4504	AM.01.10.08	gold stars and <i>ḥašûs</i> , and gold rosettes and <i>tenšûs</i> , removed from the <i>kusîtu</i> garments of the Lady-of-Uruk and Nanaya, and put in the storage container.
BIN 2, 125	NBK2.32.11.24	gold stars from the <i>kusîtu</i> garment of the Lady-of-Uruk at the disposal of PN, the goldsmiths, for repair.  Correlation: <i>lubuštu</i> ceremony of Urkayîtu and 𐎶𐎵𐎠.DU of month 11, day 26.
YOS 6, 117	NBN.08.11.24	gold stars and <i>ḥašûs</i> , and gold rosettes and <i>tenšûs</i> , belonging to the <i>kusîtu</i> garments of the Lady-of-Uruk and Nanaya, at disposal of PN, a goldsmith, for cleaning.  Correlation: <i>lubuštu</i> ceremony of Urkayîtu and 𐎶𐎵𐎠.DU of month 11, day 26.
NCBT 1251	AM.00.11.26	gold stars and <i>ḥašûs</i> belonging to the <i>kusîtu</i> garment of the Lady-of-Uruk, and gold lions belonging to the <i>lubāru mēṭu</i> garment of Bēltu-ša-Rēš, received by PN, the goldsmiths, for repair.  Correlation: <i>lubuštu</i> ceremony of Urkayîtu and 𐎶𐎵𐎠.DU of month 11, day 26.
PTS 2927 <sup>36</sup>	NPL.197.11.27	gold rosettes and <i>tenšûs</i> ; gold lions for the <i>lubāru mēṭu</i> garment; gold lions belonging to the belt of Ištar; gold lions belonging to the <i>lubāru mēṭu</i> garment of Bēltu-ša-Rēš; all received by PN, the cleaners.  Correlation: <i>lubuštu</i> ceremony of Urkayîtu and 𐎶𐎵𐎠.DU of month 11, day 26.
YBC 9240	NBK2.25.11.27	gold stars and <i>ḥašûs</i> , and gold rosettes and <i>tenšûs</i> , belonging to the <i>kusîtu</i> garments of the Lady-of-Uruk and Nanaya, at disposal of goldsmiths for repair; some are stored in container, others are broken.  Correlation: <i>lubuštu</i> ceremony of Urkayîtu and 𐎶𐎵𐎠.DU of month 11, day 26.

<sup>36</sup> The year number could also be 9.

## 1.8. Offerings

Text	Date	Operation Involved, and Correlation with <i>lubuštu</i> Ceremonies.
NBC 4577	AM.xx.12.01	account of gold stars and <i>ḥašûs</i> , and gold rosettes and <i>tenšûs</i> , which are on the <i>kusîtu</i> garments of the Lady-of-Uruk and Nanaya.  Correlation: probable <i>lubuštu</i> ceremony of Gula of month 12, day 1.
PTS 2674	NBN.04.12.01	account of gold stars and <i>ḥašûs</i> , and gold rosettes and <i>tenšûs</i> , which are on the <i>kusîtu</i> garments of the Lady-of-Uruk and Nanaya, with 11 of them put in storage container.
YBC 7383	DAR1.xx.13.06?	Correlation: probable <i>lubuštu</i> ceremony of Gula of month 12, day 1. allocation of gold to make or repair jewelry for the Lady-of-Uruk and Nanaya, including gold stars, <i>ḥašûs</i> , rosettes, and <i>tenšûs</i> for their <i>kusîtu</i> garments.
NCBT 557 <sup>37</sup>	NPL.00.02.xx	gold rosettes and <i>tenšûs</i> weighed with the <i>mušiptu</i> garment; gold lions, large and small, belonging to the <i>lubāru mēṭu</i> garments of Bēltiya (Ištar) and Bēltu-ša-Rēš, received by cleaner.
PTS 2539	NBN.00.xx.xx	account of gold stars and <i>ḥašûs</i> , and gold rosettes and <i>tenšûs</i> , which are on the <i>kusîtu</i> garments of the Lady-of-Uruk and Nanaya, with two of them put in storage container.
YBC 9031	xx.00.xx.08	gold at disposal of PN, the goldsmiths, to repair gold [lio]ns for the <i>lubāru mēṭu</i> garment of Bēltu-ša-Rēš.
YBC 9638	NBK2.36.xx.+4	gold stars and <i>ḥašûs</i> , and gold rosettes and <i>tenšûs</i> , belonging to the <i>kusîtu</i> garments of the Lady-of-Uruk and Nanaya [o o o].
YOS 19, 269	NBN.00.xx.xx	gold stars and <i>ḥašûs</i> , and gold rosettes and <i>tenšûs</i> , belonging to the <i>kusîtu</i> garments of the Lady-of-Uruk and Nanaya, allotted to the goldsmiths for cleaning.

## 1.8. Offerings

Both processed and unprocessed food was presented to the deities for the sacred meals. These offerings fall into two broad classes: regular offerings (*ginû*), which occurred on a daily basis and are by far the most frequently encountered in the texts, and occasional offerings (*guqqû*). It is often impossible to determine whether the foodstuffs mentioned in

<sup>37</sup> The royal name is 𐎶𐎠𐎶-A-[o o], which I presume to be Nabopolassar. The only other possibility would be Nabû-apla-iddina, who reigned in the early part of the 9th century, but this seems far less likely, as the earliest surviving administrative texts from the Eanna archive are dated to the reign of Merodach-baladan II at the end of the 8th century.

an offering list were intended as raw offerings or as ingredients to prepare more elaborate cuisine. Food was ritually presented to the deities every day during a ceremony called the *naptanu* "sacred meal, banquet," after which it was redistributed among the prebendaries of the temple.<sup>38</sup> According to first millennium texts from various Babylonian sites four such meals were prepared each day: the main meal of the morning (*rabû ša šēri*), the second meal of the morning (*tardennu ša šēri*), the main meal of the evening (*rabû ša līlāti*), and the second meal of the evening (*tardennu ša līlāti*). The evening meals were sometimes designated as the *rabû* and *tardennu ša kīši*.<sup>39</sup> Rituals from Uruk dated to the Seleucid period still mention four daily meals in the Rēš temple.<sup>40</sup> Neo-Babylonian evidence from Uruk also suggests that the practice of two morning and two evening meals was observed in the Eanna temple, although only the two morning meals are explicitly mentioned in the archive. YBC 9155 mentions the two meals of the morning offered to Ištar: 17. *al-la* 18. *ina muḫ-ḫi ra-bi-i šá še-e-ri* 3 BÂN 19. *u ina muḫ-ḫi tar-den-nu šá še-e-ri* 1 BÂN 20. *tak-ka-su-ú* "only 3 *sātus* of *takkasû* confections for the main meal of the morning (and) one *sūtu* of *takkasû* confections for the second meal of the morning."<sup>41</sup> The following letter order also mentions the second meal of the morning:

## PTS 2509 (plate 1)

1. 1 UDU.NÍTA TA UDU.NÍTA
2. *tar-den-né-e*
3. *a-na* 1 KASKAL.GÍD *u<sub>4</sub>-mu*
4. 3 UDU.NÍTA GAL.MEŠ
5. *a-na gi-né-e šá še-e-ru šá U<sub>4</sub> 4-KAM*
6. *!a-na-É-šú*
7. *u !ri-mut*
8. *li-bu-ku-ú-nu*

Let Ana-bītišu and Rīmūt bring 1 sheep, from the sheep (allocated for) the second meal (of the morning), at the first (double)-hour of the day, (and) 3 large sheep for the regular offerings of the morning for the 4th day.

Redistribution of food among prebendaries followed strict rules. The right to a specific food income is occasionally mentioned in sales of prebendary offices, but this data is insufficient to form an idea about the entire system. A large tablet probably composed during the reign of Nabû-apla-iddina (reigned early 9th century) or shortly after, and available in the form of a later copy, lists the individuals entitled to a share (*kurummatu*) in the sacrificial sheep offered daily to Ištar and Nanaya.<sup>42</sup> The recipients include the king,

<sup>38</sup> On *naptanu* see VAN DRIEL 1969, GLASSNER 1987–1990, and GEORGE 2000, p. 288, note to lines 17–18.

<sup>39</sup> See CAD K, p. 445, s.v. *kīšu*, and MACGINNIS 1994, who publishes a fragmentary text from the Neo-Babylonian Ebabbar temple archive listing the following four meals: the *rabû ša šēri*, the *tardennu ša šēri*, the *rabû ša kīši* and the *tardennu ša kīši*.

<sup>40</sup> THUREAU-DANGIN 1921.

<sup>41</sup> Discussed below in § 3.11.1. The text records failure by a prebendary to provide for these meals. Further reference in AUWE 8, 68: obv. 9'. *nap-ta-nu 'tar'-de-na-a-ti* [o o], but in a broken context.

<sup>42</sup> OECT 1, pls. 20–21, republished by MCEWAN 1983. A fragment of a similar tablet was published as VS 20, 114.

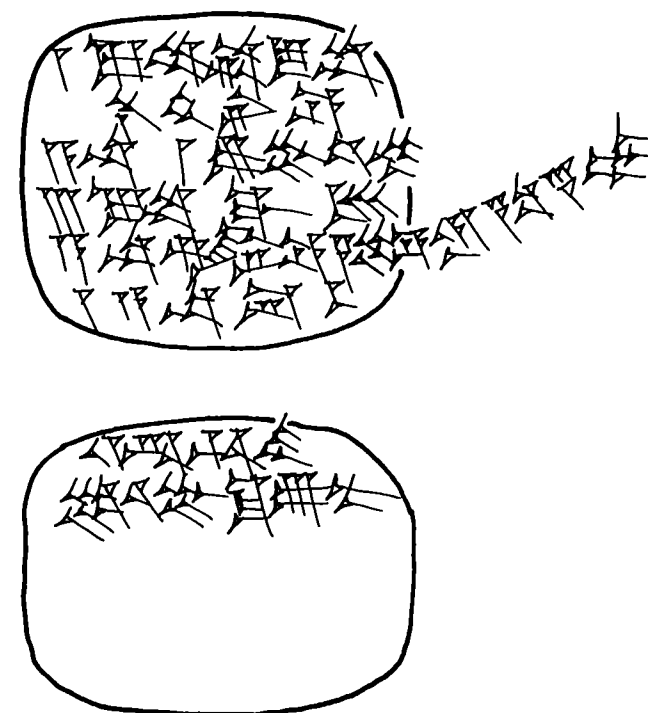


Plate 1. PTS 2509

the high priest (*šešgallu*), the *šatammu*, all the *ērib-bītis*, and a variety of prebendaries officiating in the temple such as cooks (*mubannû*), brewers (*sirāšû*), bakers (*nuḫatimmu*), musicians (*nāru*), and others. GCCI 1, 238, dated to the 26th year of Nebuchadnezzar II, records the shipment to the king of his share in the offerings (*kurummat šarri*), and lists the same cuts of the sacrificial sheep that are prescribed for the king in the Nabû-apla-iddina tablet, and in the exact same order.<sup>43</sup> This suggests that some of the prescriptions listed in this tablet were still in force in the 6th century. There probably existed similar provisions governing the entire redistribution of sacred food in Eanna, not only meat cuts.<sup>44</sup> Conflicts over the redistribution of food must have erupted occasionally. Such an instance is recorded in YBC 9280, which relates that a lawless prebendary had appropriated for himself, from the offerings of the goddess Ušur-amāssu, the income of a rib cage which was allegedly the rightful property of the *šatammu* of the temple (§ 4.4.4.8). The evidence from this text is at variance with the Nabû-apla-iddina tablet, which prescribes the leg of the animal (*uzuŪR = pēmu*) as the share of the *šatammu* (lines 7, 31, 56).

<sup>43</sup> For a discussion of this text see BEAULIEU 1990a. The cuts in question are the shoulder cut (*uzuZAG.LU = imittu*), the rump (*uzuGIŠ.KUN = rapaštu*), and the rib (*uzuTI = šēlu*), which occur in the same order on lines 2, 26, and 51 of the Nabû-apla-iddina tablet. Both texts qualify these perquisites as *kurummat šarri* "the food allowance of the king."

<sup>44</sup> See also the important fragment AUWE 11, 179, which records the allotment of meat cuts and hides to various prebendaries, some of which are offered to Ušur-amāssu and Urkayītu.

The following animals and foodstuffs are attested in the archive as offering material.

## 1. Sacrificial Animals

- alpu* “ox”<sup>45</sup> (Ištar, Nanaya, Bēltu-ša-Rēš, Ušur-amāssu, Urkayītu, Marduk, Gula, <sup>d</sup>IGI.DU, Nabû)  
*immeru* “sheep” (Ištar, Nanaya, Bēltu-ša-Rēš, Ušur-amāssu, Urkayītu, symbol of Bēl, symbol of Nabû, Marduk, Gula, <sup>d</sup>IGI.DU, <sup>d</sup>IGI.DU and Bēlet-Eanna of Udannu, Nergal, Ninurta, Nusku, Bēlet-balāti, Kurunnītu, *Kakkabtu* the Divine Star-Shaped Branding Iron, the Divine *Urigallu* Standard of Ušur-amāssu, the Divine *Urdimmus*)  
*immeru ḥadiru* a variety of sheep (Marduk)  
*kalūmu* “lamb” (Ištar)  
*kurkū* “goose” (Ištar, Nanaya, Bēltu-ša-Rēš, Ušur-amāssu, Urkayītu, symbol of Bēl, symbol of Nabû, Marduk, Gula, <sup>d</sup>IGI.DU, Nergal, Ninurta, Nusku)  
*nūnu* “fish” (Ištar, possibly Nanaya, Sîn of Ur)  
*paspasu* “duck” (Ištar, Nanaya, Bēltu-ša-Rēš, Ušur-amāssu, Urkayītu, symbol of Bēl, symbol of Nabû, Marduk, Gula, <sup>d</sup>IGI.DU, <sup>d</sup>IGI.DU and Bēlet-Eanna of Udannu, Nergal, Ninurta, Nusku)  
*puḥādu* “lamb” (Ištar, Nanaya, Bēltu-ša-Rēš, Ušur-amāssu, Urkayītu, symbol of Bēl, symbol of Nabû, Marduk, Gula, <sup>d</sup>IGI.DU, <sup>d</sup>IGI.DU and Bēlet-Eanna of Udannu, Nergal, Ninurta, Nusku)  
*sukanninu* “turtledove” (Ištar, Nanaya, Bēltu-ša-Rēš, Ušur-amāssu, Urkayītu, symbol of Bēl, symbol of Nabû, Marduk, Gula, <sup>d</sup>IGI.DU, <sup>d</sup>IGI.DU and Bēlet-Eanna of Udannu, Nergal, Ninurta, Nusku)  
 unspecified animals (Sîn, Gula-of-the-Courtyard, Bānītu, Adad, Adapa, Anu, <sup>d</sup>BE, Lugalirra, Madānu, Ninurta-of-the-Courtyard, Sîn-of-Heaven, Dais of Šamaš, Zababa, the Divine *Zaqiptu* Standards)

## 2. Unprocessed Food and Drink, Fresh and Dried Fruit, and Varied Ingredients

- asnū* “Telmun dates” (Ištar, Nanaya, Bēltu-ša-Rēš, Ušur-amāssu, Sîn, Ninurta, Nusku)  
*dišpu* “honey” (Ištar, Ninurta)  
*ḥimētu* “butter” (Ištar, Ninurta)  
*kunāšu* “emmer” (Ištar, Nanaya, Bēltu-ša-Rēš, Ušur-amāssu, perhaps Urkayītu, Sîn, Ninurta, Gula-of-the-Courtyard)  
*muzīqu* “raisins” (Ištar, Ninurta, Nusku)  
*nurmū* “pomegranates” (Ištar)  
*pelū* “eggs”<sup>46</sup> (probably Ištar)  
*qēmu* “flour” (Ištar, Nanaya, Bēltu-ša-Rēš, Nergal, Nusku)

<sup>45</sup> The term “ox” is understood throughout this book as a generic term for adult male bovines, not as a specific word for castrated bulls. Under the denomination GU<sub>4</sub> were also included *bīru* “young cattle” (GU<sub>4</sub>.NINDA) and *bīru* “calf” (AMAR, GU<sub>4</sub>.AMAR), the latter sometimes further qualified as (*ša*) *šizbi* “suckling.” The only offering list which specifically makes provisions for the sacrifice of juvenile cattle is YOS 17, 346, which enumerates *bīrus* for Eanna, Šamaš (of Larsa), Gula, <sup>d</sup>IGI.DU, the Divine Chariot, and the temple of Marduk.

<sup>46</sup> For ostrich and duck eggs see TCL 12, 123: 5. 7 NUNUZ *lu-ur-mu* 18 NUNUZ UZ.TUR (also lines 8, 26, and 32). They are also attested in the Seleucid period at Uruk (THUREAU-DANGIN 1921, AO 6451, rev. 17, for the second meal of the morning, together with various meats). See also FINET 1982, p. 74, for offerings of ostrich eggs at Uruk. On eggs as offerings to the gods see BEAULIEU 1991a.

- suluppū* “dates” (Ištar, Nanaya, Bēltu-ša-Rēš, Ušur-amāssu, Urkayītu, Marduk, Sîn, Gula, <sup>d</sup>IGI.DU, Ninurta, Nusku, Kilīlu, Enlil, Sîn-of-Heaven)  
*šamaššamū* “sesame” (Ištar, Ušur-amāssu, Urkayītu, Sîn, Ninurta, Nusku)  
*šamnu* “sesame oil, oil” (Ušur-amāssu, <sup>d</sup>IGI.DU, the Divine *Urdimmus*)  
*šizbu* “milk” (Ištar)  
*ṭabtu* “salt”<sup>47</sup> (Ištar, Nanaya, Bēltu-ša-Rēš, Ušur-amāssu, Urkayītu, Marduk, Sîn, Gula, <sup>d</sup>IGI.DU, Nergal, Ninurta, Nusku, the Divine *Urdimmus*)  
*uliltu* “dried figs” (Ištar, Ninurta)  
*uṭṭaletu* “barley” (Ištar, Nanaya, Bēltu-ša-Rēš, Ušur-amāssu, Urkayītu, Marduk, Sîn, Gula, <sup>d</sup>IGI.DU, <sup>d</sup>IGI.DU and Bēlet-Eanna of Udannu, Nergal, Ninurta, Nusku, Bēlet-balāti, Gula-of-the-Courtyard, Adad, Anu, Aššur, Dumuzi, Ea, Enlil, <sup>d</sup>BE, Lugalbanda, Lugalirra, Ninurta-of-the-Courtyard, Sîn-of-Heaven, Zababa, the Divine *Zaqiptu* Standards, the Divine *Urdimmus*)

## 3. Processed Food and Drink

- akalu* “bread” (Ištar, Nanaya, Ušur-amāssu, Urkayītu, Gula, <sup>d</sup>IGI.DU, Kanisurra, Anu, Enlil, Sîn-of-the-Courtyard)  
*billatu* a type of beer (Sîn, Gula, Ilū-ša-māt-tāmti)  
*kamānu* a sweetened cake (Dumuzi)  
*makkasu* a preparation with dates, or a specific type of dates (Ištar, Urkayītu, <sup>d</sup>IGI.DU, Marduk, Sîn, Ninurta, Nusku, Sîn-of-Heaven)  
*mersu* a cake (Ištar, Nanaya, Bēltu-ša-Rēš, Bēl-āliya)  
*muttāqu* “pastry, sweetcake” (Nusku)  
*siltu* a food or preparation used as offerings (Urkayītu)  
*šikaru* “beer” (Nanaya, Ušur-amāssu, Urkayītu, Gula, <sup>d</sup>IGI.DU and Bēlet-Eanna of Udannu, Kanisurra, Anu, Enlil, Marduk-of-the-Courtyard, Sîn-of-the-Courtyard)  
*takkasū* a confection (Ištar, Ušur-amāssu, Urkayītu, Gula, <sup>d</sup>IGI.DU, Ninurta, Nusku, Aššur, Dumuzi, Ilū-ša-māt-tāmti)

## 1.9. Temples

Two texts from Uruk datable to the late Achaemenid or Seleucid period contain lists of shrines and cultic locales. The first one is *SpTU* I 136, edited by George under the rubric “The Uruk Shrine List.”<sup>48</sup> It lists the “seats” (*šubtu*) and “daises” (*parakku*) of Ištar, Nanaya, and other deities associated with Uruk and the Eanna temple. However, none of these cultic locations is mentioned in the Eanna archive. The other text is *SpTU* IV 220, which gives dimensions of various parts of a temple complex which includes chapels of such gods as Ninurta, Nabû, Uraš, and Bēltiya. Since Bēltiya is a name for Ištar-of-Uruk attested in 8 texts from Uruk dated between the 8th year of Merodach-Baladan II and the 7th year of Nabopolassar (§ 3.2.6 and § 3.2.8), one could argue that *SpTU* IV 220 is a description of a portion the Eanna temple. However, Bēltiya is essentially a name

<sup>47</sup> On the use of salt in ancient Mesopotamia see PORTS 1984; BUTZ 1984; DURAND 1987 and 1990b. For the use of salt in rituals at Uruk see the commentary to AUWE 5, 87.

<sup>48</sup> GEORGE 1992, pp. 198–201.

for Zarpanītu in the late periods, which means, as proposed by George, that the text might also be a description of Esagil in Babylon.<sup>49</sup> His identification is indeed strongly supported by the mention in the text of the gate Ka-lamma-rabi, which is documented by other sources as a gate in the Esagil temple.<sup>50</sup> Be that as it may, the late date of these texts reduces their relevance for the cultic topography of Neo-Babylonian Uruk. The same is true of the evidence gleaned from the records dated to the Seleucid period, which was studied in detail by Falkenstein in his *Topographie von Uruk*, published in 1941.

In the absence of a systematic directory, the cultic geography of Uruk must be reconstructed from the data yielded by archival texts, which mention a number of cultic locales occupied by specific deities. These cultic locales fall by and large within four categories: 1. those with ceremonial names; 2. those with descriptive names; 3. the chapels of the Courtyard; 4. the *bītu*s. Only four sanctuaries are known by their ceremonial names: the Enirgalanna, the Eḫilianna, the Eanna of Uruk, and the Eanna of Udannu.<sup>51</sup> The sanctuaries with descriptive names are the temple of the *akītu* festival (*bīt-akīti*), the *bīt-ḫilši* (meaning unknown), and the inner cella (*papāḫu*), each followed by the name of the resident deity (e.g. *papāḫu ša DN*). Four deities, namely Gula, Marduk, Ninurta, and Sīn, were known as gods “of the Courtyard” (*ša kisalli*). The designation *ša kisalli* in such cases refers to the deity, not its sanctuary, as we often find *ša kisalli* appended only to a divine name (DN *ša kisalli*). Therefore the interpretation of the compound É DN *ša kisalli* as “temple/chapel of DN with a courtyard” must be excluded. This indicates, as suggested by George, that the designation *ša kisalli* after the name of a deity or a temple (*bītu*) in first millennium sources probably denotes a chapel immediately accessible from the courtyard of a large temple, in contrast to the more secluded cultic cellas preceded by a suite of antechambers and where the more important gods of a temple resided.<sup>52</sup> Finally the last category of cultic locales, and by far the largest, consists of sanctuaries referred to by the very simple designation É DN (e.g. É *den-lil*, É *gu-la*), which carries some ambiguity since it can mean either an entirely separate temple or a chapel in a larger cultic compound.

The following gods are explicitly mentioned in the archive as residents of these four categories of sanctuaries.

*bīt-akīti* (Ištar, Ušur-amāssu)

*bīt-ḫilši* (Ušur-amāssu, Nabû and Nanaya)

<sup>49</sup> As argued by GEORGE 1995.

<sup>50</sup> The possibility that the text is a description of a portion of the Ezida temple in Borsippa has recently been advocated by ALLINGER-CSOLLICH 1998, pp. 211–230, section 5.3. “Der Ziegel-Text SpTU IV, Nr.220 Beschreibt das Ezida.”

<sup>51</sup> A list of mentions of these sanctuaries in cuneiform literature and inscriptions is provided by GEORGE 1993, nos. 75, 459, and 901. There is no entry for the Eanna of Udannu, which is known only from a damaged passage of the Nabonidus Chronicle and a letter from the Eanna archive (§ 5.6.5).

<sup>52</sup> GEORGE 1992, pp. 399–400, concerning such chapels located in Esagil. A document from Mari states that the width of the *kisallu* of a temple in the town of Kaḫat is equal to the length of the *papāḫu*, on which basis Charpin has proposed the meaning “antecella, antechamber” for the word *kisallu*, but the meaning of the word may have changed in the course of time (CHARPIN 1982, pp. 142–143). The *kisallu* of the Eanna temple was restored by Sargon II (FRAME 1995, B.6.22.4).

*bītu* (in the compound É DN) “temple, chapel” (Ušur-amāssu, Marduk, Sīn, Gula, <sup>d</sup>IGI.DU, <sup>d</sup>IGI.DU of Udannu, Divine Chariot, Nergal, Ninurta, Nusku, Gula of Bīt-Gula, Adad, Amurru, Anu, Aššur, Bēl-SA-našru, Ea, Enlil, <sup>d</sup>BE, Gašru, Lugalbanda, Lugalirra, Nabû, Zababa)

*bītu* (in the compound É DN *ša kisalli*) (Marduk-of-the-Courtyard, Ninurta-of-the-Courtyard, Sīn-of-the-Courtyard)

Eanna (É.AN.NA of Uruk) (Ištar-of-Uruk, Nanaya, Bēltu-ša-Rēš)

Eanna (É.AN.NA of Udannu) (probably Bēlet-Eanna of Udannu)

Eḫilianna (É.ḪI.LI.AN.NA = *papāḫu ša Nanaya*, *papāḫ Nanaya*) (Nanaya)

Enirgalanna (É.NIR.GÁL.AN.NA = *papāḫu ša Ištar*, *papāḫ Ištar*) (Ištar)

*papāḫu* “inner cella, inner sanctum, sanctuary” (Ištar, Nanaya, Ušur-amāssu, Gula, <sup>d</sup>IGI.DU)

The most difficult question is to determine which cultic locations were located inside the Eanna temple complex, and which were located elsewhere in Uruk and its vicinity. The main problem is posed by the *bītu*s, which could be either independent sanctuaries or chapels in the Eanna temple. Significant steps towards a solution of this question can be made with the help of the administrative texts published in 1971 by Freydanck in *SWU*. These texts consist of deliveries of foodstuffs for the offerings to the gods worshiped in the Eanna temple and a number of sanctuaries designated as É DN. In addition the *SWU* texts mention the following cultic locations which are not associated with specific deities but to which offerings are also directed:

*bīt-akīti* “the temple of the *akītu* festival”

*ekurrātu* “the (small) sanctuaries”

*bīt-ḫilši* (meaning unknown)

Eiḫalanki (É.IG.ḪAL.AN.KI)<sup>53</sup>

Eurur (É.UR<sub>4</sub>.UR<sub>4</sub>; É.MÉŠ.UR<sub>4</sub>.UR<sub>4</sub>; É.SÍG.UR<sub>4</sub>.UR<sub>4</sub>)<sup>54</sup>

*kisallu* “the (sanctuaries of the) courtyard”

*papāḫānu* “the inner cellas”

*ziqqurratu* “the ziggurat”

Two of these sanctuaries have ceremonial names (Eurur and Eiḫalanki), three of them are known by descriptive names (*bīt-akīti*, *bīt-ḫilši*, and the ziggurat), while the remaining terms do not refer to individual buildings but to categories of sanctuaries (*ekurrātu*, *kisallu*, and *papāḫānu*). The existence of this latter group indicates that the *SWU* texts are partly organized along the principle of a tripartite division of sanctuaries: *ekurrātu* refers to the independent temples located in Uruk and its vicinity,<sup>55</sup> *papāḫānu* denotes the inner cellas of the main deities worshiped in the Eanna temple, and *kisallu* is a collective designation for the small chapels directly accessible from the courtyard of Eanna.

<sup>53</sup> On this sanctuary see GEORGE 1993, no. 513.

<sup>54</sup> Possibly the same as É.ME.UR<sub>4</sub>.UR<sub>4</sub>, a sanctuary of Nanaya at Uruk during the Old Babylonian period. See GEORGE 1993, no. 793.

<sup>55</sup> The same word is attested in the contemporary texts from Sippar to designate the small independent sanctuaries which were not located within the Ebabbar temple complex: see BONGENAAR 1997, chapter 5, pp. 229–260.

Table 3 synthesizes the evidence from the *SWU* texts and all other texts from the Eanna archive regarding cultic locations occupied by specific gods. Columns 2 and 3 include the evidence from the *SWU* texts. These texts sometimes specify that offerings are directed to the gods themselves (column 2), at other times to their *bītu*s (column 3). Some gods are listed in both columns, as the terminology used in the *SWU* texts is simply not always consistent. Columns 4, 5, 6, and 7 list the following cultic locations which appear in all other texts from the Eanna archive: chapel or temple (*bītu*), inner cella (*papāḫu*), *bīt-akīti*, and *bīt-ḫilši*.

Table 3. Cultic Locations of Uruk Associated with Specific Gods

Deity	<i>SWU</i> Texts		All Other Texts from the Eanna Archive			
	DN only	<i>bītu</i>	<i>bītu</i>	<i>papāḫu</i>	<i>bīt-akīti</i>	<i>bīt-ḫilši</i>
Ištar	×		Eanna	Enirgalanna, <i>papāḫu ša DN</i>	×	
Nanaya	×		Eanna	Eḫilianna, <i>papāḫu ša DN</i>		×
Bēltu-ša-Rēš	×		(Eanna)			
Ušur-amāssu (+ Urkayītu)	×		×	<i>papāḫu ša DN</i>	×	×
Marduk		×	×			
Sîn	×	×	×			
Gula	×		×	<i>papāḫu ša DN</i>		
𐎶IGI.DU	×		×	<i>papāḫu ša DN</i>		
Bēlet-Eanna of Udannu	×		(Eanna)			
𐎶IGI.DU of Udannu	×		×			
Divine Chariot	×		×			
Nergal		×	×			
Ninurta	×	×	×			
Nusku	×	×	×			
Gula of Bīt-Gula			×			
Adad		×	×			
Amurru			×			
Anu		×	×			
Aššur		×	×			
Bēl-SA-našru			×			
Ea		×	×			
Enlil		×				
𐎶BE	×		×			
Lugalbanda		×	×			
Lugalirra		×	×			
Marduk-of-the-Courtyard		×	×			
Nabû	×	×	×			×
Ningišzida			×			
Ninurta-of-the-Courtyard		×	×			
Sîn-of-the-Courtyard			×			
Zababa		×	×			

The textual evidence to be discussed in chapters 2 to 5 will amply demonstrate that Ištar, Nanaya, Bēltu-ša-Rēš, Ušur-amāssu, Urkayītu, Gula, and 𐎶IGI.DU were the main divine residents of the Eanna temple and the main focus of its cultic activities. This order of importance is reflected in Table 3, which indicates that the only five deities associated with a *papāḫu* “inner cella” in the archive are Ištar, Nanaya, Ušur-amāssu, Gula, and 𐎶IGI.DU (column 5). The *papāḫu* of Bēltu-ša-Rēš does not occur so far in the archive, but this is probably accidental. Similarly, our sources never mention the *papāḫu* of Urkayītu, but this can be easily explained by the fact that this goddess very probably resided in the *papāḫu* of Ušur-amāssu, with whom she is often paired in the administrative texts (§ 4.5 *passim*).

If we now compare the terminology of the *SWU* texts with that used in other texts of the archive, we notice that the five deities who reside in a *papāḫu* according to the latter texts are among the few who are not assigned to a *bītu* in the *SWU* texts (column 3), although their sanctuaries are designated by the word *bītu* elsewhere in the archive (column 4). This suggests that the designations *papāḫu* and *bītu* were mutually exclusive within the narrow confines of the *SWU* texts, while they were compatible with one another, or even synonymous, in other contexts. As already seen, however, the plural word *papāḫānu* does occur in the *SWU* texts as one of the three groups of collectively designated sanctuaries alongside *ekurrātu* and *kisallu*. Therefore the mutual exclusiveness of *papāḫu* and *bītu* in the *SWU* texts must reflect another division between *papāḫānu* on the one hand and the two groups *ekurrātu* and *kisallu* on the other. Following this reasoning the gods assigned to a *bītu* in the *SWU* texts should be the residents of the *ekurrātu* and *kisallu*. This is easy to prove for the latter group, since two gods of the *kisallu*, Marduk-of-the-Courtyard and Ninurta-of-the-Courtyard, are indeed assigned to a *bītu* in the *SWU* texts. Most of the other *bītus* listed in column 3 must therefore have belonged to the group *ekurrātu*, the small sanctuaries located in Uruk and its vicinity which depended on the administration of the Eanna temple for their offerings. The operative distinction made by the *SWU* texts thus emerges clearly, the basic opposition being between the main gods of Uruk residing in the inner cellas of the Eanna temple (*papāḫānu*) and the lesser gods residing in the independent sanctuaries (*ekurrātu*). The fact that the word *bītu* denoted mostly the *ekurrātu* in the *SWU* texts prevented the scribes from using it in reference to the *papāḫānu*. In other texts of the archive, however, the word *bītu* is sometimes encountered in reference to the main gods residing in the *papāḫānu*. In these cases the word *bītu* refers probably to the “temple within a temple,” the suite of rooms, storerooms, and chapels which made up the sanctuary of each major god in the Eanna temple, and which included the *papāḫu* “inner cella, inner sanctum” as its central feature.

The *ekurrātu* appear individually as *bītus* in the *SWU* texts in connection with the following deities: Marduk, Sîn, Nergal, Ninurta, Nusku, Adad, Anu, Aššur, Ea, Enlil, Lugalbanda, Lugalirra, Nabû, and Zababa. There is additional, independent evidence in other texts of the archive that some of these sanctuaries were indeed separate buildings located outside the Eanna temple. The evidence is discussed in the sections devoted to these gods in chapters 5 and 7.

As already mentioned only Marduk-of-the-Courtyard and Ninurta-of-the-Courtyard occur as *kisallu* deities in the *SWU* texts, both with their own chapel (*bītu*). The chapel

of Sîn-of-the-Courtyard is mentioned only in the 9th century kudurru of Ibni-Ištar, and there is a possibility that it no longer existed by the time of the Neo-Babylonian empire. Since no chapel of Gula-of-the-Courtyard is mentioned in the archive it is possible that she resided in the chapel of Ninurta-of-the-Courtyard.

Eight deities listed above do not fall within any of the three major groups recognized by the *SWU* texts (the *papāhānu*, *ekurrātu*, and *kisallu* deities), but are otherwise known to have possessed their own sanctuaries. These are Bēlet-Eanna and <sup>d</sup>IGI.DU of Udannu, Bēl-SA-našru, the Divine Chariot, Gula of Bīt-Gula, Amurru, <sup>d</sup>BE, and Ningišzida. The first two gods resided in temples located in the town of Udannu (the Eanna of Udannu and the *bīt* <sup>d</sup>IGI.DU). Bēl-SA-našru could be identical with <sup>d</sup>IGI.DU of Uruk, or be the consort of Gula of Bīt-Gula, or a completely separate god residing in his own temple with his consort Gula. The Divine Chariot may have had its own temple, although the evidence is inconclusive. The goddess Gula of Bīt-Gula is probably a different goddess from the one worshiped in Eanna, and she probably resided in a temple located in a town named Bīt-Gula. The temple of Amurru was located in a town of the Sealand province. The identity of <sup>d</sup>BE (Ea or Enlil, or alternatively both) is uncertain. Ningišzida is known only from an inscription of Merodach-Baladan II in which he claims to have restored the *bītu* of Ningišzida in the Eanna temple. All this evidence is discussed in the sections devoted to these deities.

Many other gods are mentioned in the Eanna archive without being associated with any specific cultic locale. In most cases these were minor deities worshiped in the Eanna temple. Gods residing in other cities are also occasionally mentioned in the archive, although their association with Uruk is often unclear, and probably coincidental in some cases. A synoptic table of all the gods mentioned in the archive and their residential locations is found in Appendix 1.

### 1.10. Prebends

The following prebends are attested in connection with Uruk deities:

*atūtu* (of *bīt-akīti*) “prebend of doorkeeper of the *bīt-akīti*” (Ištar)  
*ērib-bītūtu* “prebend of officiant admitted to the sanctuary” (Ištar, Kanisurra)  
*kalamāhūtu* (or *galmāhūtu*) “prebend of chief cultic singer” (the Goddesses)  
*mār-rē’ūt šizbi* “prebend of dairyman” (Ištar)  
*nuḫatimmūtu* “baker’s prebend” (Ištar, Nanaya, Bēltu-ša-Rēš, Ušur-amāssu, Kanisurra)  
*rab-banūtu* meaning uncertain (Ištar, Nanaya, Bēltu-ša-Rēš)  
*sarrārūtu* meaning uncertain (Ištar, Nanaya)  
*sirāšūtu* “brewer’s prebend” (Ištar, Nanaya, Bēltu-ša-Rēš, Ušur-amāssu)  
*šangūtu* “prebend of pontiff” (Nergal and Ereškigal)  
*ṭābiḫūtu* “meat carver’s prebend” (Ušur-amāssu, Urkayītu)

### 1.11. Cultic Personnel

The cultic functions associated with specific deities in the archive are:

*ērib-bīti* “officiant admitted to the sanctuary” (Ištar, Nanaya, Ušur-amāssu, Urkayītu, <sup>d</sup>IGI.DU, <sup>d</sup>IGI.DU of Udannu, Kanisurra)  
*kalū* “cultic singer” (Ištar, Nanaya)  
*kalamāḫū* (or *galmāḫū*) “chief cultic singer” (Ištar, the Goddesses)  
*kiništu/kinaltu* “collective priesthood (of lower rank)” (Ištar)  
*nuḫatimmu* “baker” (Ištar)  
*rab-banī* meaning uncertain (Aššur)  
*sirāšū* “brewer” (Ištar, Bēltu-ša-Rēš, Aššur)  
*šangū* “pontiff” (Ušur-amāssu, Nergal, Ninurta, Nusku, Anunītu, Amurru, Zababa)  
*šāpir širāšē* “overseer of the brewers” (Ištar)  
*ṭābiḫū* “meat carver” (Aššur)

### 1.12. Ceremonies

Disbursements of commodities for a number of religious ceremonies are mentioned in the archive. The following ceremonies are specifically connected with individual deities.

*ḫarū* a religious festival (Nabū)  
*kinūnu* a ritual involving the *kinūnu* stove (Ušur-amāssu, Gula, <sup>d</sup>IGI.DU, <sup>d</sup>IGI.DU and Bēlet-Eanna of Udannu; *LKU* 51 mentions the *kinūnu* of the Lady-of-Uruk, Ušur-amāssu, Urkayītu, and of “all the gods”)  
*lubuštu* “clothing ceremony” (see below § 1.12.1)  
*naptanu* “sacred meal” (Ištar, Nanaya, Bēltu-ša-Rēš, Ušur-amāssu, Urkayītu, Gula, <sup>d</sup>IGI.DU, <sup>d</sup>IGI.DU.MEŠ of Udannu, <sup>d</sup>BE)  
*nāḫtu* a ritual (Bēlet-balāṭi, Kurunnītu)  
*rikis lilissi* “preparation of the kettledrum” (Ninurta)  
*sarāqu* “flour sprinkling ritual”<sup>56</sup> (<sup>d</sup>IGI.DU)  
*šidītu* a ritual involving the journey of the deity<sup>57</sup> (Bēltu-ša-Rēš)  
*šalām bīti* “ritual of the greeting of the temple”<sup>58</sup> (Ušur-amāssu, <sup>d</sup>IGI.DU)  
*šukuttu* a ritual involving the jewelry of the deity (Ušur-amāssu and Urkayītu)  
*tardennu* “second sacred meal” (Ištar, Nanaya, Bēltu-ša-Rēš, Ušur-amāssu)  
*tebū* “(religious) procession” (Urkayītu)

Texts of the archive mention some religious ceremonies which are not connected with specific deities. The *SWU* texts frequently record expenditures of foodstuffs for the *bayātu* “night vigil,” the monthly *eššešu* festival, the *rikis lilissi* “preparation of the

<sup>56</sup> On the use of flour in connection with rituals see MILANO 1993–1997, p. 31.

<sup>57</sup> The word *šidītu* means “travel provisions,” and the *šidī* DN could therefore be a ceremony involving the equipment of the god and its retinue for a trip to another sanctuary or city.

<sup>58</sup> On this ceremony in Neo-Babylonian Sippar see BONGENAAR 1997, pp. 120–123.

kettledrum,” and the *šiditu* “divine journey.”<sup>59</sup> The *pīt bābāni* “opening of the gates,” the *eššešu* festival, the night vigil, and the clothing ceremony are mentioned in a large tablet which records allocations of sacrificial oxen over the entire year, YBC 3927: 1. GU<sub>4</sub> ŠU.DU<sub>7</sub>.ME *ša ina lib-bi* U<sub>4</sub>.ĒŠ.ĒŠ.ME *ba-a-a-ta-nu* 2. *pīt KÁ-a-nu lu-bu-še-e-ti* 3. *lūNA.GADA.ME i-nam-di-nu MU.NE* “Unblemished oxen which the herdsmen allocate for the *eššešu* festivals, the night vigils, the ceremonies of the opening of the gates, and the clothing ceremonies; itemized.” A number of ceremonies are described in the ritual LKU 51, edited in Appendix 2.

### 1.12.1. The Clothing Ceremony

The clothing ceremony is denoted by the word *lubuštu*. In some texts the word is spelled syllabically, while other texts use the logogram *lūNÍG.LÁM*, which has the readings *lamaḥuššú* and *lubūšu*. In these cases it is obvious that the logogram doesn’t refer to a specific garment or clothing allowance, but to the ritual clothing of the divine images and must therefore be read either *lubūšu*, or preferably *lubuštu*, and understood to mean “clothing ceremony.” It is difficult to assess the frequency of the clothing ceremony in the cultic calendar. Contemporary evidence from Sippar indicates that it occurred only six times a year,<sup>60</sup> but texts from Uruk suggest a more frequent ceremony than at Sippar. Mentions of the *lubuštu* in sources from Uruk are as follows (month in roman numerals—day in Arabic numerals):

#### 1. According to rituals.

LKU 51: V-1 (obv. 32); VII-8 (rev. 8).

#### 2. According to various archival texts, with no deity specified.

IV to VII, unspecified days; GCCI 1, 242: 2. *5 lu-bu-uš-še-e-ti* 3. TA ITI ŠU *a-di* ITI DU<sub>6</sub> “5 clothing ceremonies from the month Dūzu to the month Tašrītu.”

V-1, VI-1\*, VI-16, and VII-8; GCCI 1, 388: 4. *lūNÍG.LÁM ša ITI NE U<sub>4</sub> 1-KAM* “the clothing ceremony of the 1st day of the month Abu;” 7. *ša U<sub>4</sub> 1\*-KAM ša ITI KIN U<sub>4</sub> 16-KAM ša ITI KIN* 8. *ša 2-ta lūNÍG.LÁM.MEŠ* “for the first day of the month Ulūlu (and) the 16th day of the month Ulūlu, for two clothing ceremonies;” 11. *ša 2-ta lūNÍG.LÁM.MEŠ ša ITI KIN* “for the two clothing ceremonies of the month Ulūlu;” 15. *lūNÍG.LÁM ša ITI DU<sub>6</sub> U<sub>4</sub> 8-KAM* “the clothing ceremony of the 8th day of the month Tašrītu.”

VI, unspecified days; YBC 9486: 2. *ša 2 lūNÍG.LÁM.MEŠ ša ITI KIN* “the two clothing ceremonies of the month Ulūlu.”

VI-1 and VI-16; NCBT 91: 3. *lu-bu-uš-tu<sub>4</sub> ša ITI KIN* 4. U<sub>4</sub> 1-KAM U<sub>4</sub> 16-KAM “the clothing ceremonies of the 1st and 16th days of the month Ulūlu.”

II-14 and XII-1; YBC 3927: 4. 3 GU<sub>4</sub> NÍNDA.ME KÙ.ME U<sub>4</sub> 1-KAM *ša ITI ŠE lūNÍG.LÁM*; 24. 4 (GU<sub>4</sub>) U<sub>4</sub> 14-KAM *ša ITI GU<sub>4</sub> lūNÍG.LÁM* “3 unblemished calves for the clothing ceremony of the 1st day of the month Addaru; 4 oxen for the clothing ceremony of the 14th day of the month Ayaru.”

<sup>59</sup> FREYDANK 1971, pp. 148–153, q.v.

<sup>60</sup> BONGENAAR 1997, pp. 305–307. On the *lubuštu* ceremony at Sippar see also MATSUSHIMA 1994.

V-1, VI, VII, IX, and XII; NBC 4674: 4. 5!(4) *lūglu-<sup>r</sup>bu-še<sup>1</sup>-e-ti* 5. *ša ITI NE U<sub>4</sub> 1-KAM ša ITI KIN ITI DU<sub>6</sub> ITI GAN* 6. *ù ITI ŠE* “5! clothing ceremonies, namely those of the 1st day of the month Abu, of the month Ulūlu, of the month Tašrītu, of the month Kislīmu, and of the month Addaru.”

#### 3. According to various archival texts, with deity specified. The texts are fully quoted in the sections devoted to individual deities.

Ištar: probably II-14 (YBC 9510: 5–6); probably V-1 (PTS 3257: 11); VIII-6 (NBC 4769: 5); IX-6 (PTS 2783: 1–6).

Nanaya: probably V-1 (PTS 3257: 11); probably VII-8 (YOS 17, 305: 5–6); VIII-6 (NBC 4769: 5); IX-6 (PTS 2783: 1–6).

Bēltu-ša-Rēš: IX-6 (PTS 2783: 1–6).

Ušur-amāssu: IX-3 (PTS 2783: 3–4).

Urkayītu: VI (day unspecified: YBC 9486: 3); VI-1 and VI-16 (BIN 1, 152: 19–20); IX-3 (PTS 2783: 3–4); XI-26 (NCBT 1132: rev. 9’).

Gula: VI (day unspecified: YBC 9486: 4); VIII-24 (NCBT 1132: rev. 4’–5’); VIII-25 (NBC 4769: 3–4); probably XII-1 (NCBT 1132: rev. 14’).

†IGI.DU: II-8 (NCBT 1132: obv. 4–5); IV-17 (NCBT 1132: obv. 10); VI (day unspecified: YBC 9486: 4); IX-28 (NCBT 1132: rev. 7’; and NCBT 1233: 14–17); XI-26 (NCBT 1132: rev. 11’–12’).

Dumuzi: probably V-1 (PTS 3257: 11).

The evidence is plotted on Table 4. Clothing ceremonies which took place during a specified month but unknown days are marked with (x). Dates between parentheses can be deduced with certainty from the texts, only falling short of clearly stating that the allocations of garments are for the clothing ceremony of a particular deity on a specified date.

Table 4. Calendar of the Clothing Ceremony

Month	I	II	III	IV	V	VI	VII	VIII	IX	X	XI	XII
LKU 51					1		8					
Unspecified		14			1	x, 1, 16	x, 8		x			x, 1
Ištar		(14)			(1)			6	6			
Nanaya					(1)		(8)	6	6			
Bēltu-ša-Rēš									6			
Ušur-amāssu									3			
Urkayītu						x, 1, 16			3		26	
Gula						x		24, 25				(1)
†IGI.DU		8		17		x			28		26	
Dumuzi					(1)							

As mentioned earlier a large number of texts recording administrative operations on jewelry and garments for the gods can be correlated with these dates (§ 1.6; § 1.7.1; § 1.7.2). They often provide a more complete picture of the clothing ceremonies than that obtained from the texts listed above, showing that many of the *lubuštu* dates involved

all the prominent deities worshiped in the Eanna temple, not just one or two of them. This data can be synthesized as follows. First the month and day of each known clothing ceremony are listed, then between parentheses the deities specifically involved in these ceremonies, and finally the correlations proposed earlier with administrative operations on sacred jewelry and garments, which often included additional deities not mentioned in the *lubuštu* texts.

II-8 (dIGI.DU): garments for Urkayītu, the Goddesses, and dIGI.DU.

II-14 (unspecified gods, Ištar): garments for Ištar; jewelry for Ušur-amāssu; decorated garments for Ištar and Nanaya.

IV-17 (dIGI.DU).

V-1 (unspecified gods, Ištar, Nanaya, Dumuzi): garments for Ištar, Nanaya, Bēltu-ša-Rēš, Ušur-amāssu, Dumuzi; garments for the *bīt-ḫilši* of Urkayītu and the *bīt-ḫilši* of Nabû and Nanaya on day 2; jewelry for Nanaya; jewelry of Ušur-amāssu for Dumuzi on IV-29; decorated garments for Nanaya and unspecified deities (probably Ištar and/or Bēltu-ša-Rēš).

VI-1 (unspecified gods, Urkayītu; +Gula and dIGI.DU in same month): decorated garments for Ištar and Nanaya.

VI-16 (unspecified gods, Urkayītu; +Gula and dIGI.DU in same month): garments for Ištar, Nanaya, Bēltu-ša-Rēš, Ušur-amāssu, Gula.

VII-8 (unspecified gods, Nanaya): garments for Ištar, Nanaya, Bēltu-ša-Rēš, Ušur-amāssu, Gula, the *bīt-ḫilši*.

VIII-6 (Ištar, Nanaya).

VIII-24/25 (Gula).

IX-3 (Ušur-amāssu, Urkayītu): garments for Ištar, Nanaya, Bēltu-ša-Rēš, Ušur-amāssu, Urkayītu, the Goddesses, Gula, dIGI.DU, for the month Kislīmu.

IX-6 (Ištar, Nanaya, Bēltu-ša-Rēš): garments for Ištar, Nanaya, Bēltu-ša-Rēš, Ušur-amāssu, Urkayītu, the Goddesses, Gula, and dIGI.DU, for the month Kislīmu; garments for the Divine *Urdimmus* on day 6.

IX-28 (dIGI.DU): garments for dIGI.DU.

XI-26 (Urkayītu, dIGI.DU): garments for Ištar, Nanaya, Bēltu-ša-Rēš, Ušur-amāssu, Urkayītu, Gula, dIGI.DU, Aḫlamayītu, the Goddesses, the Divine *Urigallu* Standard of Ištar, the Divine *Urigallu* Standard of Ušur-amāssu, the Divine *Urdimmus*, the Divine Staff (*Ḫuṭāru*), and dIGI.DU of Udannu; decorated garments for Ištar, Nanaya, and Bēltu-ša-Rēš.

XII-1 (unspecified gods, Gula): garments for Ištar, Nanaya, Bēltu-ša-Rēš, and the Divine *Urdimmus*; decorated garments for Ištar and Nanaya.

The general picture which emerges from our sources is that some of these clothing ceremonies may have involved only one or two gods, while others applied “across the board.” An example of the “one god” ceremony is the *lubuštu* of dIGI.DU of the 28th day of Kislīmu, which is documented by no less than five texts: two of them record allocations of sesame oil and sacrificial sheep for the *lubuštu* ceremony of dIGI.DU on that day (NCBT 1132 and 1233), while the other three record administrative operations involving the sacred vestments of dIGI.DU on that same day or on the preceding and following days (GCC1 2, 105; UCP 9/2, 31; and YOS 19, 277). By contrast, no source

hints at the existence of ceremonies involving any other god on this particular cultic date. At the other end of the spectrum we have the clothing ceremony of the 26th day of Šabātu, which involved not only all the major deities worshiped in the Eanna temple but also a number of minor numinous beings such as the Divine *Urigallu* Standard of Ištar and the Divine *Urdimmus* guarding the gates of the Eanna temple. In Neo-Babylonian Sippar the same contrast can be observed between “general” clothing ceremonies and specific ones involving a single deity.<sup>61</sup>

Comparison with the Sippar material shows that the *lubuštu* dates there rarely coincided with those of Uruk. This is suggestive of the strength of local, very old cultic traditions. It must be emphasized that *lubuštu* dates at Uruk tend to coincide with the phases of the moon, although obviously not all phases of the moon throughout the year were the occasion of a *lubuštu*. The importance of lunar phases for the cultic calendar, and for the *lubuštu* in particular, is demonstrated by the letter NCBT 58, which indicates that the date of the clothing ceremony could be moved one day earlier to readjust it with a calendar that probably fell out of synchronization with lunar phases because of errors in the determination of the beginning of the month.<sup>62</sup>

<sup>61</sup> BONGENAAR 1997, p. 307, for the “extra” clothing ceremony of Anunītu on the 15th day of the month Dūzu.

<sup>62</sup> Published and discussed in BEAULIEU 1993c, pp. 77–78.



## 2. THE OFFERING LISTS

Offering lists from the Eanna archive fall into two broad types: 1. lists of sacrificial animals; 2. lists of deliveries of unprocessed foodstuffs, such as barley and dates, to the prebend holders or their deputies in connection with their duties before various deities.

### 2.1. The Lists of Sacrificial Animals: Group A

The Neo-Babylonian archive of the Ebabbar temple of Sippar contains a large number of offering lists detailing the number of sacrificial animals to which each deity was entitled on a given day. The first section of this chapter is devoted to a study of 12 similar lists from Uruk, all previously unpublished. These lists share formal characteristics which set them apart from the other offering lists of the Eanna archive. They are therefore designated here as Group A. Each list is introduced by the word *parāsu*, which is a substantivized infinitive of the root PRS in the meaning “to select, to set apart.” It refers to the ritual inspection of animals brought to the temple to be sacrificed. The purpose of these inspections was to ensure that the animals in question were ritually fit, that is to say, without any bodily defects or other marks or characteristics that would make them unacceptable to the gods.

Each text lists the respective number of sacrificial animals offered to various deities of Uruk and neighboring communities on one particular day. As many as 5 different animals can be included in one text (NBC 4801; YBC 9135), but the accounting may also be limited to one animal only (YBC 9238). The optimal list usually contains oxen, sheep, birds, lambs, and turtledoves. PTS 2942 and NCBT 670 depart slightly from this terminology, listing ducks and lambs. PTS 3210 lists geese and ducks, allocating only one of either bird to each deity. Thus it is probable that the general category “birds” in the other lists includes both geese and ducks, but not turtledoves, which make up the 5th category.

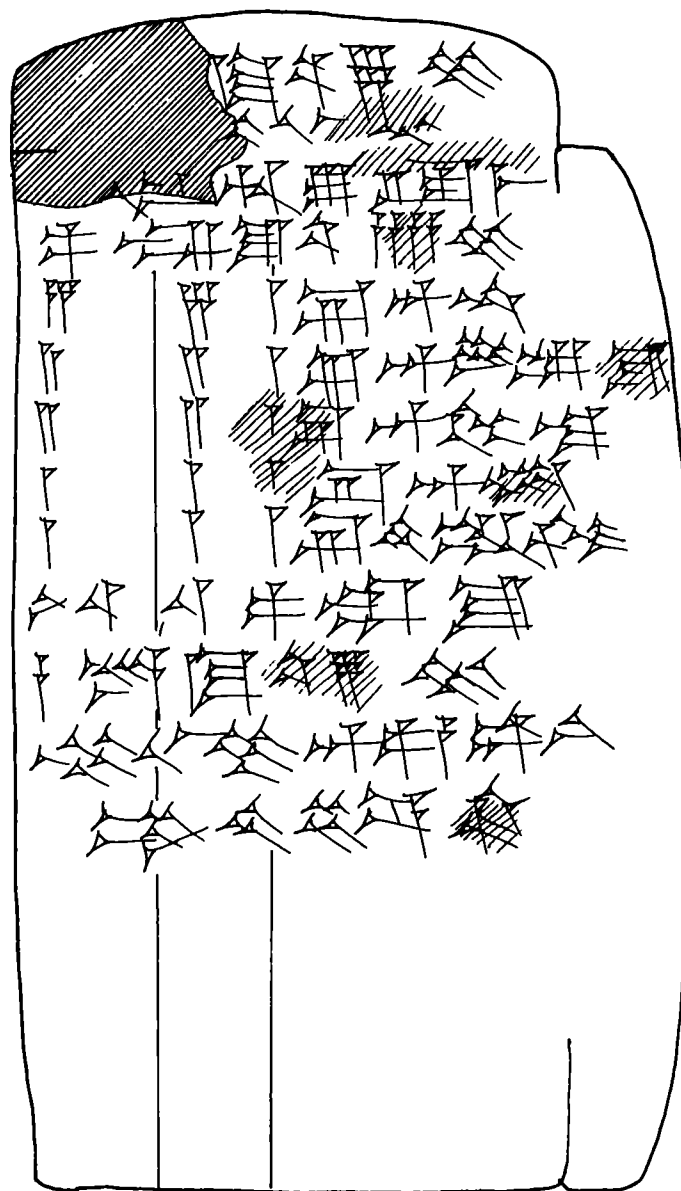


Plate 2. PTS 2942

PTS 2942 (plate 2)

1. [ITI] DU<sub>6</sub> U<sub>4</sub> 8-KAM
  2. [M]U 11-K[AM]
  3. [UZ.TU]R<sup>mušen</sup> UDU SILA<sub>4</sub>.ME
  4. *pa-ra-su* U<sub>4</sub> 8-KAM
  5. 5 5 *ana É.AN.NA*
  6. 2 2 *ana É ðÛRI-INIM-su*
  7. 2 2 *ana É ðgu-la*
  8. 1 1 *ana É ðAMAR.UD*
  9. 1 1 *ana É ði-il-šu*
  10. PAP 11 11 *pa-ra-su*
  11. *ša* ITI DU<sub>6</sub> U<sub>4</sub> 8-KAM
  12. MU 11-KAM ðPA-NÍG.DU-PAP
  13. LUGAL TIN.TIR<sup>ki</sup>
- 
1. [Month] Tašrītu, 8th day,
  2. 11th [ye]ar.
  3. [Du]cks, lambs,
  4. selection of the 8th day:
  5. 5 5 for Eanna
  6. 2 2 for the temple of Ušur-amāssu
  7. 2 2 for the temple of Gula
  8. 1 1 for the temple of Marduk
  9. 1 1 for the *bīt-ḫilši*
  10. Total: 11, 11, selection
  11. of the month Tašrītu, 8th day,
  12. 11th year of Nebuchadnezzar,
  13. king of Babylon.

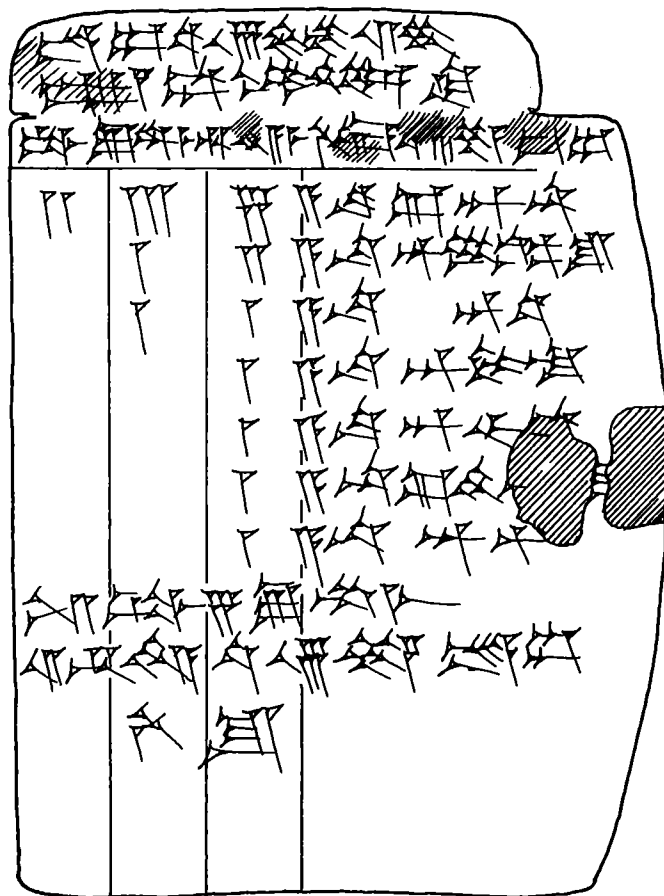


Plate 3. PTS 3242

## PTS 3242 (plate 3)

1. ITI AB U<sub>4</sub> 16-KAM MU 12-KAM
2. <sup>a</sup>NA-NÍG.DU-PAP LUGAL TIN.TIR<sup>ki</sup>
3. GU<sub>4</sub>.ME UDU.NÍTA.ME MUŠEN.ĤÁ.ME KUD-as šá 'U<sub>4</sub> 16'-KAM šá 'ITI' AB

4. 2 3 5 a-na É.AN.NA
5. 1 2 a-na <sup>a</sup>ŪRI-INIM-su
6. 1 1 a-na <sup>a</sup>UTU
7. 1 a-na <sup>a</sup>gu-la
8. 1 a-na <sup>a</sup>IGI.'DU'
9. 1 a-na É ĥi-'il-šu'
10. 1 a-na <sup>a</sup>MAŠ
11. PAP 2 GU<sub>4</sub>.ME 5 UDU.NÍTA.ME
12. 12 MUŠEN.ĤÁ U<sub>4</sub> 16-KAM šá ITI AB
13. TAR-su

1. Month Ṭebētu, 16th day, 12th year
2. of Nebuchadnezzar, king of Babylon.
3. Oxen, sheep, birds, selection of the 16th day of the month Ṭebētu.

4. 2 3 5 for Eanna
5. 1 2 for Ušur-amāssu
6. 1 1 for Šamaš
7. 1 for Gula
8. 1 for <sup>a</sup>IGI.DU
9. 1 for the bīt-ĥilši
10. 1 for Ninurta
11. Total: 2 oxen, 5 sheep,
12. 12 birds, (which on) the 16th day of the month Ṭebētu,
13. were selected.

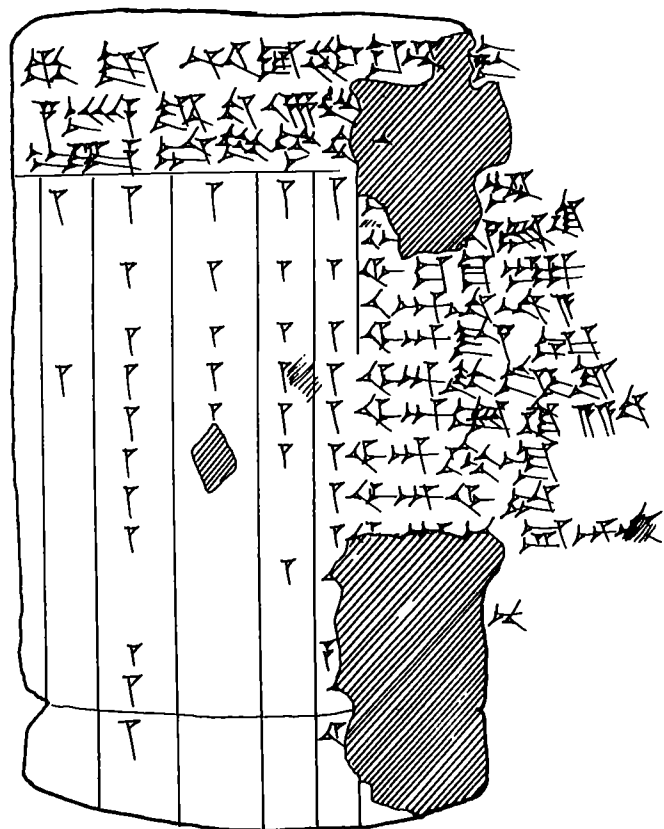


Plate 4. YBC 9135 (obverse)

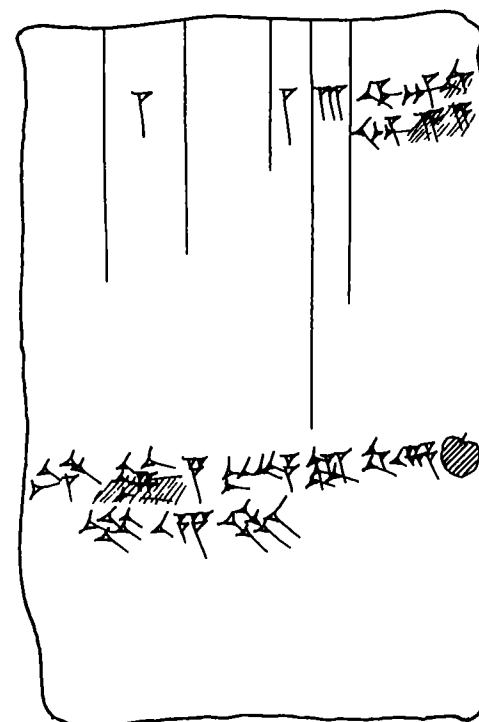


Plate 5. YBC 9135 (reverse)

## YBC 9135 (plate 4, 5)

1. GU<sub>4</sub> UDU MUŠEN SILA<sub>4</sub> TU.KUR<sub>4</sub>mušen [KUD-a]<sub>s</sub>
2. šá ITI KIN U<sub>4</sub> 16-KAM [MU 15-KAM]
3. <sup>d</sup>NA-NÍG.DU-ŪRI LUGAL TIN.[TIR<sup>ki</sup>]

- |     |   |   |     |   |   |  |
|-----|---|---|-----|---|---|--|
| 4.  | 1   | 1 | 1   | 1 | 1 | I[GI <sup>gi</sup> TUKUL] <sup>d</sup> EN    |
| 5.  |   |   |     |   |   | u <sup>d</sup> [GAŠA]N šá UNUG <sup>ki</sup> |
| 6.  |   | 1 | 1   | 1 | 1 | IGI <sup>gi</sup> TUKUL <sup>d</sup> NA      |
| 7.  |   |   |     |   |   | u <sup>d</sup> na-na-a                       |
| 8.  |   | 1 | 1   | 1 | 1 | IGI <sup>d</sup> GAŠAN šá SAG                |
| 9.  | 1   | 1 | 1   | 1 | 1 | IGI <sup>d</sup> ŪRI-INIM-su                 |
| 10. |   | 1 | 1   | 1 | 1 | IGI <sup>d</sup> UNUG <sup>ki</sup> -a-a-lú  |
| 11. |   | 1 | [o] | 1 | 1 | IGI <sup>d</sup> gu-la                       |
| 12. |   | 1 |     |   | 1 | IGI <sup>d</sup> IGI.DU                      |
| 13. |   | 1 |     |   | 1 | <sup>d</sup> IGI <sup>d</sup> GAŠAN' É.AN.NA |
| 14. |   |   |     | 1 |   | u [ <sup>d</sup> IGI.DU]                     |
| 15. |   | 1 |     |   |   | šá [ <sup>nu</sup> ú-dan]-nu                 |
| 16. |   | 1 |     |   |   | I[GI o o o]                                  |
| 17. |   | 1 |     |   |   | IG[I o o o]                                  |
| 18. |   | 1 |     | 1 | 3 | IGI <sup>d</sup> UTU'                        |
| 19. |   |   |     |   |   | u <sup>d</sup> r-a-a'                        |
| 20. | PAP KUD-as šá ITI KIN U <sub>4</sub> 16-[KA]M |   |     |   |   |  |
| 21. | MU 15-KAM                                     |   |     |   |   |  |

1. Oxen, sheep, birds, lambs, turtledoves; [selecti]on
2. of the month Ulūlu, 16th day, [15th year]
3. of Nebuchadnezzar, king of Baby[lon]

- |     |  |   |     |   |   |                                 |
|-----|--|---|-----|---|---|---------------------------------|
| 4.  | 1  | 1 | 1   | 1 | 1 | be[fore the symbol of] Bēl      |
| 5.  |  |   |     |   |   | and (before) the [Lad]y-of-Uruk |
| 6.  |  | 1 | 1   | 1 | 1 | before the symbol of Nabû       |
| 7.  |  |   |     |   |   | and (before) Nanaya             |
| 8.  |  | 1 | 1   | 1 | 1 | before Bēltu-ša-Rēš             |
| 9.  | 1  | 1 | 1   | 1 | 1 | before Ušur-amāssu              |
| 10. |  | 1 | 1   | 1 | 1 | before Urkayītu                 |
| 11. |  | 1 | [o] | 1 | 1 | before Gula                     |
| 12. |  | 1 |     |   | 1 | before <sup>d</sup> IGI.DU      |
| 13. |  | 1 |     |   | 1 | before Bēlet Eanna              |
| 14. |  |   |     | 1 |   | and [ <sup>d</sup> IGI.DU]      |
| 15. |  | 1 |     |   |   | of [Udan]nu                     |
| 16. |  | 1 |     |   |   | be[fore o o o]                  |
| 17. |  | 1 |     |   |   | be[fo]re o o o]                 |
| 18. |  | 1 |     | 1 | 3 | before Šamaš                    |
| 19. |  |   |     |   |   | and Aya                         |
| 20. | Total: selection of the month Ulūlu, 16th day, |   |     |   |   |                                 |
| 21. | 15th year.                                     |   |     |   |   |                                 |

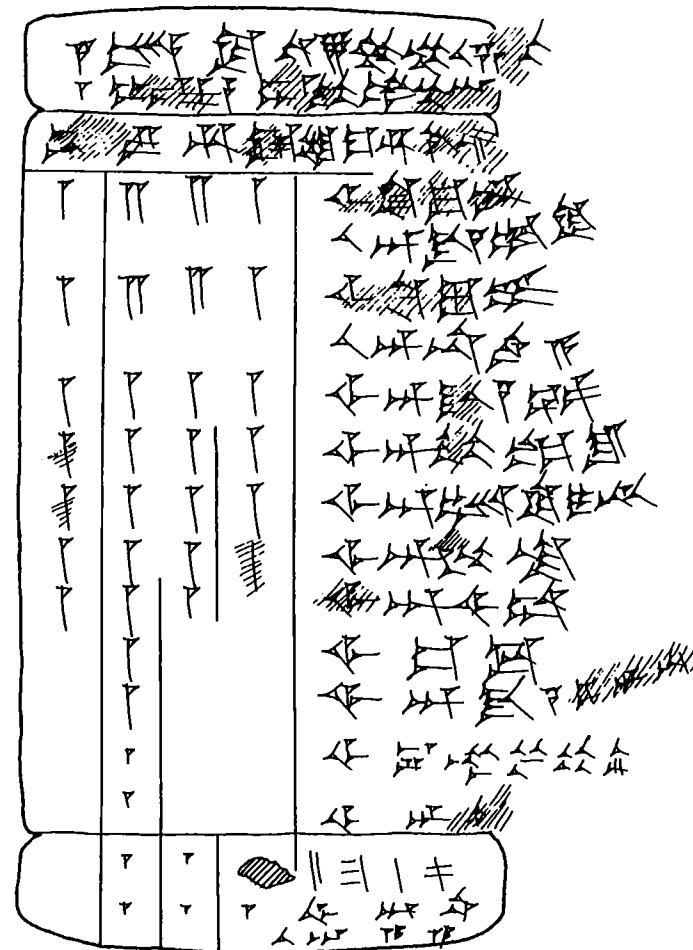


Plate 6. NCBT 862 (obverse)

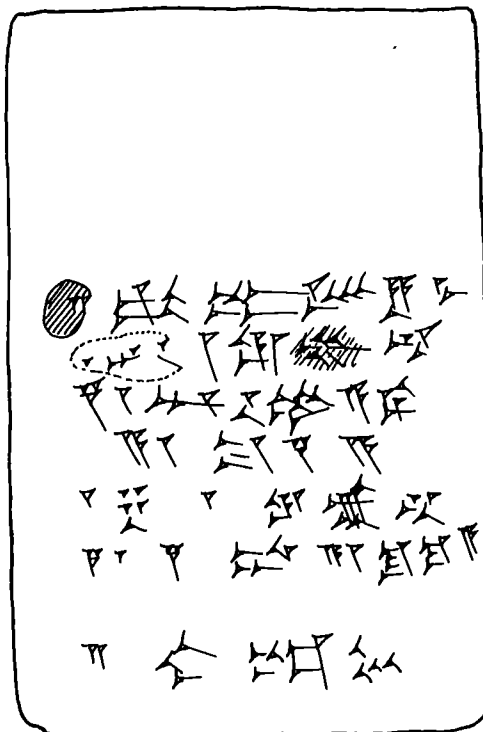


Plate 7. NCBT 862 (reverse)

## NCBT 862 (plate 6, 7)

1. 'GU<sub>4</sub> UDU'.NÍTA! SILA<sub>4</sub> TU.KUR<sub>4</sub>mušen KUD-'as'
2. šá ITI DU<sub>6</sub> U<sub>4</sub> 8-KAM MU '15-KAM'
3. <sup>u</sup>NÀ-NÍG.'DU-ÛRI' LUGAL TIN.'TIR'<sup>(ki)</sup>

4.	1	2	2	1	IGI KI.'TUŠ 'EN'
5.					<sup>u</sup> GAŠAN šá UNUG <sup>ki</sup>
6.	1	2	2	1	IGI 'KI'.TUŠ 'NÀ
7.					<sup>u</sup> na-na-a
8.	1	1	1	1	IGI d'GAŠAN' šá SAG
9.	1	1	1	1	IGI d'ÛRI'-INIM-su
10.	1	1	1	1	IGI d'UNUG <sup>ki</sup> -i-ti
11.	1	1	1	'1'	IGI d'gu'-la
12.	1	1	1		'IGI' d'IGI.DU
13.	1				IGI g <sup>is</sup> GIGIR
14.	1				IGI d'GAŠAN šá 'É.AN.NA'
15.	1				IGI É 'x x x x'
16.	1				IGI d'x'

17. 1 1 'x x x x'
18. 1 1 1 IGI d'UTU
19. <sup>u</sup>a-a
20. '2' GU<sub>4</sub> NÍNDA.MEŠ KÙ.ME
21. ana ru-uš-šu
22. šá <sup>u</sup>ŠÚ-LUGAL-a-ni
23. A 'BA-šá-a
24. 1 KÙ ana ru-uš-šu
25. šá 'NÍG.DU A 'šu-ma-a
26. 2 ÁB 'x x'

1. Oxen, sheep, lambs, turtledoves; selection
2. of the month Tašritu, 8th day, 15th year
3. of Nebuchadnezzar, king of Babylon.

4. 1 2 2 1 before the altar of Bēl
5. and (before) the Lady-of-Uruk
6. 1 2 2 1 before the altar of Nabû,
7. and (before) Nanaya
8. 1 1 1 1 before Bēltu-ša-Rēš
9. 1 1 1 1 before Ušur-amāssu
10. 1 1 1 1 before Urkayītu
11. 1 1 1 '1' before Gula
12. 1 1 1 before d'IGI.DU
13. 1 before the (Divine) Chariot
14. 1 before Bēltu-ša-Eanna
15. 1 before the temple of 'x x x x'
16. 1 before 'x'
17. 1 1 'x x x x'
18. 1 1 1 before Šamaš
19. and Aya
20. 2 unblemished calves,
21. for insemination,
22. for Marduk-šarrani,
23. son of Iqīša;
24. 1 unblemished (calf), for insemination,
25. for Kudurru, son of Šumā;
26. 2 cows 'x x'.

<sup>1</sup> The reading of these signs is uncertain, mainly because the reverse of the tablet seems to have been partly erased in Antiquity.

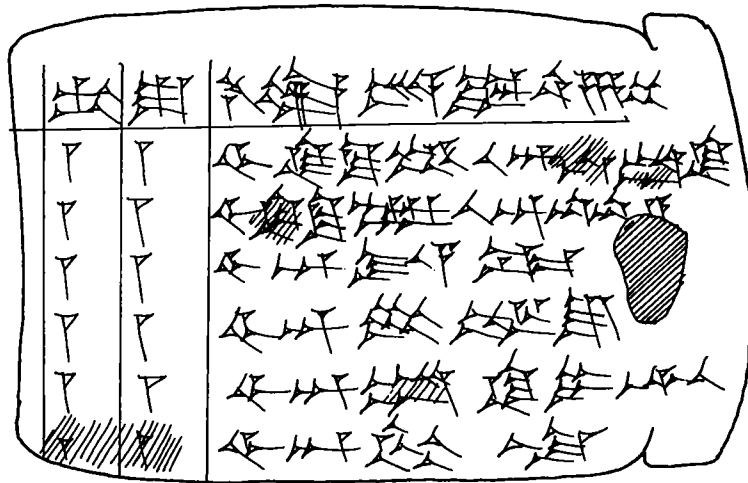


Plate 8. PTS 3003 (obverse)

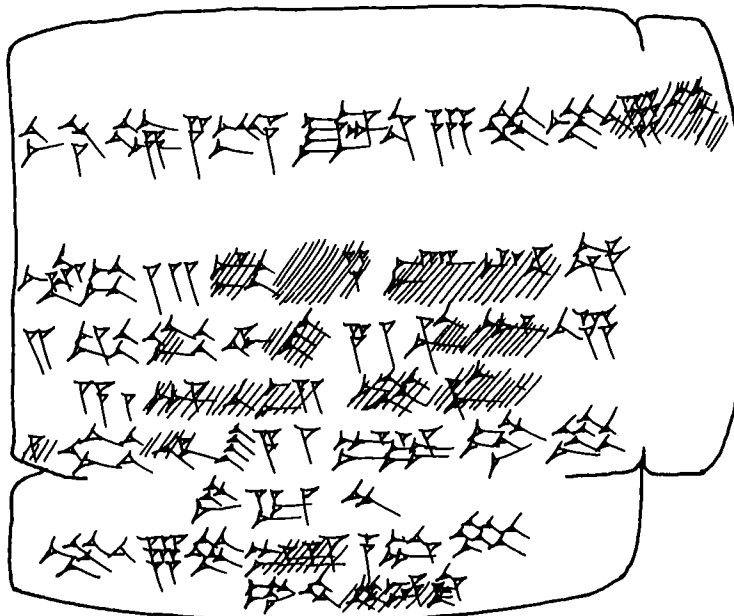


Plate 9. PTS 3003 (reverse)

## PTS 3003 (plate 8, 9)

1. GU<sub>4</sub> UDU KUD-as šá ITI BĀRA U<sub>4</sub> 6-KAM

2. 1 1 IGI KI.TUŠ<sup>d</sup>EN u<sup>d</sup>GAŠAN šá<sup>1</sup> UNUG<sup>ki</sup>
3. 1 1 IGI KI.TUŠ<sup>d</sup>NĀ u<sup>d</sup>na-na-a
4. 1 1 IGI<sup>d</sup>GAŠAN šá SAG
5. 1 1 IGI<sup>d</sup>ŪRI-INIM-su
6. 1 1 IGI<sup>d</sup>UNUG<sup>ki</sup>-i-ti
7. 1 1 IGI<sup>d</sup>gu-la
8. PAP KUD-as šá ITI BĀRA U<sub>4</sub> 6-KAM MU 18-KAM
9. ina lib-bi 3 GU<sub>4</sub> šá ū-re-e
10. 2 GU<sub>4</sub> AMAR šī-zib šá<sup>1</sup>DŪ-d15
11. A<sup>1</sup>U.GUR-MU-DŪ<sup>1</sup>
12. 1 AMAR šī-zib šá<sup>1</sup>NĀ-LUGAL-ŪRI
13. <sup>1</sup>taš-liš
14. MU 18-KAM<sup>d</sup>NĀ-NĪG.DU-ŪRI
15. LUGAL TIN.TIR<sup>ki</sup>

## 1. Oxen, sheep, selection of the month Nisannu, 6th day.

2. 1 1 before the altar of Bēl, and the Lady-of-Uruk
3. 1 1 before the altar of Nabû, and Nanaya
4. 1 1 before Bēltu-ša-Rēš
5. 1 1 before Ušur-amāssu
6. 1 1 before Urkayītu
7. 1 1 before Gula
8. Total selection of the month Nisannu, 6th day, 18th year,
9. including 3 oxen from the stables,
10. 2 male suckling calves belonging to Ibni-Ištar,
11. son of Nergal-šum-ibni,
12. 1 suckling calf belonging to Nabû-šar-ušur,
13. the "third man."
14. 18th year of Nebuchadnezzar,
15. king of Babylon.

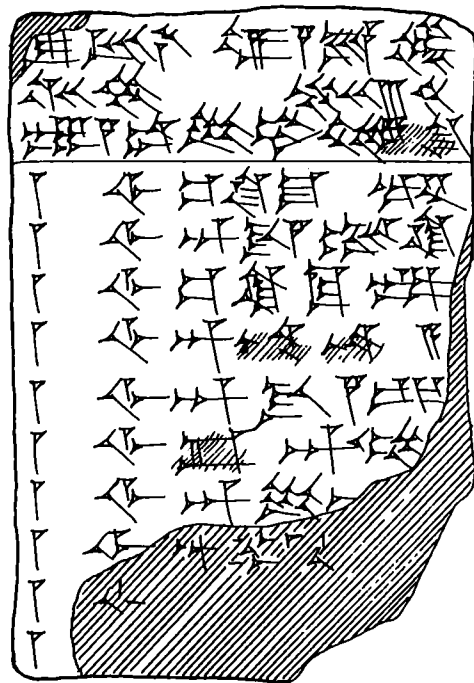


Plate 10. YBC 9238 (obverse)

## YBC 9238 (plate 10, 11)

1. 'SILA<sub>4</sub>'.MEŠ KUD-as šá ITI SIG<sub>4</sub>
2. U<sub>4</sub> 20-KAM MU 23-KAM
3. dNĀ-NĪG.DU-ŪRI LUGAL TIN.'TIR<sup>ki</sup>

- 
4. 1 IGI g<sup>is</sup>KI.TUŠ dEN
  5. 1 IGI dGAŠAN šá UNUG<sup>ki</sup>
  6. 1 IGI g<sup>is</sup>KI.TUŠ dNĀ
  7. 1 IGI d<sup>r</sup>na<sup>1</sup>-na-a
  8. 1 IGI dGAŠAN šá SAG
  9. 1 IGI 'É' dAMAR.U[D]
  10. 1 IGI dŪRI-I[NIM-su]
  11. 1 IGI dUNUG<sup>ki</sup>[-i-ti]
  12. 1 'IGI' [o o o]
  13. 1 [o o o o o]
  14. 1 [o o o o o]
  15. 1 IGI d<sup>r</sup>[o o o o]
  16. 1 IGI d<sup>r</sup>[o o o o o]
  17. 1 IGI É hi-'il'[-šu]
  18. PAP 14 UDU.'SILA<sub>4</sub>'.MEŠ KUD-as
  19. šá ITI SIG<sub>4</sub> U<sub>4</sub> 20-KAM

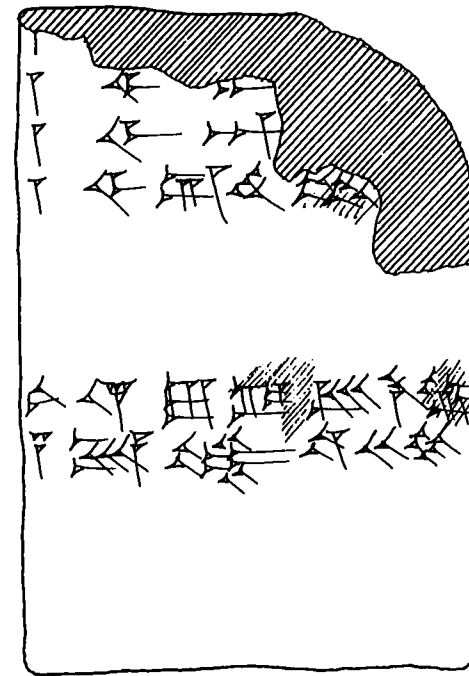


Plate 11. YBC 9238 (reverse)

1. Lambs, selection of the month Simānu,
2. 20th day, 23rd year
3. of Nebuchadnezzar, king of Babylon

- 
4. 1 before the altar of Bēl
  5. 1 before the Lady-of-Uruk
  6. 1 before the altar of Nabû
  7. 1 before Nanaya
  8. 1 before Bēltu-ša-Rēš
  9. 1 before the temple of Mard[uk]
  10. 1 before Ušur-a[māssu]
  11. 1 before Urkay[ītu]
  12. 1 before [o o o]
  13. 1 [o o o o o]
  14. 1 [o o o o o]
  15. 1 before [o o o o]
  16. 1 before [o o o o o]
  17. 1 before the bīl-hil[šī]
  18. Total: 14 lambs, selection
  19. of the month Simānu, 20th day.



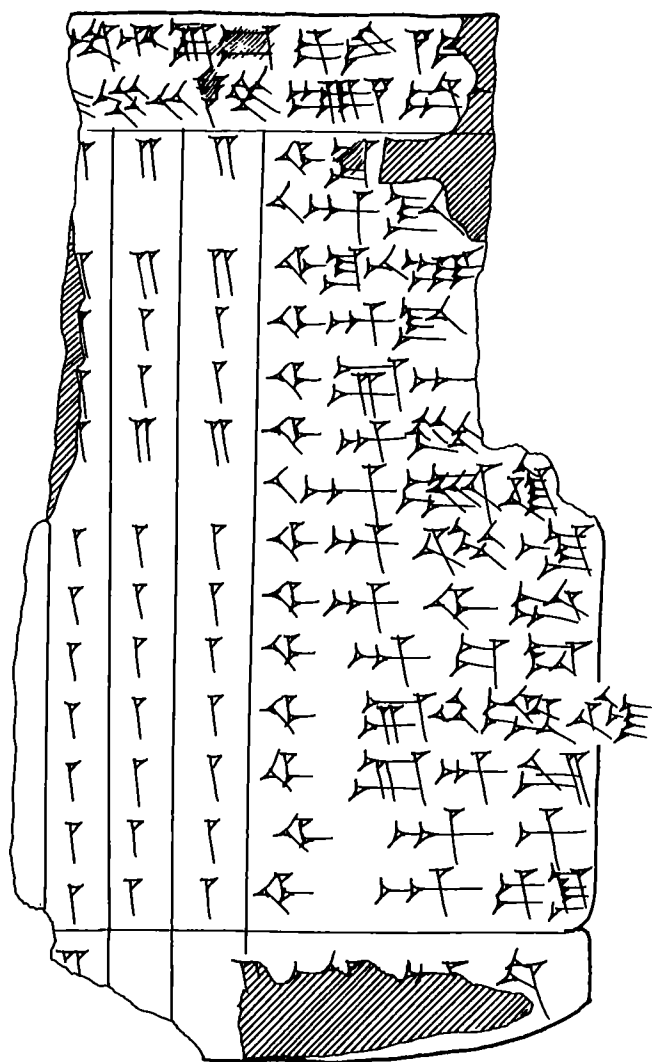


Plate 12. NCBT 1213 (obverse)

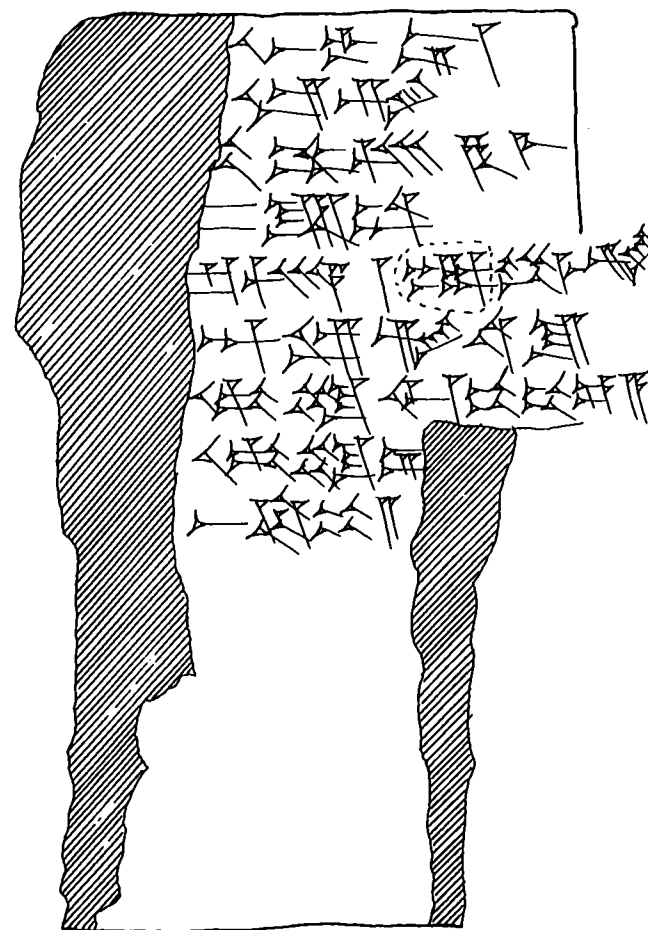


Plate 13. NCBT 1213 (reverse)

## NCBT 1213 (plate 12, 13)

1. [GU<sub>4</sub>.ME UDU].NÍTA MUŠEN UDU.ŠILA<sub>4</sub> pa-ras šá I[TI o]
2. [U<sub>4</sub> x-KA]M MU 27-KAM dNÀ-NÍG.DU-[ÛRI o o o o]

3. [o] '1' 2 2 IGI šu-[bat dEN]  
u dGAŠAN [šá UNUG<sup>ki</sup>]
- 4.
5. [o] '1' 2 2 IGI šu-bat dNÀ [u dna-na-a]
6. [o] '1' 1 1 IGI dGAŠAN [šá SAG]
7. [o] '1' 1 1 IGI É 'a'[AMAR.UD]
8. [o] '1' 2 2 IGI dÛRI-[INIM-su]  
u dUNUG<sup>ki</sup>-[i-ti]
- 9.
10. [o] 1 1 1 IGI dgu-la
11. [o] 1 1 1 IGI dIGI.DU

## 2. The Offering Lists

12. [o] 1 1 1 IGI d<sup>gi</sup>IGIR
13. [o] 1 1 1 IGI É <sup>hi</sup>-il-<sup>šu</sup>
14. [o] 1 1 1 IGI É d<sup>U</sup>.GUR
15. [o] 1 1 1 IGI d<sup>MAŠ</sup>
16. [o] 1 1 1 IGI d<sup>NUSKU</sup>
17. [o] '2' 'a-na d<sup>UTU</sup>
18. [o o o o] 'x' ina pi-qid
19. [šá ina pa-ni <sup>la</sup>]U.GUR-GI
20. [o o o o] G]U<sub>4</sub>.NÍNDA.MEŠ KÙ.ME
21. [o o o o] 'x' šen-du
22. [o o o UDU? SI]LA<sub>4</sub>? MEŠ šá <sup>la</sup>NÁ-ŠEŠ.ME-GI
23. [o o o o] d<sup>U</sup>.GUR-GI par-su
24. [o o o o] ul-tu IGI <sup>bi</sup>-bé-e-a
25. [o o o o] ul-tu 'É' [o o o]
26. [o o o o] ina lib-bi 2 [o o o]

1. [Oxen, sh]eep, birds, lambs; selection of the m[onth o]
2. [xth day], 27th year of Nebuchadne[zzar, king of Babylon]

3. [o] '1' 2 2 before the al[tar of Bēl]
4. and (before) the Lady-[of-Uruk]
5. [o] '1' 2 2 before the altar of Nabû [and (before) Nanaya]
6. [o] '1' 1 1 before Bēltu-[ša-Rēš]
7. [o] '1' 1 1 before the temple of [Marduk]
8. [o] '1' 2 2 before Ušur-amāssu
9. and Urkay[ītu]
10. [o] 1 1 1 before Gula
11. [o] 1 1 1 before d<sup>IGI</sup>.DU
12. [o] 1 1 1 before the Divine Chariot
13. [o] 1 1 1 before the bīt-<sup>hi</sup>l<sup>ši</sup>
14. [o] 1 1 1 before the temple of Nergal
15. [o] 1 1 1 before Ninurta
16. [o] 1 1 1 before Nusku
17. [o] '2' to Šamaš
18. [o o o o] 'x' from the commission
19. [which is at the disposal of] Nergal-ušallim,
20. [o o o o] unblemished calves,
21. [o o o o] 'x' branded,
22. [o o o la]mbs(?) belonging to Nabû-ab<sup>h</sup>ē-ušallim,
23. [o o o o] Nergal-ušallim, selected,
24. [o o o o] from before Bibeā,
25. [o o o o] from the house of [o o o]
26. [o o o o] from it, 2 [o o o]

## 2.1. The Lists of Sacrificial Animals: Group A

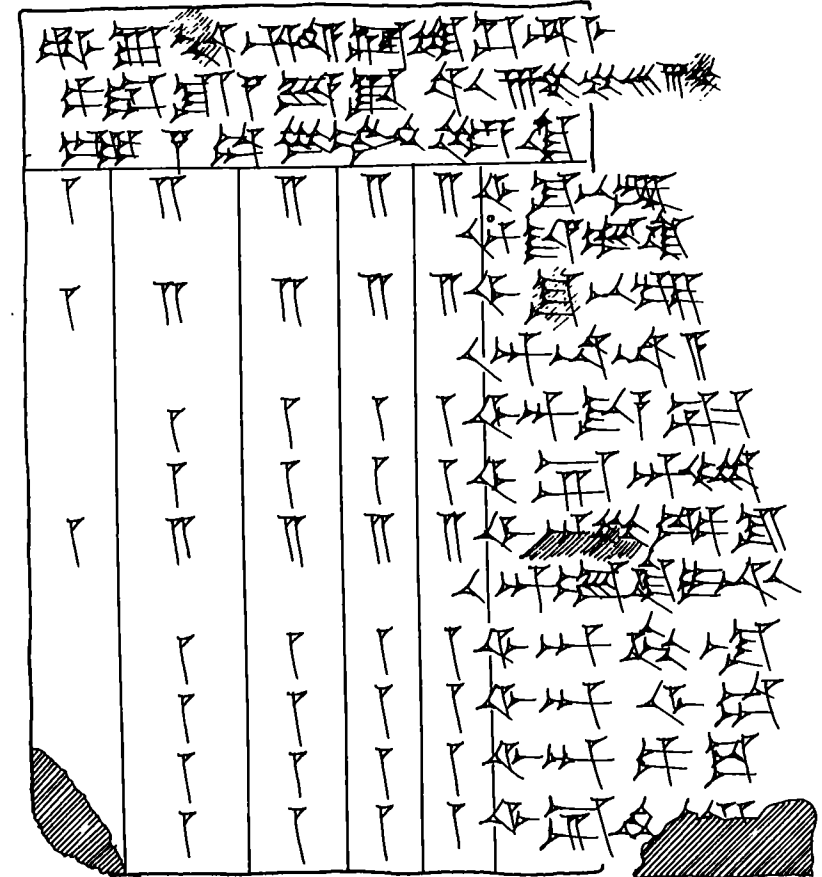


Plate 14. NBC 4801 (obverse)

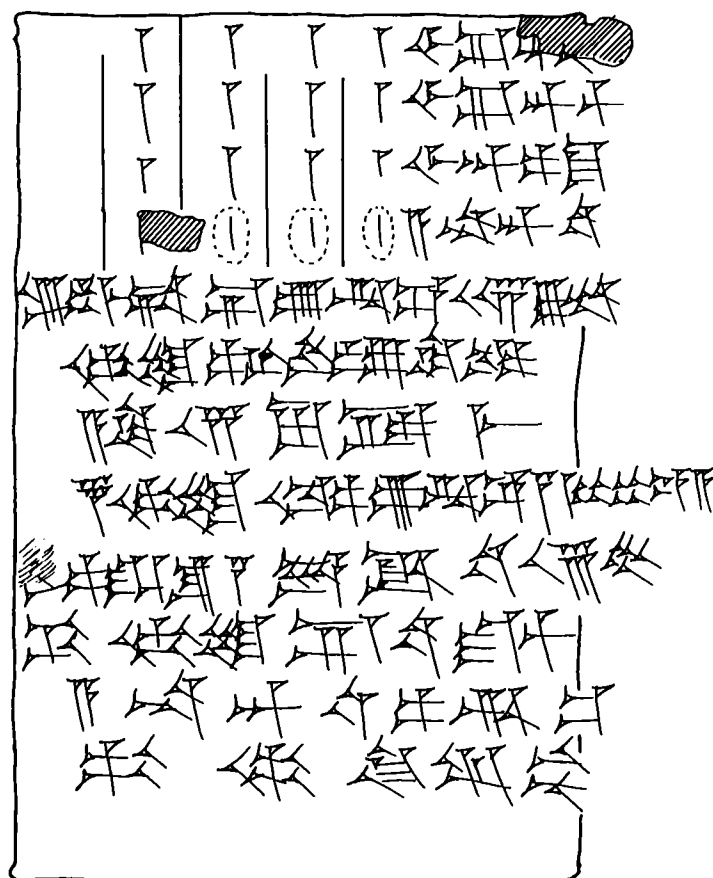


Plate 15. NBC 4801 (reverse)

## NBC 4801 (plate 14, 15)

1. GU<sub>4</sub>.ME UDU.NÍTA MUŠEN.ĤÁ SILA<sub>4</sub> TU.KUR<sub>4</sub>mušen.me
  2. pa-ra-su šá ITI KIN U<sub>4</sub> 16-KAM MU 36-KAM
  3. aNÀ-NÍG.DU-ÛRI LUGAL TIN.TIR<sup>ki</sup>
- 
- |     |   |   |   |   |   |                                |
|-----|---|---|---|---|---|--------------------------------|
| 4.  | 1 | 2 | 2 | 2 | 2 | IGI šu-bat aEN                 |
| 5.  |   |   |   |   |   | u aGASAN šá UNUG <sup>ki</sup> |
| 6.  | 1 | 2 | 2 | 2 | 2 | IGI šu-bat aNÀ                 |
| 7.  |   |   |   |   |   | u a-na-na-a                    |
| 8.  |   | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | IGI aGASAN šá SAG              |
| 9.  |   | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | IGI É aAMAR.UD                 |
| 10. | 1 | 2 | 2 | 2 | 2 | IGI aÛRI-INIM-su               |
| 11. |   |   |   |   |   | u aUNUG <sup>ki</sup> -i-ti    |

- |         |                 |                     |                  |                           |  |
|---------|-----------------|---------------------|------------------|---------------------------|--|
| 12.     | 1               | 1                   | 1                | 1                         | IGI a <sup>gu</sup> -la                                |
| 13.     | 1               | 1                   | 1                | 1                         | IGI a <sup>IGI</sup> .DU                               |
| 14.     | 1               | 1                   | 1                | 1                         | IGI a <sup>gis</sup> GIGIR                             |
| 15. [o] | 1               | 1                   | 1                | 1                         | IGI É <sup>hi</sup> -i <sup>l</sup> -[š <sup>i</sup> ] |
| 16.     | 1               | 1                   | 1                | 1                         | IGI É a <sup>r</sup> U.GUR <sup>r</sup>                |
| 17.     | 1               | 1                   | 1                | 1                         | IGI É a <sup>MAŠ</sup>                                 |
| 18.     | 1               | 1                   | 1                | 1                         | IGI a <sup>NUSKU</sup>                                 |
| 19.     |                 |                     |                  |                           | a-na a <sup>UTU</sup>                                  |
| 20.     | PAP 3           | GU <sub>4</sub> .ME | TA É             | ú-re-e                    | 25 UDU.NÍTA  |
| 21.     |                 | ul-tu               | pa-ni            | 16                        | SIPA ŠÁ.DU <sub>11</sub>                               |
| 22.     |                 | a-di                | 15               | UDU.SILA <sub>4</sub> .ME |  |
| 23.     |                 | 7                   | ul-tu            | UGU                       | ú-re-e šá <sup>bi</sup> -bé-e-a                        |
| 24.     | 'PAP'           | pa-ra-su            | šá               | ITI KIN                   | U <sub>4</sub> 16-KAM                                  |
| 25.     | GU <sub>4</sub> | ul-tu               | É                | BABBAR.RA                 |  |
| 26.     |                 | a-na                | a <sup>UTU</sup> | pa-ri-is                  |  |
| 27.     |                 | GU <sub>4</sub>     | ul               | qé-ru-ub                  |  |

1. Oxen, sheep, birds, lambs, turtledoves;
2. selection of the month Ulūlu, 16th day, 36th year
3. of Nebuchadnezzar, king of Babylon.

- |         |        |     |      |           |     |   |
|---------|--------|-----|------|-----------|-----|---|
| 4.      | 1      | 2   | 2    | 2         | 2   | before the altar of Bēl                         |
| 5.      |        |     |      |           |     | and (before) the Lady-of-Uruk                   |
| 6.      | 1      | 2   | 2    | 2         | 2   | before the altar of Nabû                        |
| 7.      |        |     |      |           |     | and (before) Nanaya                             |
| 8.      |        | 1   | 1    | 1         | 1   | before Bēltu-ša-Reš                             |
| 9.      |        | 1   | 1    | 1         | 1   | before the temple of Marduk                     |
| 10.     | 1      | 2   | 2    | 2         | 2   | before Ušur-amāssu                              |
| 11.     |        |     |      |           |     | and Urkayītu                                    |
| 12.     |        | 1   | 1    | 1         | 1   | before Gula                                     |
| 13.     |        | 1   | 1    | 1         | 1   | before a <sup>IGI</sup> .DU                     |
| 14.     |        | 1   | 1    | 1         | 1   | before the Divine Chariot                       |
| 15. [o] | 1      | 1   | 1    | 1         | 1   | before the <sup>bīl</sup> -bīl[š <sup>i</sup> ] |
| 16.     |        | 1   | 1    | 1         | 1   | before the temple of Nergal                     |
| 17.     |        | 1   | 1    | 1         | 1   | before the temple of Ninurta                    |
| 18.     |        | 1   | 1    | 1         | 1   | before Nusku                                    |
| 19.     |        |     |      |           |     | to Šamaš  |
| 20.     | Total: | 3   | oxen | from      | the | stables, 25 sheep                               |
| 21.     |        |     |      |           |     | from the shepherds of offerings,                |
| 22.     |        |     |      |           |     | together with 15 lambs,                         |
| 23.     |        |     |      |           |     | (of which) 7 are from the stables of Bibeā.     |
| 24.     | Total  | (of | the) | selection | of  | the month Ulūlu, 16th day.                      |
| 25.     | An     | ox  | from | Ebabbar   |     |   |
| 26.     |        |     |      |           |     | was selected for Šamaš,                         |
| 27.     |        |     |      |           |     | (but the) ox was not offered.                   |

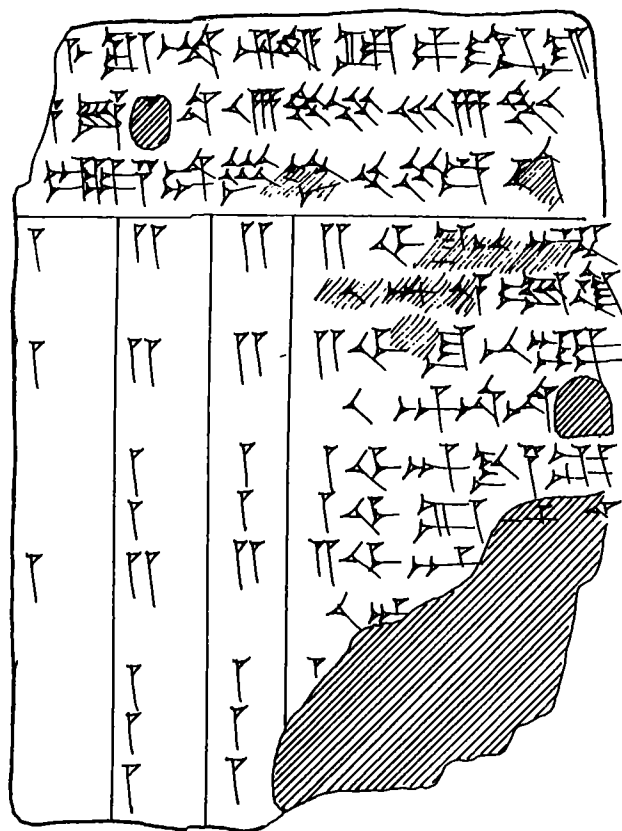


Plate 16. YBC 9445 (obverse)



Plate 17. YBC 9445 (reverse)

## YBC 9445 (plate 16, 17)

1. [GU<sub>4</sub>].ME UDU.NÍTA MUŠEN.ĪÁ SILA<sub>4</sub> *pa-ra-su*
2. 'šá' ITI [o] U<sub>4</sub> 16-KAM MU 36-KAM
3. 'NÀ-NÍG.DU-ŪRI LUGAL TIN.TIR'*ki*

4.	1	2	2	2	IGI 'š <u>u</u> -bat 'EN'
5.					'u 'GAŠAN' šá UNUG <sup>ki</sup>
6.	1	2	2	2	IGI š <u>u</u> -bat 'NÀ
7.					u 'na-na-[a]
8.		1	1	1	IGI 'GAŠAN šá SAG
9.		1	1	1	IGI É 'd'[AMAR].UD'
10.	1	2	2	2	IGI 'd'[ŪRI-INIM-su]
11.					u 'd'[UNUG <sup>ki</sup> -i-ti]
12.		1	1		'I' [o o o o]
13.		1	1		[o] [o o o o]
14.		1	1		[o] [o o o o]

15. 1 1 1 [o o o o]  
 16. 1 1 1 I[GI o o o]  
 17. 1 1 1 I[GI o o o]  
 18. 1 1 1 IG[I o o o]  
 19. 2 a-n[a<sup>d</sup>UTU]  
 20. PAP 3 GU<sub>4</sub> 17 UDU.NÍTA 15 MUŠEN.ĤÁ 15 S[ILA<sub>4</sub>]  
 21. 5<sup>nu</sup>NUNUZ ina lib-bi 3 GU<sub>4</sub> 'x x'  
 22. 14 'UDU'.NÍTA 'šá' 'bi'-bé-e-a  
 23. 'šá' ina 'pi'-qid šá 'ina IGI' 'NÁ-SUR  
 24. A 'GI-AMAR.UD 15 SILA<sub>4</sub>.ME  
 25. šá 'U.GUR-GI A 'ba-bi-ia

1. [Oxe]n, sheep, birds, lambs; selection  
 2. of the month [o], 16th day, 36th year  
 3. of Nebuchadnezzar, king of Babylon

4. 1 2 2 2 before the altar of Bēl  
 5. and (before) the Lady-of-Uruk  
 6. 1 2 2 2 before the altar of Nabû  
 7. and (before) Nanaya,  
 8. 1 1 1 before Bēltu-ša-Rēš  
 9. 1 1 1 before the temple of [Mar]duk  
 10. 1 2 2 2 before [Ušur-amāssu]  
 11. and [Urkayītu]  
 12. 1 1 '1' [o o o o]  
 13. 1 1 [o] [o o o o]  
 14. 1 1 [o] [o o o o]  
 15. 1 1 1 [o o o o]  
 16. 1 1 1 be[fore o o o]  
 17. 1 1 1 be[fore o o o]  
 18. 1 1 1 befo[re o o o]  
 19. 2 t[o Šamaš]  
 20. Total: 3 oxen, 17 sheep, 15 birds, 15 l[ambs],  
 21. 5 eggs(?), from it 3 oxen 'x x',  
 22. 14 sheep belonging to Bibeā,  
 23. from the commission owed by Nabû-ēṭir,  
 24. son of Mušallim-Marduk; 15 lambs  
 25. belonging to Nergal-ušallim, son of Babiya.

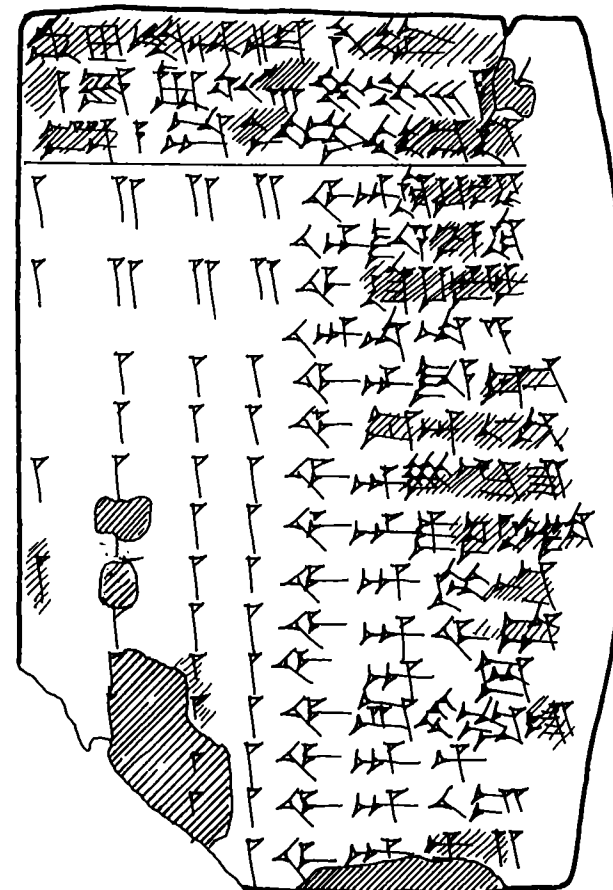


Plate 18. PTS 2042 (obverse)

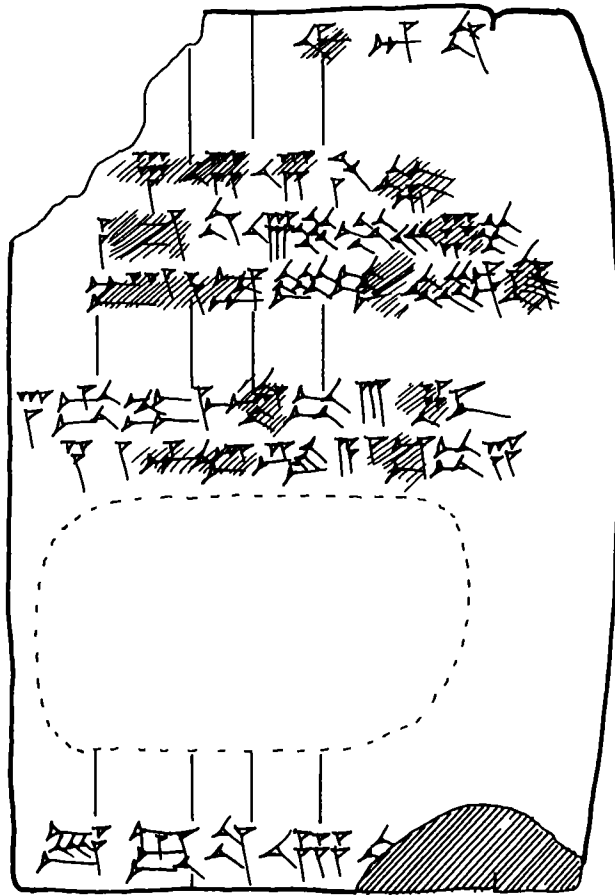


Plate 19. PTS 2042 (reverse)

## PTS 2042 (plate 18, 19)

1. 'GU<sub>4</sub> UDU.NÍTA MUŠEN SILA<sub>4</sub> KUD-as'
2. šá ITI KIN U<sub>4</sub> '16'-KAM MU '38-KAM'
3. 'dNÀ'-NÍG.DU-ÚRI' LUGAL TIN.'TIR<sup>ki</sup>

- |     |     |     |   |   |                                 |
|-----|-----|-----|---|---|---------------------------------|
| 4.  | 1   | 2   | 2 | 2 | IGI dKI.'TUŠ dEN'               |
| 5.  |     |     |   |   | u dGAŠAN šá 'UNUG <sup>ki</sup> |
| 6.  | 1   | 2   | 2 | 2 | IGI 'KI.TUŠ dNÀ'                |
| 7.  |     |     |   |   | u dna-na-a                      |
| 8.  |     | 1   | 1 | 1 | IGI dGAŠAN šá SAG               |
| 9.  |     | 1   | 1 | 1 | IGI É dAMAR.UD'                 |
| 10. | 1   | 1   | 1 | 1 | IGI dÚRI-'INIM-su'              |
| 11. |     | '1' | 1 | 1 | IGI dás-'ka-'i'-tú              |
| 12. | '1' | '1' | 1 | 1 | IGI dgu-'la'                    |

13. 1 1 1 IGI dIGI.'DU'
14. [o] '1' '1' 1 IGI dGIGIR
15. [o] '1' '1' 1 IGI É hi-il-ši
16. [o o o o] '1' 1 IGI dMAŠ
17. [o o o o o] 1 IGI dU.GUR
18. [o o o o o] 1 IGI dNUSKU'
19. [o o o o o o o] IGI dUTU
20. [PAP] '7 15 15' KUD-as
21. 'šá ITI' (KIN) U<sub>4</sub> 16-KAM MU '38-KAM'
22. dNÀ'-NÍG.DU-ÚRI LUGAL TIN.TIR<sup>ki</sup>
23. 4 GU<sub>4</sub> NÍNDA.ME ina lib-bi 3 KÙ.ME
24. šá dU.GUR-GI A 'ba'-bi-ia
25. ITI KIN U<sub>4</sub> 16-K[AM]

1. Oxen, sheep, birds, lambs, selection
2. of the month Ulūlu, 16th day, 38th year
3. of Nebuchadnezzar, king of Babylon.

- |     |                   |            |           |   |   |
|-----|-------------------|------------|-----------|---|---|
| 4.  | 1                 | 2          | 2         | 2 | before the Divine Altar of Bēl,             |
| 5.  |                   |            |           |   | and the Lady-of-Uruk                        |
| 6.  | 1                 | 2          | 2         | 2 | before the altar of Nabû,                   |
| 7.  |                   |            |           |   | and Nanaya                                  |
| 8.  |                   | 1          | 1         | 1 | before Bēltu-ša-Rēš                         |
| 9.  |                   | 1          | 1         | 1 | before the temple of Marduk                 |
| 10. | 1                 | 1          | 1         | 1 | before Ušur-amāssu                          |
| 11. |                   | '1'        | 1         | 1 | before Urkayītu                             |
| 12. | '1'               | '1'        | 1         | 1 | before Gula                                 |
| 13. |                   | 1          | 1         | 1 | before dIGI.DU                              |
| 14. | [o]               | '1'        | '1'       | 1 | before the Divine Chariot                   |
| 15. | [o]               | '1'        | '1'       | 1 | before the bīt-hilši                        |
| 16. | [o o o o]         | '1'        | 1         |   | before Ninurta                              |
| 17. | [o o o o o]       |            | 1         |   | before Nergal                               |
| 18. | [o o o o o o]     |            | 1         |   | before Nusku                                |
| 19. | [o o o o o o o o] |            |           |   | before Šamaš                                |
| 20. | [Total]:          | 7, 15, 15, | selection |   |   |
| 21. |                   |            |           |   | of the month (Ulūlu), 16th day, 38th year   |
| 22. |                   |            |           |   | of Nebuchadnezzar, king of Babylon.         |
| 23. |                   |            |           |   | 4 calves, including 3 unblemished ones,     |
| 24. |                   |            |           |   | belonging to Nergal-ušallim, son of Babiya. |
| 25. |                   |            |           |   | Month Ulūlu, 16th day.                      |

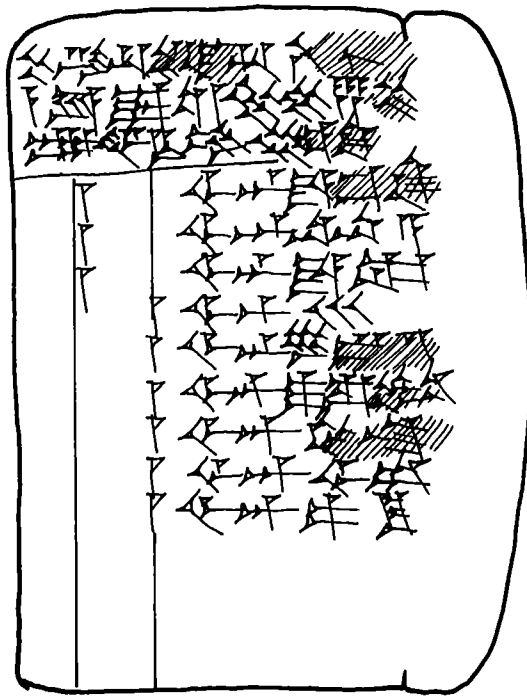


Plate 20. PTS 3210

PTS 3210 (plate 20)

1. KUR.GI<sup>mušen</sup> 'UZ.TUR<sup>mušen</sup> KUD-'as'
2. šá ITI BĀRA U<sub>4</sub> 1-KAM MU 8-KAM
3. 𒀭NĀ-NĪ.TUK LUGAL TIN.TIR<sup>ki</sup>

4. 1 IGI 𒀭GAŠAN šá 'UNUG<sup>ki</sup>
5. 1 IGI 𒀭na-na-a
6. 1 IGI 𒀭GAŠAN šá SAG
7. 1 IGI 𒀭30
8. 1 IGI 𒀭ŪRI-'INIM-su'
9. 1 IGI 𒀭áš-ka-'-tú
10. 1 IGI 𒀭gu-'la'
11. 1 IGI 𒀭IGI.DU
12. 1 IGI 𒀭NUSKU

1. Geese, ducks, selection
2. of the month Nisannu, 1st day, 8th year
3. of Nabonidus, king of Babylon.

4. 1 before the Lady-of-Uruk
5. 1 before Nanaya
6. 1 before Bēltu-ša-Rēš
7. 1 before Sîn
8. 1 before Ušur-amāssu
9. 1 before Urkayītu
10. 1 before Gula
11. 1 before 𒀭IGI.DU
12. 1 before Nusku

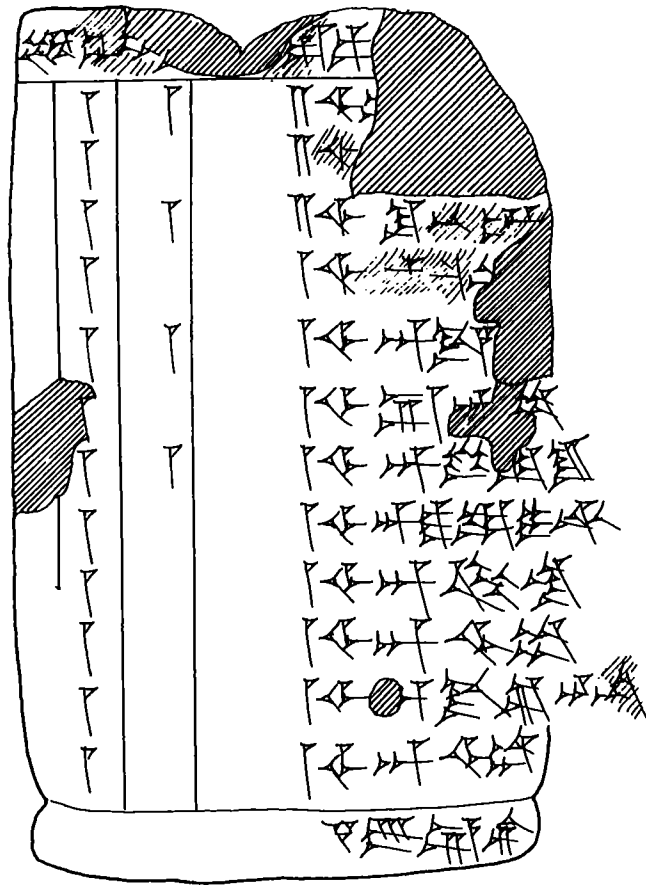


Plate 21. NCBT 670 (obverse)

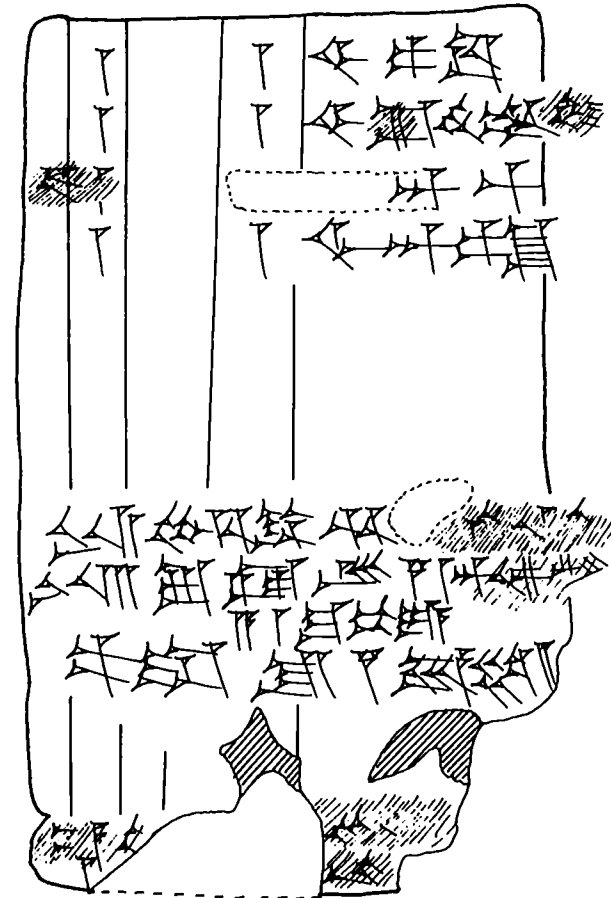


Plate 22. NCBT 670 (reverse)

## NCBT 670 (plate 21, 22)

1. UZ.<sup>1</sup>TUR<sup>mušen</sup>[o o o o SI]LA<sub>4</sub>pa-[ra-su o o o]

2.	1	1	2	IGI [š <sub>u</sub> -bat <sup>d</sup> EN]
3.	1		2	'IGI' [ <sup>d</sup> GAŠAN šá UNUG <sup>ki</sup> ]
4.	1	1	2	IGI š <sub>u</sub> -bat <sup>d</sup> NA'
5.	1		1	IGI <sup>d</sup> na-na'-[a]
6.	1	1	1	IGI <sup>d</sup> GAŠAN šá [SAG]
7.	1		1	IGI É <sup>d</sup> AMAR.UD'
8.	1	1	1	IGI <sup>d</sup> r'URI-INIM'-su
9.	1		1	IGI <sup>d</sup> áš-ka-i-ti
10.	1		1	IGI <sup>d</sup> gu-la
11.	1		1	IGI <sup>d</sup> IGI.DU
12.	1		1	IGI <sup>d</sup> GAŠAN É.AN.NA



13. 1 1 IGI <sup>d</sup>IGI.DU  
 14. šá ú-dan-ni  
 15. 1 1 IGI <sup>giš</sup>GIGIR  
 16. 1 1 IGI É *hi-il*-<sup>su</sup>  
 17. 1 1 IGI <sup>d</sup>NUSKU  
 18. PAP 12 UZ.TUR<sup>mušen</sup> 'x x x x'  
 19. PAP 13 UDU.SILA<sub>4</sub>.MEŠ šá <sup>ld</sup>U.GUR-GI'  
 20. A *ba-bi-ia*  
 21. *pa-ra-su* šá ITI ŠE U<sub>4</sub> 2-[KAM]  
 22. 'ITI' Š[E o o o o] 'x' [o o]  
 23. DIŠ [o o o o o] 'x' [o o]

1. Duck[s o o o lam]bs, se[lection of o o o]

2. 1 1 2 before [the altar of Bēl]  
 3. 1 2 before [the Lady-of-Uruk]  
 4. 1 1 2 before the altar of Nabû  
 5. 1 1 before Nana[ya]  
 6. 1 1 1 before Bēltu-ša-[Rēš]  
 7. 1 1 before the temple of Marduk  
 8. 1 1 1 before Ušur-amāssu  
 9. 1 1 before Urkayītu  
 10. 1 1 before Gula  
 11. 1 1 before <sup>d</sup>IGI.DU  
 12. 1 1 before Bēlet Eanna  
 13. 1 1 before <sup>d</sup>IGI.DU  
 14. of Udannu  
 15. 1 1 before the (Divine) Chariot  
 16. 1 1 before the *bīt-hilši*  
 17. 1 1 before Nusku  
 18. Total: 12 ducks, 'x x x x'  
 19. Total: 13 lambs belonging to Nergal-ušallim,  
 20. son of Bābiya.  
 21. Selection of the month Addaru, 2nd day.  
 22. Month Ad[aru o o o o] 'x' [o o]  
 23. x [o o o o o] 'x' [o o]

## 2.1.1. Hierarchy of Deities in Group A

The offering lists of Group A adhere to a common format in which deities are listed according to a fixed hierarchical order. There are only five exceptions to this. Three texts invert the order in which two deities should be listed: in NCBT 862 the Divine Chariot is placed before Bēlet-Eanna of Udannu; in PTS 2942 the temple of Marduk occurs after Ušur-amāssu and Gula; and PTS 2042 lists Ninurta before Nergal. In PTS 3242 the god Šamaš, normally in last position, occurs between Ušur-amāssu and Gula. Finally PTS 3210 inserts the god Sîn between Bēltu-ša-Rēš and Ušur-amāssu, which is the place reserved for Marduk in the other lists.<sup>2</sup> The fact that in these texts the deities are listed according to a fixed order suggests that it reflects their relative theological importance in the local pantheon. This hierarchy can be reconstructed as follows:

The Symbol of Bēl, and Ištar-of-Uruk  
 The Symbol of Nabû, and Nanaya  
 Bēltu-ša-Rēš  
 The Temple of Marduk (Sîn in one case)  
 Ušur-amāssu, and Urkayītu  
 Gula  
<sup>d</sup>IGI.DU  
 Bēlet-Eanna and <sup>d</sup>IGI.DU of Udannu  
 The Divine Chariot  
 The *bīt-hilši*  
 Nergal (or the Temple of Nergal)  
 Ninurta (or the Temple of Ninurta)  
 Nusku  
 Šamaš and Aya (of Larsa)

Four of these gods were not residents of Uruk: Šamaš and Aya, the patron gods of Larsa, and Bēlet Eanna and <sup>d</sup>IGI.DU, the patron gods of Udannu. Marduk, Sîn, Nergal, Ninurta, Nusku, and probably the Divine Chariot, resided in the small sanctuaries of Uruk, which are summed up under the term *ekurrātu* in the *SWU* texts. Ištar, Nanaya, Bēltu-ša-Rēš, Ušur-amāssu, Urkayītu, Gula, <sup>d</sup>IGI.DU, and the symbols of Bēl and Nabû, all resided in the Eanna temple. They are included under the general designation *papāḫānu* in the *SWU* texts. The location of the *bīt-hilši* is probably to be sought in the Eanna temple, although this cannot be proven at present. A host of additional minor deities, entitled only to an occasional offering of a sheep or a bird, appear only in Group B of offering lists, edited below (§2.2). There is no doubt that the deities listed in Group A were considered the most important gods of Uruk, as they received the lion's share of the offerings.

The offering lists provide evidence that a single administration supervised the distribution of offerings in the Eanna temple, to the small sanctuaries located in Uruk and its vicinity, and even to temples located in other towns (Larsa and Udannu). The

<sup>2</sup> The offering list *SWU* 161, edited below (§2.2), inserts the temples of Marduk and Sîn between Bēltu-ša-Rēš and Ušur-amāssu.

same phenomenon of a common management of sanctuaries has been observed for Neo-Babylonian Sippar,<sup>3</sup> while in Nippur the centralization of the offering system, evident in late texts, appears to have already been in place during the Old Babylonian period.<sup>4</sup> A frequent result of such centralization was the concentration of prebendary offices connected with different temples in the hands of the same families. During the Neo-Babylonian period these tendencies reached a peak at Larsa, where the majority of the offerings days connected with the prebends of baker and brewer before the god Šamaš were held by a few residents of Uruk.<sup>5</sup>

The leading deities of Uruk during the Old Babylonian period were An, Inanna, and Nanaya. By the Neo-Babylonian period, however, Anu's role had become much diminished. He is conspicuously absent from the offering lists of Group A, and other sources reveal that he did not even reside in the Eanna temple in that period, but in his own *ekurru*. Ištar and Nanaya are now accompanied by a third goddess named Bēltu-ša-Rēš with whom they form a triad presiding over the local pantheon. The importance of this triad is reflected in the fact that the earliest two offering lists of Group A, PTS 2942 and 3242, simply refer to the three goddesses as "Eanna," first listing animals intended for "Eanna," then those directed to Ušur-amāssu, Gula, <sup>d</sup>IGI.DU, and the other temples. Similar classification occurs in the following texts; *ARRIM* 7, 47 lists 12 items for "Eanna," and then 2 for Ušur-amāssu and Urkayītu (lines 1–3); YBC 9452 records withdrawals of salt for "Eanna" (lines 1–3), and then for Ušur-amāssu and Gula (lines 4–7); PTS 3112 records withdrawals of salt for the regular offerings (*ginū*) of "Eanna" (lines 1–3), then for Gula and <sup>d</sup>IGI.DU (lines 4–5), and finally for Nusku (line 6); YOS 17, 194 also records withdrawals of salt for "Eanna" (lines 1–5), and then for Ušur-amāssu (lines 6–8);<sup>6</sup> and NCBT 779 records withdrawals of salt for the *ginū* of Eanna (lines 1–4 and 18–19), and then for [<sup>d</sup>IGI.DU] and Gula, Nusku and the Divine *Urdimmus*, Ušur-amāssu and Urkayītu, the *bīt-ḫilši*, the *bīt-akīti*, and Nergal. In all these texts the term "Eanna" functions as a collective designation for Ištar, Nanaya, and Bēltu-ša-Rēš.

The temple of Marduk usually occurs just after the triad Ištar/Nanaya/Bēltu-ša-Rēš in the offering lists of Group A. This is also the case in PTS 2097, which records a revision of the offering system of Uruk ordered by Nabonidus in the first year of his reign. After listing the new amounts of foodstuffs to be delivered for the daily offerings of Ištar, Nanaya, Bēltu-ša-Rēš, and Ušur-amāssu, the text continues as follows: 26. 46 5/6-*ú ma-ši-ḫu šá* ITI U<sub>4</sub>.MEŠ 27. *šá É* <sup>d</sup>AMAR.UD *u É.KUR.MEŠ ŠE.GIŠ.Ì gi-nu-ú ù gu-uq-qu-ú* 28. *mut-ta-qa dan-nu nam-ḫa-ru ù mim-ma šá É.AN.NA* 29. *a-ki-i šá ina pa-ni* <sup>d</sup>NA-NÍG.DU-ÚRI *na-ad-nu li-in-na-di-nu* "46 5/6 *mašīḫus* every month for the offering days in the temple of Marduk and the small sanctuaries (*ekurrātu*), sesame (for) the regular and occasional offerings, sweet cakes, *dannu* vats, *namḫaru* vats, and whatever else pertains to Eanna, may it be allotted as it was in the time of Nebuchadnezzar."<sup>7</sup> Since the offering lists of Group A and PTS 2097 both consistently list the temple of Marduk just after the main deities of Uruk residing in the Eanna

<sup>3</sup> BONGENAAR 1997, pp. 229–260.

<sup>4</sup> BEAULIEU 1995.

<sup>5</sup> BEAULIEU 1993b.

<sup>6</sup> YOS 17, 194 is transliterated and translated in § 3.7.1.

<sup>7</sup> Publication, edition, and discussion of this text by FRAME 1991, pp. 38–41.

temple, one must conclude that it was the second most important sanctuary of Uruk, the first one in rank of the *ekurrātu*.

The dyad composed of Ušur-amāssu and Urkayītu occurs just after the temple of Marduk in the lists. These two goddesses are often paired in the ritual *LKU* 51 as well as in a number of administrative documents recording allocations of offerings to them.<sup>8</sup> Urkayītu was probably a resident of the inner cella of Ušur-amāssu in the Eanna temple.

### 2.1.2. Pairing of Ištar-of-Uruk and Nanaya with Marduk and Nabû

According to the offering lists of Group A the goddesses Ištar and Nanaya were worshiped in conjunction with the seats (*šubtu*) of Bēl and Nabû. Since the word "seat" is replaced by "symbol" (*kakku*) in YBC 9135, it is evident that the lists refer to small altars on which the symbols of the two gods were placed as objects of worship. These symbols, the spade (*marru*) of Marduk and the reed stylus (*qan ṭuppi*) of Nabû, are often depicted in first millennium Babylonian glyptic, including seal impressions on texts of the Eanna archive.<sup>9</sup> Their earliest mention occurs in the offering list YBC 9135, dated to the 15th year of Nebuchadnezzar II (§ 5.1).

There is every reason to believe that the cultic association of Ištar with the symbol of Marduk was influenced by the theology of Babylon, where two goddesses filled the roles of wife and mistress of Marduk: Zarpanītu, worshiped with Marduk in the Esagil temple, and the local manifestation of Ištar residing in the temple Eturkalamma and known as Ištar-of-Babylon or Lady-of-Babylon,<sup>10</sup> the two appellations being equivalent.<sup>11</sup> Late theological texts often syncretize these two goddesses, but one aspect of this syncretism seems particularly relevant for the present discussion. In the first millennium the local pantheons of Babylonia usually included two goddesses known as the lady (*bēllu*) and the queen (*šarratu*) of their home city, and such appellations occur both as names of these goddesses and as epithets. At Nippur, for instance, Ištar resided in the temple Ebaradurgarra as the goddess Queen-of-Nippur (*Šarrat-Nippur*) and also bore the epithet *šarrat Nippur*,<sup>12</sup> while Gula was worshiped in Ešumeša with the title "lady of Nippur" (*bēlet Nippur*). A similar situation prevailed at Uruk, where Ištar was worshiped as the goddess Lady-of-Uruk (*Bēllu-ša-Uruk*) with the epithet *bēlet Uruk*, and Nanaya

<sup>8</sup> See also PTS 2361, which lists a large number of PNs, possibly prebendaries, selected to perform service for Ušur-amāssu and Urkayītu for a specific period of time: 1. [o o o o] x<sup>1</sup>-lu šá <sup>d</sup>URI-a-mat-su u <sup>d</sup>as-ka-i-tu<sub>4</sub>.

<sup>9</sup> EITRENBURG 1999, pp. 17–25.

<sup>10</sup> In the discussion which follows a sharp distinction must be made between regular epithets and those which are in fact divine names. The latter have initial capital letters and are hyphenated (e.g. Lady-of-Babylon), the former are not and are written without initial capital letters (e.g. lady of Babylon).

<sup>11</sup> On this goddess see LAMBERT 1975a. The last mention of Ištar-of-Babylon is in a text from the archive of Rahimesu dated to the Parthian period; edition by VAN DER SPEK 1998, p. 245, no. 35, 6. <sup>d</sup>INNIN TIN.T[IR<sup>k</sup>]. For Ištar-of-Babylon = Lady-of-Babylon see GEORGE 1992, p. 58, Tin.Tir IV, 8. É.TÜR.KALAM.MA = É *bēlet-TIN.TIR<sup>k</sup>*, with variants in other manuscripts having <sup>d</sup>MUŠ instead of *bēlet*, and see commentary on p. 307.

<sup>12</sup> FRAME 1995, B.6.31.11, inscription found at Nippur commemorating the restoration of the temple Ebaradurgarra for the goddess *Šarrat-Nippur*. In this inscription the goddess is called both <sup>d</sup>UN.GAL-EN.LÍL<sup>k</sup> as a divine name, and *šar-rat* EN.LÍL<sup>k</sup> as an epithet (3. *šar-rat* EN.LÍL<sup>k</sup> *a-ši-bat* É.BARA.DÜR.-GAR.RA). The goddess is further called "ruler of Usumua" (1. <sup>d</sup>UN.GAL-EN.LÍL<sup>k</sup> *ma-al-kāt* UZU.MU.A<sup>k</sup>), a learned name for Nippur.

as “queen of Uruk” (*šarrat Uruk*).<sup>13</sup> At Babylon, however, the situation seems more complicated. Ištar was worshiped as the goddess Lady-of-Babylon (*Bēlet-Bābili*), yet she bore the title of “queen of Babylon” (*šarrat Bābili*).<sup>14</sup> The goddess Zarpanītu, on the other hand, was “lady of Babylon” (*bēlet Bābili*)<sup>15</sup> and queen of Esagil” (*šarrat Esagil*),<sup>16</sup> while there is some evidence that Ištar was revered as “lady of Esagil” (*bēlet Esagil*).<sup>17</sup> Evidently there was intentional confusion in the titles and epithets chosen to characterize the two goddesses, and the purpose of this was probably to express the notion that Ištar-of-Babylon and Zarpanītu were not only syncretized theologically, but also thought to be absolutely identical with one another.<sup>18</sup>

One further step would have been to identify Zarpanītu with Ištar-of-Uruk, and indeed there is evidence that such identification was officially promoted in the course of the 8th and 7th centuries. In a number of texts from the Eanna archive dating from the reign of Merodach-Baladan II until the 7th year of Nabopolassar the divine name Bēltiya, usually strictly reserved for Zarpanītu, occurs as a substitute designation for Ištar-of-Uruk (§ 3.2.8). This also seems to be echoed in an inscription of Sargon II commemorating the restoration of the Eanna temple which praises Ištar as *narāmti bēl ilī* “beloved of the lord of the gods,” that is to say, Marduk.<sup>19</sup> This theology apparently originated in the reign of Nabû-šuma-iškun in the middle of the 8th century. A number of sources claim that Ištar-of-Uruk was expelled from the Eanna temple during his reign and replaced by an improper image of the goddess, and returned to her rightful place of worship only during the reign of Nebuchadnezzar II, almost two centuries after her expulsion (§ 3.3). The goddess inducted in the Eanna temple at the time of

<sup>13</sup> The late bilingual hymn in praise of Nanaya edited by REINER 1974 informs us that in many cult centers that goddess filled the role of “queen.” On Nanaya as the “queen of Uruk” see below § 4.2.

<sup>14</sup> LAMBERT 1975b (edition of Love Lyrics), p. 122: 18. *al-ti um-me-e* MÜŠ TIN.TIR<sup>ki</sup> 19. DÜ-ti *šar-rat* TIN.TIR<sup>ki</sup> meš; a variant for line 19 in LKA 92 has tin.tir<sup>ki</sup>-ke<sub>4</sub>, and another one in 81-2-4, 294 has *šar-rat* MÜŠ TIN.TI[R<sup>ki</sup> o o]. Discussion of the Love Lyrics by EDZARD 1987. See also GEORGE 1992, p. 227, BM 38293: 6'. *be-le-et-KÁ.DINGIR.RA*<sup>ki</sup> *šar-rat* o o].

<sup>15</sup> SEUX 1976, pp. 329–331, hymn to [Zarpanī]tu, queen of Esagil and lady of Babylon; original publication in KING 1896, no. 9 (pl. 20): rev. 32. *šar-rat* É.SAG.İL É.GAL DINGIR.MEŠ *ša-du-ū* KUR.MEŠ] 33. *[be-le-et KÁ.DINGIR.RA*<sup>ki</sup> *šu-lul ma-[ta-a-ti]*. In the syncretistic hymn to Nanaya published by REINER 1974, that goddess is hailed as GAŠAN *Babili*: strophe IX, 27. [o o o *ma-rat ba-bi*] *i-li* GAŠAN *ba-bi-li kal-lat ba-bi-li* “[daughter of Bab]ylon, GAŠAN of Babylon, daughter-in-law of Babylon,” but it is unclear whether GAŠAN must be read *šarrat* or *bēlet*. In that hymn she assumes the personality of Zarpanītu, the consort of Marduk (26. *zar-pa-ni-tu*<sub>4</sub> DAM [AMAR.UD]), and also that of Ištar (25. GAŠAN MÜŠ).

<sup>16</sup> REINER 1958, p. 17, Tablet II, 152. *zar-pa-ni-tu*<sub>4</sub> *lip-tur šar-rat* É.SAG.İL “May Zarpanītu release, the queen of Esagil” (additional duplicate in SpTU II 13, IV, 16). The same epithet occurs in Assurbanipal’s acrostic hymn to Marduk and Zarpanītu, LIVINGSTONE 1989, p. 10, line 18. *šar-rat* É.SAG.İL.

<sup>17</sup> REINER 1958, p. 39, Tablet VIII: 10. ÉN É.SAG.İL *ša-qu-u ra-áš-bu ma-bi* [a-zu el-lu o o] 11. *be-le-et* É.SAG.İL *šar-rat* É.SAG.İL [o o o] 12. *be-le-et* TIN.TIR<sup>ki</sup> *šar-rat* TIN.TIR<sup>ki</sup> [o o o] 13. *ul-mu šu-ta-ḥu* IM NIM.GÍR *ša* [SID KI.MIN] “Incantation. The high, awesome Esagil, the [holy] ci[ty] o o o; the lady of Esagil, the queen of Esagil [o o o]; the lady of Babylon, the queen of Babylon [o o o]; the double weapon, the wind (and) lightning of [Marduk may release you, may absolve you].”

<sup>18</sup> For examples of possible additional confusion in the tradition see the god list An=Anum, LITKE 1998, p. 41, note to line 184, for Šuzianna as Lady-of-Babylon in the manuscript CT 25, 49: 1. See also the inscription of Tiglathpileser III edited in TADMOR 1994, pp. 124–125, lines 15–16, where Zarpanītu and “Nanaya the lady of Babylon” (*na-na-a be-le-et KÁ.DINGIR.RA*<sup>ki</sup>) appear side by side in a list of gods; one could also understand the passage as “Nanaya (and) the (goddess) Lady-of-Babylon,” however, as in the same list Aššur and Bēl (Marduk) are written without the DINGIR determinative.

<sup>19</sup> FRAME 1995, B.6.22.3, col. II, 20. *INNIN na-ram-ti* EN DINGIR.MEŠ “Ištar, beloved of the lord of the gods.”

Nabû-šuma-iškun was probably a form of Ištar-of-Babylon syncretized with Zarpanītu, for this seems the only possible explanation for the adoption of the name Bēltiya to designate the goddess of Uruk in the administrative texts of the Eanna temple dated to the 7th century. Similarly, the presence of the symbol of Bēl in the cella of the goddess probably also reflects this attempt to impose the Babylonian cult in the Eanna temple. In this case, however, the matter is further complicated by the fact that the symbol of Bēl was still worshiped in the Eanna temple even after Nebuchadnezzar II returned Ištar-of-Uruk to her rightful abode at the beginning of the 6th century. Therefore two scenarios seem plausible. One is that the symbol was introduced in the Eanna temple in the 8th century together with the Babylonian Ištar, but that it remained there after the return of Ištar-of-Uruk at the beginning of the 6th century, while the other possibility is that it was introduced by Nebuchadnezzar when he returned Ištar-of-Uruk to the Eanna temple in order to emphasize the dominance of Babylon over Uruk in the newly centralized Babylonian kingdom. This might seem more plausible in view of the fact that the symbol of Bēl is not mentioned in the Eanna archive before the 15th year of that king, although this could also be due to the fragmentary character of the sources. At any rate, the sources indicate that even after the expulsion of the Babylonian Ištar from the Eanna temple, the theological notion of associating the patron goddess of Uruk with the god Marduk had become too deeply rooted to be completely excised.

The other symbol introduced in the Eanna temple and paired with the goddess Nanaya was the symbol of Nabû. Nabû was closely associated with Nanaya in his home city of Borsippa, and the two deities mirrored the pair composed of Marduk and Ištar-of-Babylon, Nanaya being the mistress of Nabû, and Tašmētu his wife.<sup>20</sup> Divine Love Lyrics were composed for Nabû which were very similar in tone to those celebrating the union of Marduk with Ištar-of-Babylon, with the exception that Tašmētu, not Nanaya, appears in them as the god’s consort.<sup>21</sup> As a result of this ménage à trois the goddesses Nanaya and Tašmētu were syncretized with one another.<sup>22</sup> Both Tašmētu and Nanaya were known as “queen of Borsippa” (*šarrat Barsippa*),<sup>23</sup> and one text hails Nanaya as the goddess who is “queen in the Ezida temple in Borsippa” (*ina Barsipa ina Ezida Nanaya šarrat*).<sup>24</sup> The deliberate confusion of titles and epithets observed for Ištar-of-Babylon

<sup>20</sup> The close association between Marduk and Ištar-of-Babylon in the first millennium is discussed by GEORGE 1987, pp. 37–39, with some references to the association between Nabû and Nanaya.

<sup>21</sup> See MATSUSHIMA 1987.

<sup>22</sup> See the Nanaya Hymn of Sargon II (SEUX 1976, pp. 107–109; and LIVINGSTONE 1989, pp. 13–16), in which the goddess is assimilated to Ištar and Tašmētu, and glorified as the spouse of Nabû.

<sup>23</sup> SEUX 1976, pp. 331–334, prayer to Tašmētu, daughter-in-law of Esagil, queen of Borsippa. This prayer was published in KING 1896, no. 33 (pls. 54–55): obv. 8. ‘NUMUN’ É.ZI.DA É *ši-kin na-pi-š-ti* *ša* DINGIR.MEŠ GAL.MEŠ 9. *[ša]r-rat BĀRA.SIPA*<sup>ki</sup> *ba-’-lat da-ād-me* 10. *[taš-me-tu<sub>4</sub> be-el-tu<sub>4</sub> ša qī-bi-sa gaš-rat]* “Offspring of Ezida, the temple given life by the great gods, queen of Borsippa, mistress of the inhabited regions, Tašmētu, lady whose command is mighty.” For Nanaya as “queen of Borsippa” see the *šu’illa* from Nimrud recently published in CTN IV, 168, col. IV, 34. *[šar-ra]t BĀR.SIPA*<sup>ki</sup> *tukul-ti* É.ZI.DA; according to the transliteration and the photograph what is preserved before BĀR looks like ME, but it could also be the end of the sign RAT.

<sup>24</sup> In REINER 1974, the hymn to Nanaya, the goddess is *šarratu* in Ezida, but the text does not specifically say that Nanaya is queen of Borsippa: strophe X, 29. *[ina B]ĀRA.SIPA*<sup>ki</sup> *ina* É.ZI.DA *na-na-a šar-’-[rat]*. She is also hailed as spouse of Nabû: 30. *bi-rat* ANĀ.

and Zarpanītu did not apply to Nanaya and Tašmētu. Therefore the sharing of identical titles by these latter two goddesses must reflect a simple theological syncretism which did not signify their absolute identity with one another.

The introduction of the symbols of Bēl and Nabû in the Eanna temple carried significant theological and political symbolism. In Babylon and Borsippa Marduk and Nabû both shared rulership of their respective domains with two goddesses hailed as queen and lady of their cities, while Uruk was ruled by a pantheon of celibate goddesses led by Ištar-of-Uruk, the lady of Uruk, and Nanaya, the queen of Uruk. The induction of the symbols of Marduk and Nabû and the resulting syncretism between Ištar-of-Uruk and Ištar-of-Babylon on the one hand, and Nanaya of Borsippa and Nanaya of Uruk on the other, meant that the divine rulers of Babylon and Borsippa became the consorts of the lady of Uruk and of the queen of Uruk.<sup>25</sup> This symbolized not only the integration of Uruk into the Neo-Babylonian state, but also her subordination to an ideology centered politically on the primacy of Babylon and Borsippa, and theologically on the status of Marduk and his son Nabû as rulers of the pantheon. One can further speculate that the demise of Anu and his removal to a separate sanctuary, which must have occurred centuries before the beginning of our documentation, paved the way for this usurpation of divine power, since it created favorable circumstances for the association of a new male deity with Ištar-of-Uruk.<sup>26</sup> The late tradition which regarded Anu as one of the vanquished gods who had lost their power to Marduk and Ninurta may have provided a theological background to Marduk's association with Ištar and his symbolic takeover of lordship in Uruk.<sup>27</sup>

The relationships between Marduk, Nabû, Zarpanītu, Tašmētu, Ištar, and Nanaya, in all three cities, may be outlined as follows.

Table 5. Marduk, Nabû, and their Consorts in Babylon, Borsippa, and Uruk

Babylon		Uruk	
Marduk, Bēl	Zarpanītu the lady of Babylon the queen of Esagil	consort not attested (Zarpanītu?)	Temple of Marduk
	Ištar-of-Babylon Lady-of-Babylon the queen of Babylon the lady of Esagil (?)	Ištar-of-Uruk Lady-of-Uruk the lady of Uruk	Symbol of Bēl (šubtu, kakku) in Eanna temple

<sup>25</sup> Perhaps related to this is the fact that in the address formulas of Neo-Babylonian letters from Uruk the gods Marduk and Nabû are sometimes invoked together with Ištar and Nanaya.

<sup>26</sup> A parallel process may have happened in Babylon, where the temple Eturkalamma was, during the Old Babylonian period, the sanctuary of An, Inanna, and Nanaya, the main three gods of Uruk. In first millennium sources, however, Anu is never mentioned in connection with this temple, which is known exclusively as the residence of Ištar-of-Babylon. Instead of Anu, Marduk had by then become the male deity who engaged in ritual activities with the goddess, for instance in the Divine Love Lyrics. On the history of Eturkalamma see GEORGE 1992, pp. 307–308, and GEORGE 1993, no. 1117.

<sup>27</sup> This is briefly discussed by JACOBSEN 1976, p. 231.

Borsippa		Uruk	
Nabû	Tašmētu the queen of Borsippa	consort not attested (Tašmētu?)	Temple of Nabû
	Nanaya the queen of Borsippa queen in Ezida in Borsippa ( <i>ina Barsippa ina Ezida</i> <i>Nanaya šarrat</i> )	Nanaya the queen of Uruk	Symbol of Nabû (šubtu, kakku) in Eanna temple

There is at present no evidence that religious festivals were performed in which Ištar and Marduk replicated at Uruk the ritual acts described in the Divine Love Lyrics for Babylon. The ritual *LKU* 51 mentions the god Bēl in a broken passage from which little can be inferred (Appendix 2). NCBT 377, on the other hand, records allocations of sacred garments for the *bīt-ḫilši* of Nabû and Nanaya on the 2nd day of the month Abu (§ 4.2.3.1), hinting at the existence of rituals involving the two deities. These rituals followed the clothing ceremony of the 1st day of that month, and also fell within a week-long string of cultic activities relating to the death and burial of Dumuzi. The form of Nabû mentioned in this text was presumably the god Nabû of Uruk worshiped in one of the *ekurrātu*, but one should not exclude the possibility that Nabû of Borsippa came down from his home city to take part in this ritual. YOS 7, 20 indicates that certain gods of Babylon and Borsippa may occasionally have traveled to Uruk to participate in religious festivals (§ 4.5.7.3). This even raises the possibility that the symbols of Bēl and Nabû worshiped in the Eanna temple acted as numinous surrogates guarding the cultic socles of Marduk of Babylon and Nabû of Borsippa which these two gods occupied when they came down to Uruk on ritual visits, but there is at present no direct evidence to substantiate this.

### 2.1.3. Possible Increase of Offerings Under Nebuchadnezzar II

The offering lists of Group A must be considered in conjunction with a group of ledgers consisting of monthly tabulations of the daily offerings of sheep.<sup>28</sup> These tables do not list the number of sheep directed to individual deities, including instead all sheep under one general daily expenditure. They also specify that both the regular (*ginû*) and occasional offerings (*guqqû*) are included, and list the animals according to the delivering unit within the temple administration. The tables are mostly dated to the reigns of Cyrus and Cambyses, with two early examples dated to the reign of Nabonidus, while the lists of Group A are all dated to the reign of Nebuchadnezzar II, with the exception of one Nabonidus text. Nevertheless, the monthly tables attest to patterns of temporal distribution of offerings which are quite valuable for comparison with the dates for which the lists of Group A are preserved. Table 6 charts the number of sheep and lambs tabulated in the lists of Group A against the total number of sheep found in the monthly tables for each cultic date:

<sup>28</sup> The texts are still mostly unpublished but have been studied in detail by ROBBINS 1996.

Table 6. Offerings of Sheep and Lambs in Group A and the Monthly Tables

Text	Date	Sheep	Lambs	Number of Sheep in Monthly Tables
PTS 2942	NBK2.11.07.08	–	11	72 sheep, month 7, day 8
PTS 3242	NBK2.12.10.16	5	–	28 sheep, month 10, day 16
YBC 9135	NBK2.15.06.16	12	–	32 sheep, month 6, day 16
NCBT 862	NBK2.15.07.08	15	11	72 sheep, month 7, day 8
PTS 3003	NBK2.18.01.06	6	–	9 sheep, month 1, day 6
YBC 9238	NBK2.23.03.20	–	14	9 sheep, month 3, day 20
NCBT 1213	NBK2.27.xx.xx	14	15	–
NBC 4801	NBK2.36.06.16	16	15	32 sheep, month 6, day 16
YBC 9445	NBK2.36.xx.16	17	13+[2?]	–
PTS 2042	NBK2.38.06.16	12+[4?]	15	32 sheep, month 6, day 16
PTS 3210	NBN.08.01.01	–	–	9 sheep, month 1, day 1
NCBT 670	xx.xx.xx.12.02	–	18 or 13	71 sheep, month 12, day 2

The designation UDU.NÍTA “(male) sheep” found in the heading of the monthly tables is a generic term under which both sheep and lambs are subsumed.<sup>29</sup> According to these tables 9 sheep were offered to the gods of Uruk on a normal cultic day. These presumably made up the regular offerings (*ginû*), which formed the basic daily sacrifices to the gods. The numbers could be increased on specific cultic days, reaching more than 90 animals a day from the 3rd to the 5th day of Addaru. Such punctual increases can sometimes be correlated with important cultic events. The increases on Tašritu-8 (72 sheep) and Ulūlu-16 (32 sheep), for instance, coincided with the calendar of the clothing ceremony (§ 1.12.1), and no less than 5, perhaps 6 of the offering lists of Group A are dated to these two days. The additional animals offered on specific cultic days presumably corresponded to the occasional offerings (*guqqû*).

Comparison between the offering lists and the monthly tables can be made only when the offering lists tabulate allocations of both sheep and lambs (NCBT 862, NCBT 1213, NBC 4801, YBC 9445, and PTS 2042). Nearly exact correspondences occur in two cases. NBC 4801 and PTS 2042, dated to Ulūlu 16, both have a total of 31 sacrificial sheep and lambs, which is almost identical with the total of 32 sheep (= sheep + lambs) found in the monthly tables for that cultic date. Text YBC 9445, with name of month not preserved, must also belong to Ulūlu, because this is the only month for which there is a comparable number of sheep sacrificed on day 16 in the monthly tables.<sup>30</sup> The other noteworthy fact is the important discrepancy in the total number of sheep found between NCBT 862 and the monthly tables for the cultic date of Tašritu 8, the latter having a total almost three times as large as the former (72 sheep against 26). This should lead us to consider the possibility that the allocation of animals was increased during the intervening years. Another hint in that direction is provided by YBC 9135, which lists

<sup>29</sup> This is further proven by text A 4255, edited below (§ 2.2), which subsumes 3 UDU.NÍTA.MEŠ and 2 SILA<sub>4</sub>.MEŠ under the total 5 UDU.NÍTA.MEŠ.

<sup>30</sup> Month 10 has 28 sheep, month 5 has 10 sheep, and all other months have 9 sheep, which is the basic, minimal number of animals sacrificed on any day, and must therefore represent the *ginû*, the regular offerings, whereas increases beyond that number which are recorded for specific cultic dates must represent the *guqqû*, the occasional offerings.

12 sheep for the cultic date of Ulūlu 16, a number increased to 16 and even 17 in NBC 4801, YBC 9445, and PTS 2042. They suggest that the posited increase occurred during or around the third decade of the reign of Nebuchadnezzar II.

A parallel observation arising from a study of Group A is the tendency of these lists to become more detailed and specific over time, and also to include a larger number of gods. YBC 9135 seems particularly important in this respect, since it can be compared with later lists dated to the same cultic date (NBC 4801, PTS 2042, and probably YBC 9445). The increase of 4 (or 5) sacrificial sheep for that day which is evidenced by the later lists was apparently mostly directed at a number of deities not mentioned in YBC 9135. This is certainly the case for the temple of Marduk, and also for at least two of the following four gods: the Divine Chariot, Nergal, Ninurta, and Nusku.<sup>31</sup> These changes can better be gauged with the help of Table 7, which charts the animals distributed to each deity and sanctuary appearing in Group A of offering lists. The following remarks will be helpful to understand the organization of the tables.

1. Ištar, Nanaya, and Bēltu-ša-Rēš. The two earliest offering lists, PTS 2942 and PTS 3242, do not mention offerings to Ištar, Nanaya, and Bēltu-ša-Rēš, but only “to Eanna.” The offerings “to Eanna” have been redistributed as follows in the tables: 40% each to Ištar and Nanaya and 20% to Bēltu-ša-Rēš. The use of the collective designation “to Eanna” in PTS 2942 and PTS 3242 also means that we cannot be certain that the symbols of Bēl and Nabû, mentioned alongside Ištar and Nanaya from YBC 9135 onwards, had already been introduced in the Eanna temple at that time.

2. Ušur-amāssu and Urkayītu. In PTS 2942 offerings are directed to the temple of Ušur-amāssu. In PTS 3242 they are directed only to Ušur-amāssu. In the other texts they are directed to both Ušur-amāssu and Urkayītu, most of the time with their offerings listed separately. In all cases the numbers for the two goddesses have been conflated in the tables.

3. Gula and ḪIGI.DU. In text PTS 2942 two animals are listed for É ḫgu-la, and none are listed for ḪIGI.DU, while the other lists give one animal to each of these two deities. Therefore the designation É ḫgu-la in PTS 2942 must refer also to ḪIGI.DU and the offerings have in this case been split between the two deities in the tables.

4. The notation “[o]” means that the name of the deity is preserved, but that a break occurs in the column listing the number of animals. The notation “0 or 1” means the opposite, namely that the number of animals is preserved (always 1 for each category of animal), but that the name of the recipient deity is lost. In these cases we can tentatively restore the names of these deities on the basis of the hierarchical order used in the lists, although there is no single case where this restoration is certain. Therefore the sacrificial allowance is posited in all such cases to have been either 0 or 1 animal, depending on whether the name of the deity was not present in the break or did indeed occur.

<sup>31</sup> There is a break towards the bottom of the list where two gods were listed in a hierarchical position compatible with the rank of any of these four gods, as well as with that of the *bīl-jilši*.

## 2. The Offering Lists

Table 7. Offerings of Animals to Deities and Temples of Group A

		Oxen	Sheep	Birds	Lambs	Turtledoves
Symbol of Bēl, and Lady-of-Uruk						
PTS 2942	NBK2.11.07.08			2	2	
PTS 3242	NBK2.12.10.16	1	1	2		
YBC 9135	NBK2.15.06.16	1	1	1	1	1
NCBT 862	NBK2.15.07.08	1	2		2	1
PTS 3003	NBK2.18.01.06	1	1			
YBC 9238	NBK2.23.03.20				2	
NCBT 1213	NBK2.27.xx.xx	[o]	1	2	2	
NBC 4801	NBK2.36.06.16	1	2	2	2	2
YBC 9445	NBK2.36.xx.16	1	2	2	2	
PTS 2042	NBK2.38.06.16	1	2	2	2	
PTS 3210	NBN.08.01.01			1		
NCBT 670	xx.xx.xx.12.02			3	4	
Symbol of Nabû, and Nanaya						
PTS 2942	NBK2.11.07.08			2	2	
PTS 3242	NBK2.12.10.16	1	1	2		
YBC 9135	NBK2.15.06.16		1	1	1	1
NCBT 862	NBK2.15.07.08	1	2		2	1
PTS 3003	NBK2.18.01.06	1	1			
YBC 9238	NBK2.23.03.20				2	
NCBT 1213	NBK2.27.xx.xx	[o]	1	2	2	
NBC 4801	NBK2.36.06.16	1	2	2	2	2
YBC 9445	NBK2.36.xx.16	1	2	2	2	
PTS 2042	NBK2.38.06.16	1	2	2	2	
PTS 3210	NBN.08.01.01				1	
NCBT 670	xx.xx.xx.12.02			3	3	
Bēltu-ša-Rēš						
PTS 2942	NBK2.11.07.08			1	1	
PTS 3242	NBK2.12.10.16	0	1	1		
YBC 9135	NBK2.15.06.16	0	1	1	1	1
NCBT 862	NBK2.15.07.08	1	1		1	1
PTS 3003	NBK2.18.01.06	1	1			
YBC 9238	NBK2.23.03.20				1	
NCBT 1213	NBK2.27.xx.xx	[o]	1	1	1	
NBC 4801	NBK2.36.06.16	0	1	1	1	1
YBC 9445	NBK2.36.xx.16	0	1	1	1	
PTS 2042	NBK2.38.06.16	0	1	1	1	
PTS 3210	NBN.08.01.01			1		
NCBT 670	xx.xx.xx.12.02			2	1	

## 2.1. The Lists of Sacrificial Animals: Group A

		Oxen	Sheep	Birds	Lambs	Turtledoves
Temple of Marduk						
PTS 2942	NBK2.11.07.08			1	1	
PTS 3242	NBK2.12.10.16	0	0	0		
YBC 9135	NBK2.15.06.16	0	0	0	0	0
NCBT 862	NBK2.15.07.08	0	0		0	0
PTS 3003	NBK2.18.01.06	0	0			
YBC 9238	NBK2.23.03.20				1	
NCBT 1213	NBK2.27.xx.xx	[o]	1	1	1	
NBC 4801	NBK2.36.06.16	0	1	1	1	1
YBC 9445	NBK2.36.xx.16	0	1	1	1	
PTS 2042	NBK2.38.06.16	0	1	1	1	
PTS 3210	NBN.08.01.01			0		
NCBT 670	xx.xx.xx.12.02			1	1	
Ušur-amāssu and Urkayītu						
PTS 2942	NBK2.11.07.08			2	2	
PTS 3242	NBK2.12.10.16	0	1	2		
YBC 9135	NBK2.15.06.16	1	2	2	2	2
NCBT 862	NBK2.15.07.08	2	2		2	2
PTS 3003	NBK2.18.01.06	2	2			
YBC 9238	NBK2.23.03.20				2	
NCBT 1213	NBK2.27.xx.xx	[o]	1	2	2	
NBC 4801	NBK2.36.06.16	1	2	2	2	2
YBC 9445	NBK2.36.xx.16	1	2	2	2	
PTS 2042	NBK2.38.06.16	1	2	2	2	
PTS 3210	NBN.08.01.01			2		
NCBT 670	xx.xx.xx.12.02			3	2	
Gula						
PTS 2942	NBK2.11.07.08			1	1	
PTS 3242	NBK2.12.10.16	0	0	1		
YBC 9135	NBK2.15.06.16	0	1	[o]	1	1
NCBT 862	NBK2.15.07.08	1	1		1	1
PTS 3003	NBK2.18.01.06	1	1			
YBC 9238	NBK2.23.03.20				0 or 1	
NCBT 1213	NBK2.27.xx.xx	[o]	1	1	1	
NBC 4801	NBK2.36.06.16	0	1	1	1	1
YBC 9445	NBK2.36.xx.16	0	0 or 1	0 or 1	0 or 1	
PTS 2042	NBK2.38.06.16	1	1	1	1	
PTS 3210	NBN.08.01.01			1		
NCBT 670	xx.xx.xx.12.02			1	1	

## 2. The Offering Lists

		Oxen	Sheep	Birds	Lambs	Turtledoves
IGI.DU (of Uruk)						
PTS 2942	NBK2.11.07.08			1	1	
PTS 3242	NBK2.12.10.16	0	0	1		
YBC 9135	NBK2.15.06.16	0	1	0	0	1
NCBT 862	NBK2.15.07.08	1	1		1	0
PTS 3003	NBK2.18.01.06	0	0			
YBC 9238	NBK2.23.03.20				0 or 1	
NCBT 1213	NBK2.27.xx.xx	[o]	1	1	1	
NBC 4801	NBK2.36.06.16	0	1	1	1	1
YBC 9445	NBK2.36.xx.16	0	0 or 1	0 or 1	0 or 1	
PTS 2042	NBK2.38.06.16	0	1	1	1	
PTS 3210	NBN.08.01.01			1		
NCBT 670	xx.xx.xx.12.02			1	1	

### Bēlet-Eanna and IGI.DU of Udannu

PTS 2942	NBK2.11.07.08			0	0	
PTS 3242	NBK2.12.10.16	0	0	0		
YBC 9135	NBK2.15.06.16	0	2	0	1	1
NCBT 862	NBK2.15.07.08	0	1		0	0
PTS 3003	NBK2.18.01.06	0	0			
YBC 9238	NBK2.23.03.20				0 or 1	
NCBT 1213	NBK2.27.xx.xx	0	0	0	0	
NBC 4801	NBK2.36.06.16	0	0	0	0	0
YBC 9445	NBK2.36.xx.16	0	0 or 1	0 or 1	0 or 1	
PTS 2042	NBK2.38.06.16	0	0	0	0	
PTS 3210	NBN.08.01.01			0		
NCBT 670	xx.xx.xx.12.02			2	2	

### The Divine Chariot

PTS 2942	NBK2.11.07.08			0	0	
PTS 3242	NBK2.12.10.16	0	0	0		
YBC 9135	NBK2.15.06.16	0	0 or 1	0	0	0
NCBT 862	NBK2.15.07.08	0	1		0	0
PTS 3003	NBK2.18.01.06	0	0			
YBC 9238	NBK2.23.03.20				0 or 1	
NCBT 1213	NBK2.27.xx.xx	[o]	1	1	1	
NBC 4801	NBK2.36.06.16	0	1	1	1	1
YBC 9445	NBK2.36.xx.16	0	0 or 1	0 or 1	0 or 1	
PTS 2042	NBK2.38.06.16	[o]	1	1	1	
PTS 3210	NBN.08.01.01			0		
NCBT 670	xx.xx.xx.12.02			1	1	

## 2.1. The Lists of Sacrificial Animals: Group A

		Oxen	Sheep	Birds	Lambs	Turtledoves
The bū-ḫilṣi						
PTS 2942	NBK2.11.07.08			1	1	
PTS 3242	NBK2.12.10.16	0	0	1		
YBC 9135	NBK2.15.06.16	0	0 or 1	0	0	0
NCBT 862	NBK2.15.07.08	0	0		0	0
PTS 3003	NBK2.18.01.06	0	0			
YBC 9238	NBK2.23.03.20				1	
NCBT 1213	NBK2.27.xx.xx	[o]	1	1	1	
NBC 4801	NBK2.36.06.16	[o]	1	1	1	1
YBC 9445	NBK2.36.xx.16	0	0 or 1	0 or 1	0 or 1	
PTS 2042	NBK2.38.06.16	[o]	1	1	1	
PTS 3210	NBN.08.01.01			0		
NCBT 670	xx.xx.xx.12.02			1	1	

### Nergal

PTS 2942	NBK2.11.07.08			0	0	
PTS 3242	NBK2.12.10.16	0	0	0		
YBC 9135	NBK2.15.06.16	0	0 or 1	0	0	0
NCBT 862	NBK2.15.07.08	0	0 or 1		0	0
PTS 3003	NBK2.18.01.06	0	0			
YBC 9238	NBK2.23.03.20				0	
NCBT 1213	NBK2.27.xx.xx	[o]	1	1	1	
NBC 4801	NBK2.36.06.16	0	1	1	1	1
YBC 9445	NBK2.36.xx.16	0	0 or 1	0 or 1	0 or 1	
PTS 2042	NBK2.38.06.16	[o]	[o]	[o]	1	
PTS 3210	NBN.08.01.01			0		
NCBT 670	xx.xx.xx.12.02			0	0	

### Ninurta

PTS 2942	NBK2.11.07.08			0	0	
PTS 3242	NBK2.12.10.16	0	0	1		
YBC 9135	NBK2.15.06.16	0	0 or 1	0	0	0
NCBT 862	NBK2.15.07.08	0	0 or 1		0	0
PTS 3003	NBK2.18.01.06	0	0			
YBC 9238	NBK2.23.03.20				0	
NCBT 1213	NBK2.27.xx.xx	[o]	1	1	1	
NBC 4801	NBK2.36.06.16	0	1	1	1	1
YBC 9445	NBK2.36.xx.16	0	0 or 1	0 or 1	0 or 1	
PTS 2042	NBK2.38.06.16	[o]	[o]	1	1	
PTS 3210	NBN.08.01.01			0		
NCBT 670	xx.xx.xx.12.02			0	0	

## 2. The Offering Lists

		Oxen	Sheep	Birds	Lambs	Turtledoves
Nusku						
PTS 2942	NBK2.11.07.08			0	0	
PTS 3242	NBK2.12.10.16	0	0	0		
YBC 9135	NBK2.15.06.16	0	0 or 1	0	0	0
NCBT 862	NBK2.15.07.08	0	0		0	0
PTS 3003	NBK2.18.01.06	0	0			
YBC 9238	NBK2.23.03.20				0	
NCBT 1213	NBK2.27.xx.xx	[o]	1	1	1	
NBC 4801	NBK2.36.06.16	0	1	1	1	1
YBC 9445	NBK2.36.xx.16	0	0 or 1	0 or 1	0 or 1	
PTS 2042	NBK2.38.06.16	[o]	[o]	[o]	1	
PTS 3210	NBN.08.01.01			1		
NCBT 670	xx.xx.xx.12.02			1	1	

### Šamaš and Aya (of Larsa)

PTS 2942	NBK2.11.07.08			0	0	
PTS 3242	NBK2.12.10.16	0	1	1		
YBC 9135	NBK2.15.06.16	0	1	0	1	3
NCBT 862	NBK2.15.07.08	0	1		1	1
PTS 3003	NBK2.18.01.06	0	0			
YBC 9238	NBK2.23.03.20				0	
NCBT 1213	NBK2.27.xx.xx	[o]	2	0	0	
NBC 4801	NBK2.36.06.16	0	1	0	0	0
YBC 9445	NBK2.36.xx.16	0	2	0	0	
PTS 2042	NBK2.38.06.16	[o]	[o]	0	0	
PTS 3210	NBN.08.01.01			0		
NCBT 670	xx.xx.xx.12.02			0	0	

If we consider the data outlined in these tables regardless of the specific cultic days to which the offering lists are dated, the following picture emerges. Whereas the offerings to a number of deities and sanctuaries seem to have remained stationary throughout the reign of Nebuchadnezzar until at least the middle of the reign of Nabonidus,<sup>32</sup> another group of gods who received no animal or only an occasional sacrifice prior to the third decade of the reign of Nebuchadnezzar now appear quite frequently. The change apparently took place after the 18th year of Nebuchadnezzar (PTS 3003) and possibly before his 23rd year (YBC 9238), but certainly before his 27th year (NCBT 1213). The gods who apparently benefited from the change are the temple of Marduk, the Divine Chariot, Nergal, Ninurta, and Nusku.

The evidence cannot be considered fully conclusive because of the comparatively small number of texts available. Nevertheless, some degree of confidence is instilled by the fact that we have at least 3, and very probably 4 lists dated to the cultic date of Ulūlu 16, and that these lists contain an optimal or nearly optimal tally of sacrificial animals.

<sup>32</sup> The significantly higher numbers of animals recorded in NCBT 670 are explained by the fact that the text is dated to the 2nd day of Addaru, during which 71 animals were sacrificed according to the monthly tables. The first week of Addaru witnessed the largest slaughter of animals in the entire year.

## 2.2. Lists of Sacrificial Animals: Group B

These lists suggest increases from 1 to 2 animals for the pairs Symbol-of-Bēl/Lady-of-Uruk and Symbol-of-Nabû/Nanaya as well as for the god <sup>d</sup>IGI.DU, and increases from 0 to 1 for the temple of Marduk, the Divine Chariot, the *bīt-hilši*, Nergal, Ninurta, and Nusku. Offerings to the other gods remained the same, and may even show a decrease for Bēlet-Eanna and <sup>d</sup>IGI.DU of Udannu, although this is a moot point.

Significantly, the increases mostly benefited the “imperial” gods and their various manifestations: Marduk, Nabû, Ninurta, who was equated with both Marduk and Nabû in late theology, and Nusku, who was considered to be identical with Nabû since the Middle Assyrian period, especially in the north.<sup>33</sup> Nergal was also a very important imperial god during the time of the Neo-Babylonian dynasty, appearing sometimes in third position in the inscriptions of the Neo-Babylonian kings, just after Marduk and Nabû. The god <sup>d</sup>IGI.DU also belongs to this group since he was a form of either Ninurta or Nergal, and the goddesses Ištar-of-Uruk and Nanaya probably saw an increase in their offerings of sheep mainly because of their cultic connection with the symbols of Bēl and Nabû. The Divine Chariot was also a beneficiary, but in this case the reasons for the increase are less apparent, unless we identify it as the chariot of Marduk, but no evidence favors this equation. All this data tallies perfectly well with Nebuchadnezzar’s claims that he increased the offerings of the gods of Babylon and Borsippa,<sup>34</sup> indicating that the changes also had repercussions at Uruk.

The presence of the symbols of Bēl and Nabû in the Eanna temple—whether they were introduced by Nebuchadnezzar or their presence there had been reconfirmed when Ištar-of-Uruk returned to her sanctuary—is perfectly consistent with this evidence of a religious policy favoring the worship of imperial and dynastic gods in local cult centers. The second capture of Jerusalem occurred in Nebuchadnezzar’s 18th regnal year, the conquest and incorporation of the kingdom of Judah into the empire marking the end of its main phase of expansion. The increase of offerings at Uruk and elsewhere during the third decade of Nebuchadnezzar’s reign followed in the wake of this imperial climax, reflecting the triumphalism of that period and the military and political achievements of the king.

## 2.2. Lists of Sacrificial Animals: Group B

The archive includes 9 more offering lists which form a heterogeneous group. All of them have previously been published except YBC 9932 and A 4255. Only YOS 17, 345 and 346, and A 4255 contain explicit indications that they are lists of sacrificial animals. *SWU* 160 to 163 and *ARRIM* 7, 47 do not include such explicit notations, but their format is quite close to that of the lists of Group A. In YBC 9932, however, most of the

<sup>33</sup> That Nabû and Nusku were considered to be one and the same god, at least in the north, is proven by two monuments. One is the altar of the Assyrian king Tukulti-Ninurta I which depicts the king kneeling before the tablet and reed stylus of Nabû, while the inscription on the monument identifies the god represented by these emblems as Nusku (STEIN 1993–1997, p. 301). The other one is an inscription of Nabonidus found at Harran in the 1980s in which the name of his father, Nabû-balāssu-iqbi, is spelled <sup>d</sup>PA.TÚG(= NUSKU)-TIN-su-iq-bi (DONBAZ 1991).

<sup>34</sup> These claims are made in the Wadi Brissa inscription, for which see VAB IV, Nbk. 19, A IV 23 – V 18, and A VII 1–20.



quantities are expressed as 1/2, which weakens the possibility that animals are involved. A large number of minor deities who are not mentioned in the lists of Group A make an occasional appearance in those of Group B. The following edition of *SWU* 160 to 163 departs only slightly from Freydank's.

*SWU* 160

obv.

1'. [o o o o o]	'd'30 [o o o]	
2'. [o o] 'x	2? IGI 'd'URI-'INIM-su u 'd'x x'	1
3'. [o o] 1	1 IGI 'd'gu-'la'	1
4'. [o o] 1	1 IGI 'd'IGI.'DU'	1
5'. [o o] 1	1 IGI 'd'GIGIR	1
6'. [o] 1 1	1 IGI É 'hi-il-su	1
7'. [o] 1 1	1 IGI É 'd'MAŠ'	1
8'. [o o] 1	1 IGI É 'd'NUSKU'	[o o o]

rev.

1'. [o o o o]	IGI 'd'UR'.IDIM.ME		[o o o]
2'. [o o o o]	IGI É 'd'a-nù		[o o o]
3'. [o o o o]	'IGI' É 'd'BE		[o o o]
4'. [o o] '1'	IGI É 'd'U.GUR	1	[o o o]
5'. [o o o o]	'IGI' É 'd'IM		[o o o]
6'. [o o o o]	IGI É 'd'za-ba <sub>4</sub> -ba <sub>4</sub>		PAP 1 [o o o o o]
7'. [o o o o]	IGI É 'd'lugal-ir <sub>9</sub> -ra		[o o o o o o o o]
8'. [o o o o o o o o o o o o]	1 [o o o o o o o o o]		

obv.

1'. [o o o o o o]	Sîn [o o o]	
2'. [o o] 'x'	2 before Ušur-amāssu and 'x x'	; 1
3'. [o o] 1	1 before Gula	; 1
4'. [o o] 1	1 before 'd'IGI.DU	; 1
5'. [o o] 1	1 before the Divine Chariot	; 1
6'. [o] 1 1	1 before the <i>bīt-hilši</i>	; 1
7'. [o] 1 1	1 before the temple of Ninurta	; 1
8'. [o o] 1	1 before the temple of Nusku	; [o o]

rev.

1'. [o o o o]	before the Divine <i>Urdimmus</i>	; [o o]
2'. [o o o o]	before the temple of Anu	; [o o]
3'. [o o o o]	before the temple of 'd'BE	; [o o]
4'. [o o] '1'	before the temple of Nergal	; 1 [o o]
5'. [o o o o]	before the temple of Adad	; [o o]
6'. [o o o o]	before the temple of Zababa	; total, 1 [o]
7'. [o o o o]	before the temple of Lugalirra	; [o o]
8'. [o o o o o o o o o o o o]	1 [o o o o o o o o o]	

According to Freydank the identification of obverse and reverse on this tablet is uncertain. If the tablet follows a hierarchical order, however, the section listing Sîn, Ušur-amāssu, and the other deities of Group A must correspond to the obverse. Sîn occurs here just before Ušur-amāssu, as is the case in PTS 3210, and all other deities listed on the obverse occur in the same hierarchical order as in Group A. On the reverse we find first the Divine *Urdimmus*, followed by a list of the small sanctuaries. Among them is the temple of Nergal, one of the recipients of offerings in Group A, where it occurs normally before Ninurta and Nusku, also listed here on the obverse. Therefore this text departs slightly from the standard hierarchy of Group A. In consideration of its ledger format, and the use of simple whole numerals, *SWU* 160 is probably a list of sacrificial animals.

*SWU* 161

obv.

1'. [o o o o o o o o o o]	'É ziq-qur'-rat
2'. [o o o o]	IGI 'd'GAŠAN šá SA]G
3'. [o] '1'	IGI É 'd'AMAR.UD
4'. [o] '1'	IGI É 'd'30
5'. [o] '1'	IGI 'd'URI-'INIM-su
6'. [o] '1'	IGI 'd'áš-ka-a-a-i-tu <sub>4</sub>
7'. [o] '1'	IGI 'd'gu-la
8'. [o] '1'	IGI 'd'IGI.DU
9'. [o] '1'	'IGI 'd'GIGIR'
10'. [o o o o o o o o o]	'x'

obv.

1'. [o o o o o o o o o o]	the ziggurat
2'. [o o o o]	before Bēltu-ša-Rēš
3'. [o] '1'	before the temple of Marduk
4'. [o] '1'	before the temple of Sîn
5'. [o] '1'	before Ušur-amāssu
6'. [o] '1'	before Urkayītu
7'. [o] '1'	before Gula
8'. [o] '1'	before 'd'IGI.DU
9'. [o] '1'	before the Divine Chariot
10'. [o o o o o o o o o]	'x'

The order of deities in this list is in conformity with that of Group A, with the exception that it mentions the ziggurat before Bēltu-ša-Rēš, who normally occurs in third position, immediately after Ištar-of-Uruk and Nanaya. *SWU* 161 is probably a list of sacrificial animals.

## SWU 162

obv.?

- 1'. [o o o o IGI dGAŠAN šá UNU]G<sup>(ki)</sup>
- 2'. [o o o o IGI šu-bat 'd[NĀ]
- 3'. [o o o o IGI]I d<sup>na-n</sup>[a-a]
- 4'. [o o o o IGI]I dGAŠAN šá [SAG]
- 5'. [o o o o IGI] É dAMAR.UD
- 6'. [o o o] '1' IGI d<sup>URI</sup>-IN[IM-su]
- 7'. [o o o] I IGI d<sup>áš-ka</sup>-[a-a-i-tu<sub>4</sub>]
- 8'. [o o o] '1' IGI d<sup>gu</sup>-[la]
- 9'. [o o o] '1' IGI d<sup>IGI</sup>.[DU]
- 10'. [o o o o IGI] <sup>818</sup>[GIGIR]
- 11'. [o o o o] 'IGI x' [o o o]

obv.?

- 1'. [o o o o before the Lady-of-Uru]k
- 2'. [o o o o before the al]tar of [Nabû]
- 3'. [o o o o befo]re Nan[aya]
- 4'. [o o o o b]efore Bēltu-ša-[Rēš]
- 5'. [o o o o] before the temple of Marduk
- 6'. [o o o] '1' before Ušur-am[āssu]
- 7'. [o o o] I before Urk[ayītu]
- 8'. [o o o] '1' before Gu[la]
- 9'. [o o o] '1' before d<sup>IGI</sup>.[DU]
- 10'. [o o o o] before the (Divine) Cha[riot]
- 11'. [o o o o] 'before x' [o o o]

The preserved portions of this text are in perfect agreement with the divine hierarchy found in the offering lists of Group A. Therefore it could belong to that group, but its fragmentary character precludes a more definitive judgment. It is probably a list of sacrificial animals.

## SWU 163

obv.?

- 1'. [o o o] 'x x x'
- 2'. [o o o] 'IGI' d<sup>a-d</sup>[a-p]a
- 3'. IGI BĀRA d<sup>UTU</sup>

rev.?

1. [o o o] IGI d<sup>za-qip-ti</sup>
2. [o o o] 'IGI' d<sup>gu-la</sup> šá É.KISAL
3. [o o o o o] d<sup>MAŠ</sup> šá É.KISAL
4. [o o o o o] 'x-e'-ti
5. [o o o o o o o] 'x'

obv.?

- 1'. [o o o] 'x x x'
- 2'. [o o o] before Ad[ap]a
- 3'. before the dais of Šamaš

rev.?

1. [o o o] before the Divine *Zaqiptu* Standards
2. [o o o] before Gula-of-the-Courtyard
3. [o o o o o] Ninurta-of-the-Courtyard
4. [o o o o o] 'x x x'
5. [o o o o o o o] 'x'

This text refers to some rarely attested deities, such as Adapa and Gula-of-the-Courtyard. The dais (*parakku*) of Šamaš, mentioned on line 3', is otherwise unknown. However, the late topographical text *SpTU* I 136 lists several daises (*parakku*) in the Eanna temple, and also mentions a seat (*šubtu*) of Šamaš in the courtyard of Ezalagga (§ 7.28). The text is very probably an offering list because of the use of the logogram IGI before the divine names, but the nature of the offering is unknown.

## ARRIM 7, 47 (collated)

1. 12 a-na É.AN.NA
2. 2 a-na d<sup>URI</sup>.INIM-su
3. u d<sup>áš-ka</sup>-a-a-i-tu<sub>4</sub>
4. 2 a-na d<sup>ME</sup>.ME u d<sup>IGI</sup>.DU
5. 1 a-na É <sup>hi</sup>-il-ši
6. 1 a-na 'É' d<sup>AMAR</sup>.UD
7. 1 a-na d<sup>30</sup> (šá) AN-'e'
8. 2 a-na d<sup>DI</sup>.KUD?'
9. u d<sup>ba-n</sup>[i?-tu<sub>4</sub>?]
10. 1 a-na [o o o]
11. 1 a-na [o o o]
12. u d[o o o]
13. 1 a-na É d[o o o]
14. 1 a-na d<sup>nin</sup>'-[urta?]
15. 1 a-na d<sup>ME</sup>.ME
16. šá É.KISAL
17. 1 a-na d<sup>uri-gal</sup>-[lum]
18. 1 a-na d<sup>ur-maḥ-lú</sup>-(u<sub>18</sub>-lu)
19. PAP 28
20. '1' a-na 'ni-din-tu<sub>4</sub>
21. '1' a-na NÍG.GA
22. d<sup>U</sup>.GUR-PAP IGI-'er'

1. 12 for Eanna;
2. 2 for Ušur-amāssu
3. and Urkayītu;
4. 2 for Gula and d<sup>IGI</sup>.DU;
5. 1 for the *bīl-ḫilši*;

6. 1 for the temple of Marduk;
7. 1 for Šin-of-Heaven;
8. 2 for M[adānu?]
9. and Ban[ītu?];
10. 1 for [o o o];
11. 1 for [o o o]
12. and [o o o];
13. 1 for the temple of [o o o];
14. 1 for Nin[urta?];
15. 1 for Gula-
16. of-the-Courtyard;
17. 1 for the Divine *Urigallu* Stan[dard(s)];
18. 1 for the Divine *Urmaḥlū(lu)s*;
19. Total: 28;
20. 1 for Nidintu;
21. 1 for the (temple) estates;
22. received by Nergal-nāšir.

The hierarchical order of Group A is followed only from lines 1 through 5. The temple of Marduk, mentioned on line 6, should normally occur between “Eanna” and the dyad Ušur-amāssu/Urkayītu. The rest of the text consists of minor deities in no apparent theological order. As discussed above, the designation “Eanna” in this context refers to the triad composed of Ištar-of-Uruk, Nanaya, and Bēltu-ša-Rēš, and possibly includes the symbols of Bēl and Nabū as well. The text is probably a list of sacrificial animals.

## A 4255

1. 3 UDU.NÍTA.MEŠ
2. 2 SILA<sub>4</sub>.MEŠ
3. PAP 5 UDU.NÍTA.MEŠ šá
4. ITI APIN U<sub>4</sub> 24-KAM
5. U<sub>4</sub> 25-KAM U<sub>4</sub> 26-KAM
6. a-na <sup>u</sup>gu-la
7. par-su <sup>u</sup>tukul-ti-<sup>u</sup>šú
8. LÚ SIPA ŠÁ.DUG<sub>4</sub>
9. IGI-er
10. ITI APIN U<sub>4</sub> 26-KAM
11. MU '17'-KAM <sup>u</sup>NA-NÍG.DU-ÛRI
12. LUGAL TIN.TIR<sup>ki</sup>

3 sheep, 2 lambs. Total: 5 sheep for the month Araḥsamnu, for the 24th, 25th, and 26th days, selected for Gula, received by Tukulti-Marduk, the shepherd of regular offerings. Month Araḥsamnu, 26th day, 17th year of Nebuchadnezzar, king of Babylon.

According to the monthly tables a total of 10, 12, and 13 sheep were sacrificed on the 24th, 25th, and 26th days of Araḥsamnu, which represent only a small increase from the basic 9 sheep making up the daily regular offerings.<sup>35</sup> The evidence from Group A

<sup>35</sup> ROBBINS 1996, p. 71.

indicates that a daily average of one sheep and one lamb were sacrificed to Gula. The present text is in conformity with this evidence.

## YOS 17, 345

1. ul-tu U<sub>4</sub> 3-KAM šá ITI ŠE
2. a-di U<sub>4</sub> 6-KAM u<sub>4</sub>-mu
3. 2 UDU.NÍTA a-na É.AN.NA
4. u É <sup>u</sup>AMAR.UD
5. [1] a-na <sup>u</sup>NUSKU
6. 1 a-na <sup>u</sup>ur-dim<sup>meš\*</sup>
7. u <sup>u</sup>kak-kab-ti
8. PAP 10 UDU.NÍTA.MEŠ gi-né-e
9. <sup>u</sup>tukul-ti-<sup>u</sup>AMAR.UD A 'NÍG.DU
10. <sup>u</sup>SIPA gi-né-e
11. IGI-er ITI ŠE U<sub>4</sub> 6\*-KAM
12. MU 12-KAM <sup>u</sup>NA-NÍG.DU-ÛRI
13. LUGAL TIN.TIR<sup>ki</sup>

From the 3rd until the 6th days of the month Addaru, 2 sheep daily for Eanna and the temple of Marduk, (plus) [1] for Nusku and 1 for the Divine *Urdimmus* and the Divine Star-Shaped Branding Iron. Total: 10 sheep for the regular offerings, received by Tukulti-Marduk, son of Kudurru, the shepherd of regular offerings. Month Addaru, 6th day, 12th year of Nebuchadnezzar, king of Babylon.

The theological order in this administrative note follows that of Group A. The days for which these regular offerings of sheep are reckoned, the 3rd to the 6th days of Ayaru, corresponded to the largest increase in sheep offerings for the entire year according to the monthly tables.<sup>36</sup> If we assume that the designation “Eanna” refers here to the triad composed of Ištar-of-Uruk, Nanaya, and Bēltu-ša-Rēš, then the daily average of 2 sheep offered here to Eanna and the temple of Marduk is inferior to that recorded in Group A. PTS 3242, dated the same year as YOS 17, 345, lists one sheep for each deity of the triad, but none for the temple of Marduk. Other texts have significantly higher numbers. Obviously the quantities listed here did not make up the entire regular sacrificial allowance of these deities and temple for that 4-day period, not to mention the vast increases of *guqqû* offerings during those same days.

## YOS 17, 346

1. 2 GU<sub>4</sub> NÍNDA.MEŠ KÙ.MEŠ a-na É.AN.NA
2. 1 GU<sub>4</sub> NÍNDA KÙ a-na <sup>u</sup>UTU
3. 1 GU<sub>4</sub> NÍNDA a-na <sup>u</sup>gu-la
4. 1 GU<sub>4</sub> NÍNDA a-na <sup>u</sup>IGI.DU
5. [o] 'GU<sub>4</sub> NÍNDA' a-na <sup>u</sup>gi<sup>u</sup>GIGIR
6. [o GU<sub>4</sub> NÍNDA] a-na É <sup>u</sup>AMAR.UD

<sup>36</sup> ROBBINS 1996, p. 70, where the following figures are listed: 71 sheep on Addaru 2, 95 on Addaru 3, 91 each on Addaru 4 and 5, and 76 on Addaru 6 (there were apparently slight variations in these numbers every year).

7. [o o o o o] 'x' *par-su*
8. [o o o o o IT]I ŠE
9. [o o o o o o o o]
10. A-šú šá <sup>10</sup>NA-GI IGI-*er*
11. ITI ŠE U<sub>4</sub> 20-KAM MU 10-KAM
12. <sup>10</sup>NA-NÍG.DU-ŪRI LUGAL TIN.TIR<sup>ki</sup>

1. 2 unblemished calves, for Eanna;
2. 1 unblemished calf, for Šamaš;
3. 1 calf, for Gula;
4. 1 calf, for <sup>4</sup>IGI.DU;
5. [1] calf, for the (Divine) Chariot;
6. [1 calf], for the temple of Marduk;
7. [o o o o o] 'x' selected
8. [o o o o o mon]th Addaru;
9. [o o o o o o o o]
10. son of Nabû-ušallim, has received.
11. Month Addaru, 20th day, 10th year
12. of Nebuchadnezzar, king of Babylon.

The order in which deities are listed does not follow that of Group A. Šamaš should be listed last, and the temple of Marduk should occur after "Eanna."

## YBC 9932 (plate 23)

1. 1/2 [o o o o o]
2. '1/2' [o o o o o]
3. '1/2?' [o o o o o]
4. '1/2' [É] 'x x x'
5. 1/2 É <sup>(4)</sup>luga<sup>l</sup>-bàn-<sup>r</sup>da'
6. 1/2 É.IG.ĪAL.AN.KI
7. 1/2 É AN.ŠAR
8. 1/2 É.UR<sub>4</sub>.UR<sub>4</sub>
9. 1/2 É.KI.SILIM
10. 1/2 É <sup>4</sup>IM
11. 1/2 É U.GUR
12. 1/2 É <sup>4</sup>AMAR.UD šá KISAL
13. 1/2 É <sup>4</sup>MAŠ šá KISAL
14. 1 <sup>4</sup>za-qip-lu<sub>4</sub>
15. 1 <sup>4</sup>GIGIR
16. 1 'É <sup>4</sup>é-a'
17. 1 É <sup>4</sup>gu-la

1. 1/2 for [o o o o];
2. '1/2' for [o o o o];
3. '1/2?' for [o o o o];
4. '1/2' for [the temple] of 'x x x';
5. 1/2 for the temple of Lugalbanda;
6. 1/2 for the Eighalanki;
7. 1/2 for the temple of Aššur;

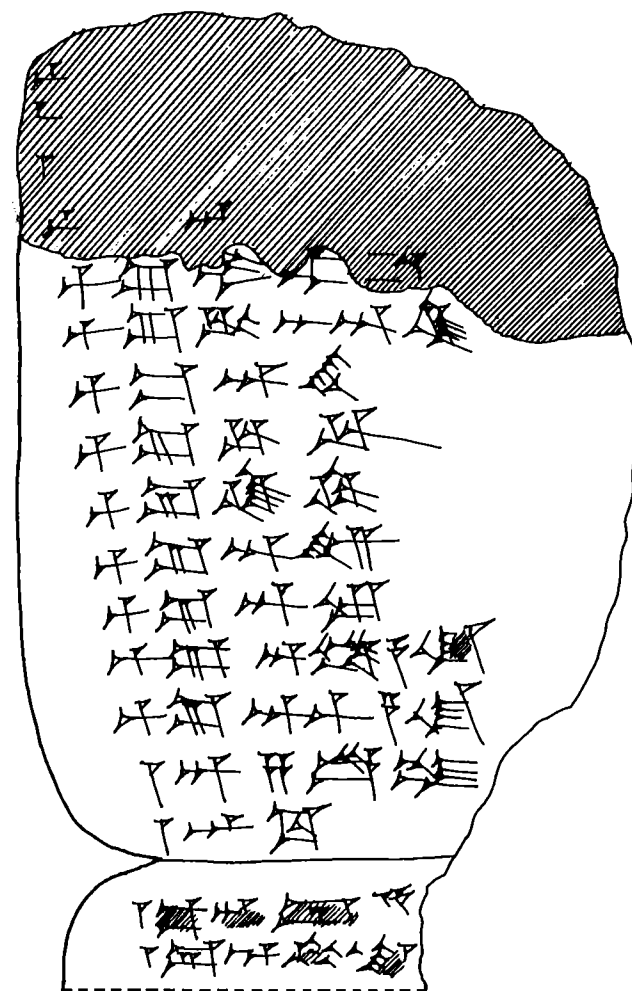


Plate 23. YBC 9932

8. 1/2 for the Eurur;
9. 1/2 for the Ekisilim;
10. 1/2 for the temple of Adad;
11. 1/2 for the temple of Nergal;
12. 1/2 for the temple of Marduk-of-the-Courtyard;
13. 1/2 for the temple of Ninurta-of-the-Courtyard;
14. 1 for the Divine *Zaqiptu* Standards;
15. 1 for the Divine Chariot;
16. 1 for the temple of Ea;
17. 1 for the temple of Gula.

## 2. The Offering Lists

This text lists several minor sanctuaries and deities of Uruk with no apparent theological order. It is probably an offering list, but the computation of the offerings in quantities of 1/2 in most cases makes it unlikely that sacrificial animals are involved.

### 2.2.1. Catalogue of Deities

Here follow, in alphabetical order, the deities and temples appearing in the offering lists of Group B:

Temple of Adad  
Adapa  
Temple of Anu  
Temple of Aššur  
Banītu(?)  
Temple of dBE  
Bēltu-ša-Rēš  
Divine Star-Shaped Branding Iron (*Kakkabtu*)  
Divine Chariot  
Temple of Ea  
Gula (and Temple of Gula)  
Gula-of-the-Courtyard  
dIGI.DU  
Ištar  
Temple of Lugalbanda  
Temple of Lugalirra  
Madānu(?)  
Temple of Marduk  
Temple of Marduk-of-the-Courtyard  
Symbol of Nabû  
Nanaya  
Temple of Nergal  
Temple of Ninurta  
Ninurta-of-the-Courtyard (and Temple of Ninurta-of-the-Courtyard)  
Nusku (and Temple of Nusku)  
Sîn (and Temple of Sîn)  
Sîn-of-Heaven  
Divine *Urigallu* Standards  
Divine *Zaqiptu* Standards  
Šamaš (of Larsa)  
Dais of Šamaš  
Divine *Urdimmus*  
Urkayītu  
Divine *Urmahlūlus*  
Ušur-amāssu  
Temple of Zababa

## 2.3. The Lists of Deliveries of Foodstuffs

The *bīt-hilši*  
Eanna (= Ištar, Nanaya, and Bēltu-ša-Rēš)  
Eighalanki  
Ekisilim  
Eurur  
The ziggurat

### 2.3. The Lists of Deliveries of Foodstuffs

Texts recording the delivery of foodstuffs for the sacred meals of the deities form an imposing corpus. The main type is the *maššartu* text, which records allotments of basic foodstuffs to the brewers and bakers, mainly dates, emmer, and barley, to prepare food and drink for the gods. The *maššartu* texts found at Uruk by the German archaeological expedition were studied by Freydank in *SWU*. Additional texts of this type have been published since, and more are awaiting publication, but study of this new material is not likely to substantially modify Freydank's conclusions.

#### 2.3.1. Catalogue of Deities

The deities appearing in the *maššartu* texts and other lists of allotments of foodstuffs are the same we find in the offering lists of sacrificial animals, and, insofar as we can judge, the deities appear with more or less the same frequency in the two types of texts. As seen above, while minor deities received an occasional offering of a sheep or a bird, all types of sacrificial animals were slaughtered daily in the presence of the major gods. Similarly, minor deities appear only occasionally as the ultimate recipients of the foodstuffs listed in the *maššartu* texts, while major deities such as Ištar and Nanaya occur in almost every single text which is reasonably well preserved. These lists do not follow any consistent theological order, although the most important deities tend to be listed first. Other rationales, such as names of prebendaries, as well as type and purpose of the delivery, seem to be involved in the internal organization of the lists. The deities and temples mentioned in the *SWU maššartu* texts are listed here by alphabetical order.<sup>37</sup>

Temple of Adad  
Temple of Anu  
Temple of Aššur  
Aya (of Larsa)  
Bēlet-Eanna (of Udannu)  
Bēltu-ša-Rēš  
Bunene (of Larsa)  
Divine Chariot  
Dumuzi

<sup>37</sup> The *maššartu* texts do not include *SWU* 160 to 163, which belong to Group B of offering lists.

Temple of Ea  
 Temple of Enlil  
 Gula  
 dIGI.DU  
 dIGI.DU of Udannu  
 Ištar  
 Temple of Lugalbanda  
 Temple of Lugalirra  
 Temple of Marduk  
 Temple of Marduk-of-the-Courtyard  
 Nabû (and Temple of Nabû)  
 Nanaya  
 Temple of Nergal  
 Ninurta (and Temple of Ninurta)  
 Temple of Ninurta-of-the-Courtyard  
 Nusku (and Temple of Nusku)  
 Sîn (and Temple of Sîn)  
 Šamaš (of Larsa)  
 Divine *Zaqiptu* Standards  
 Divine *Urdimmus*  
 Urkayītu  
 Ušur-amāssu  
 Temple of Zababa

The *bīt-akīti*  
 The *bīt-hilši*  
 Eighalanki  
 The *ekurrātu*  
 E(me)urur  
 The *kisallu*  
 The *papāḫānu*  
 The ziggurat

## 2.3.2. Hierarchy of Offerings

Our evidence is too fragmentary to make statistics reflecting the relative share of each god, but a general idea can be obtained from PTS 2097, which records the amounts of these allotments as fixed by Nabonidus in the first year of his reign. The allotments, which presumably cover the needs of both brewers and bakers, reach a daily combined total of 50 *mašīḫus* of dates, barley, and emmer for the goddesses Ištar, Nanaya, Bēltu-ša-Rēš, and Ušur-amāssu. This daily amount is roughly equal to the monthly amount allotted for the temple of Marduk and the *ekurrātu*, the small sanctuaries of Uruk. If this latter figure really represents Eanna's total contribution to the offerings in the small sanctuaries, it is notable that it makes up only a fraction, 1/30, of what is offered to the four main goddesses of Eanna. This confirms the general impression gained from a study of offering lists and *maššartu* texts that large quantities of offerings were lavished on

the main deities of Eanna and subsequently redistributed among their prebend holders, compared with relatively small amounts allotted to a host of less important gods.<sup>38</sup>

The daily amounts of foodstuffs allotted for the offerings of Ištar, Nanaya, Bēltu-ša-Rēš, and Ušur-amāssu are well known and have been studied in detail by Freydank and Frame. Freydank divided the *SWU maššartu* texts into several groups in accordance with the daily amounts distributed to the prebendaries. These groups are shown in the following tables. The percentages appearing in the tables reflect the comparative amounts allotted to the four goddesses, the basis for comparison being the quantity directed to Ištar (= 100%). This goddess always receives the larger amount. The percentages listed in the following tables were calculated by FRAME 1991, p. 52.

Group 1: *SWU* 1 to 25, as well as *SWU* A and B. Deliveries of dates and emmer in connection with the bakers' duties. *SWU* 1 is dated to Nabonidus year 15.

Table 8. Comparative Offerings in *SWU* Group 1

Deity	Dates	%	Emmer	%
Lady-of-Uruk	1 GUR	100%	2 PI 2 ŠILA	100%
Nanaya	1 GUR	100%	2 PI 2 ŠILA	100%
Bēltu-ša-Rēš	3 PI 4 BÂN 3 ŠILA	75%	1 PI 3 BÂN 3 ŠILA	76%
Ušur-amāssu	3 PI 4 BÂN 3 ŠILA	75%	1 PI 3 BÂN 3 ŠILA	76%

Group 2: *SWU* 26 to 63 as well as *SWU* C. Deliveries of barley in connection with the brewers' duties. These texts can be further divided into subgroups A and B, which list slightly different quantities. Only two texts belong to type B (*SWU* 62 and 63). *SWU* 26 is dated to Cambyses year 6, and *SWU* 61 to Nabonidus year 6. *SWU* 34 can be assigned to the Achaemenid period on the basis of the royal titles (LUGAL E<sup>ki</sup> LUGAL KUR.KUR).

Table 9. Comparative Offerings in *SWU* Group 2

Deity	Barley (Type A)	%	Barley (Type B)	%
Lady-of-Uruk	1 GUR 4 PI 3 BÂN	100%	2 GUR	100%
Nanaya	1 GUR 4 PI 3 BÂN	100%	1 GUR 4 PI 3 BÂN	95%
Bēltu-ša-Rēš	1 GUR 1 PI	63%	1 GUR 1 PI	60%
Ušur-amāssu	1 GUR 3 PI 2 BÂN	88%	1 GUR 3 PI 2 BÂN	83%

Group 3: *SWU* 64 to 96. Deliveries of barley in connection with the bakers' duties. This group is further divided into subgroups of Type A (*SWU* 64 to 90) and B (*SWU* 91 to 96), the latter listing slightly smaller quantities. *SWU* 80 is dated to the reign of Nabonidus (year lost).

<sup>38</sup> This holds of course only if we assume that these texts list all the offerings to all those gods; it may represent only Eanna's contribution, and the small sanctuaries may have had their own offering supplies not listed in the Eanna archive.

## 2. The Offering Lists

Table 10. Comparative Offerings in *SWU* Group 3

Deity	Barley (Type A)	%	Barley (Type B)	%
Lady-of-Uruk	2 GUR 3 PI 4 BÁN	100%	2 GUR 2 PI 5 BÁN	100%
Nanaya	2 GUR 2 PI 5 BÁN	94%	2 GUR 2 PI 5 BÁN	100%
Bēltu-ša-Rēš	1 GUR 2 PI 2 BÁN 2 ŠILA	54%	[...]	[...]
Ušur-amāssu	1 GUR 5 BÁN 1 ŠILA	43%	[...]	[...]

*SWU* 97 to 108: these texts are mostly fragmentary and cannot at present be assigned to any group.

Group 4: *SWU* 109 to 119. These texts display a consistent formulary which is different from all other groups, but are too fragmentary to allow a reconstruction of their internal system.

Group 5: *SWU* 120 to 143, as well as *SWU* D (and possibly also texts 144–146). Deliveries of barley, in connection with either the brewers' or the bakers' duties, or both. The amounts are measured in *mašīḫus*. *SWU* 130 is dated to Nebuchadnezzar II year 36.

Table 11. Comparative Offerings in *SWU* Group 5

Deity	Barley	%
Lady-of-Uruk	5 2/3 <i>mašīḫus</i>	100%
Nanaya	5 2/3 <i>mašīḫus</i>	100%
Bēltu-ša-Rēš	3 1/2 <i>mašīḫus</i>	62%
Ušur-amāssu	3 1/2 <i>mašīḫus</i>	62%

*SWU* 147 to 157: these texts are fragmentary and cannot be assigned to any of the other groups.

Group 6: *SWU* 158 to 163. These texts are offering lists of a different type than the *maššartu* texts. *SWU* 160 to 163 belong to Group B of offerings lists of sacrificial animals studied above (§2.2).

PTS 2097: this text, published and discussed by FRAME 1991, pp. 38–54, gives the following quantities of barley, dates, emmer, and Telmun dates to be offered to the four deities according to the changes introduced by Nabonidus in his first regnal year. The duties of brewers and bakers are presumably conflated, and the amounts are given in *mašīḫus*, and also in *qūs* "by the great measure" (*ina rabīti*):

## 2.3. The Lists of Deliveries of Foodstuffs

Table 12. Comparative Offerings in PTS 2097

Deity	Barley ( <i>mašīḫus</i> )	%	Dates ( <i>mašīḫus</i> )	%	Emmer ( <i>mašīḫus</i> )	%	Telmun Dates ( <i>qūs ina rabīti</i> )	%
Lady-of-Uruk	10	100%	3 5/6	100%	1 5/6	100%	3	100%
Nanaya	9 1/3	93%	3 5/6	100%	1 1/3	73%	3	100%
Bēltu-ša-Rēš	5 3/4	53%	3 1/3	87%	1 1/3	73%	1 1/2	50%
Ušur-amāssu	4 5/6	48%	3 1/3	87%	1 1/4	68%	1 1/2	50%

The texts which are of interest for the present discussion are Groups 1, 2, 3, 5, and PTS 2097. They raise two questions. One is the relative importance of each of the four main goddesses in the local divine hierarchy, the other is the possibility of changes in the amounts of offerings presented to them during the time covered by the archive. As seen earlier Ištar and Nanaya each received approximately twice the number of animals offered to any of the other deities on a daily basis for the *ginū* offerings. The evidence from the *SWU maššartu* texts is by and large in agreement with this evidence. Allotments of dates, Telmun dates, barley, and emmer are roughly the same for Ištar and Nanaya, with only one case of a significantly lower allowance for Nanaya (emmer in PTS 2097), and the amounts directed to these two goddesses are consistently larger than those directed to Bēltu-ša-Rēš and Ušur-amāssu, often as much as double. Therefore the quantities delivered to them reflect their position in the local pantheon as revealed by the offerings lists of sacrificial animals of Group A.

Changes in the offering system are much harder to pinpoint. The chronology of the texts is uncertain, we do not know for sure the capacity of the *mašīḫu* measure used in some of the texts,<sup>39</sup> and there is overall little basis for comparison between the various groups regarding the foodstuffs involved and the purpose for which they are allotted. Direct comparison seems possible only between PTS 2097 and Group 5, since both record deliveries of barley and both use the *mašīḫu* measure. If the comparison holds, then we have to conclude that PTS 2097 attests to an increase of more than 40% in the allowance of the four goddesses in the first year of Nabonidus. It must be pointed out, however, that Group 5 may record deliveries to only one group of prebendaries, whereas PTS 2097 probably computes both groups (brewers and bakers). If this is the case then the comparison between the two sets of numbers would be invalid. Therefore further research on this point must await the publication of more data.<sup>40</sup>

<sup>39</sup> See BEAULIEU 1989c for the publication of NCBT 620, a text which gives 45 *qūs* as the capacity of the *mašīḫu* ša Eanna, but we cannot be sure that this is the same *mašīḫu* used in the texts discussed here.

<sup>40</sup> This is also the conclusion reached by FRAME 1991, p. 54, who attempted similar calculations.

### 3. IŠTAR-OF-URUK

The goddess who occupies the first place in the offering lists of Group A is the Lady-of-Uruk. This is the usual name under which the local manifestation of the goddess Ištar appears in texts from Uruk dated to the 6th century. She is also the most frequently mentioned goddess in texts from the Eanna archive. Ištar-of-Uruk was the focal point of the city's spiritual life, and it is therefore natural that an entire chapter should be devoted to the large amount of material related to her cult.

#### 3.1. Ištar and the City of Uruk

Although Ištar, known in Sumerian as Inanna, was worshiped in many urban centers of Mesopotamia and adjacent areas,<sup>1</sup> she was more truly at home in Uruk, where her cult is attested as early as the late 4th millennium and continued almost uninterrupted until the Hellenistic and Parthian periods.<sup>2</sup> Study of the historical evolution of the cult of Ištar in her home city is seriously impeded by the fact that only three archives of any significance have been excavated at the site of Uruk. To make matters worse, these archives are separated from one another by huge time gaps of more than a millennium during which little information is available. These archives are: the archaic texts, which number nearly 5,000 (including fragments) and date to the end of the 4th millennium; a small collection of Old Babylonian administrative texts from the palace of king Sîn-kāšid, all dated to the 19th century; and the Neo-Babylonian Eanna archive, which extends from the end of the 8th century to the beginning of the 5th century. To bridge these gaps we must rely on other types of sources, mostly royal inscriptions and literary texts.

##### 3.1.1. *The Archaic Period*

The relationship between Ištar and the city of Uruk originates in very ancient times. At the end of the 4th millennium the goddess already appears frequently in the archaic texts from that city. Her name is written with the sign MUŠ (= Inanna), and may be preceded by the divine determinative. According to Green and Nissen there are 55 attestations of Inanna in texts from level IV, including 10 with the divine determinative, and 79 from level III, including 48 with the divine determinative.<sup>3</sup> This clearly shows an increase

<sup>1</sup> The Canonical Temple List, edited by GEORGE 1993, pp. 5–38, contains the names of at least 79 temples dedicated to local forms of Ištar, as well as several others consecrated to hypostases of the goddess in various places. WILCKE 1976–80, pp. 78–79, lists the various cities of Sumer and Akkad where her cult is attested.

<sup>2</sup> The literature on the goddess Inanna/Ištar is abundant. Some recent studies are: WILCKE 1976–1980 with SEIDL 1976–1980, HEIMPEL 1982, VANSTIPHOUT 1984, GRONEBERG 1986, BRUSCHWEILER 1987, HARRIS 1990–1991, BALZ-COCHOIS 1992, ABUSCH 1999, SELZ 2000. Editions and discussions of important mythological and hymnic compositions in honor of the goddess are HALLO/VAN DIJK 1968, HRUŠKA 1969, FARBER-FLÜGGE 1973, SLADEK 1974, SJÖBERG 1975a, LAMBERT 1982, SJÖBERG 1988, GRONEBERG 1997, ZGOLL 1997, BEHRENS 1998, VAN DIJK 1998.

<sup>3</sup> GREEN, NISSEN 1987, p. 248, sign no. 374: MUŠ INANNA.



in the use of the determinative, which eventually became obligatory in the writing of the name of the goddess. In her studies of the archaic texts Szarzyńska has shown that no fewer than four forms of Inanna were worshiped at Uruk during the archaic period, including Inanna-kur “Inanna of the netherworld,” Inanna-ḥúd “Inanna of the morning,” Inanna-sig “Inanna of the evening,” and Inanna-NUN. All of them, with the exception of Inanna-kur, were recipients of offerings. The appearance of the two deities Inanna-ḥúd and Inanna-sig in such early texts is quite significant. They must obviously be interpreted as the two manifestations of Inanna as the planet Venus, the morning and evening star.<sup>4</sup> This clearly indicates that the astral identity of Inanna was not the result of late, learned speculations, but indeed a very old and fundamental aspect of the goddess, with roots going back to prehistoric times.<sup>5</sup>

The various Inannas of Uruk are also mentioned in documents from other Mesopotamian sites of the archaic period. Steinkeller has called attention to a group of texts from Jemdet Nasr, paralleled by one text from Tell ‘Uqair (= ancient Uruk), in which the following compounds appear: ‘NI.RU Inanna/dingir 3 Unug’ (Jemdet Nasr), and ‘UR.ĜA.“RAD” MAḪxNA dingir 3 PAP Unug’ (Tell ‘Uqair). He interprets the compounds ‘Inanna/dingir 3 Unug’ and ‘dingir 3 PAP Unug’ as referring to the three forms of Inanna which received offerings in the archaic texts from Uruk, proposing the following translations: “x commodities (issued by) the city of NI.RU (= ancient Jemdet Nasr) for the triple Inanna/deity of Uruk,” and “x commodities (issued by) the city of Uruk for the triple deity of Uruk.” He argues that these texts are receipts recording the obligation, imposed on Jemdet Nasr and Uruk, to provide offerings for the patron deity of Uruk. Since these receipts bear seal impressions depicting the symbols of various cities of the southern alluvium, the so-called “city seals,” he further claims that a league of southern cities was in existence during the Uruk III period, thus providing the first evidence for the Kengir League posited by Jacobsen.<sup>6</sup> The main difference is that, in Jacobsen’s reconstruction, Nippur was the center of the league, whereas the evidence would now indicate that Uruk was the focus and beneficiary of that system.<sup>7</sup> The existence of such an institution centered on Uruk, if it proves correct, would explain the early prominence of Inanna in the Sumerian pantheon. The exalted position assumed by the goddess in such a composition as ‘Inanna and Enki,’ in which she steals the me’s from the patron god of Eridu and takes them to Uruk,<sup>8</sup> would reflect the rise of Uruk

<sup>4</sup> SZARZYŃSKA 1993. Extensive discussion of Inanna-kur and the relationship of Inanna with the kur by BRUSCHWEILER 1987, pp. 21–99.

<sup>5</sup> The appearance of Inanna as an astral deity in such early texts casts serious doubts on Jacobsen’s theory that the name Inanna (\*nin.an.ak) originally meant “lady of the date cluster,” not “lady of heaven” (JACOBSEN 1970, p. 27). In a later reformulation of his theory he still proposed that Inanna was originally the numen of the date storehouse who married the god Dumuzi-Amašumgalanna, but conceded that the goddess possessed many other aspects indicating a merger of several distinct deities into one divine persona, the morning and evening star being one of them (JACOBSEN 1976, pp. 26, 135, and 138–139). Jacobsen’s etymology has not generally been followed, but is endorsed by ABUSCH 1999. It is based on the equivalences an=sissinnu and giš.an.na.gišimmar=sissinnu found in lexical texts (CAD S, p. 325, s.v. sissinnu, lex. section). Further criticism of Jacobsen’s theory is found in WILCKE 1976–1980, p. 75, §2.2, and SELZ 2000, p. 30. For a discussion of the identification of Aštar/Astart with the poplar tree in Syria, see FLEMING 2000, pp. 182–183, who draws a parallel with Jacobsen’s theory of Inanna as the “lady of the date cluster.”

<sup>6</sup> On Nippur as the center of the “Kengir league” see JACOBSEN 1970, pp. 140–141.

<sup>7</sup> STEINKELLER 2002.

<sup>8</sup> Edition and translation by FARBER-FLÜGGE 1973, and partial English translation by the same author 1997.

to hegemony during the second half of the 4th millennium, when Inanna’s city replaced Eridu as the main center of urban civilization in the southern alluvium.<sup>9</sup>

The presence of the god An, normally written with the single sign DINGIR in Sumerian, remains uncertain in the archaic texts because of the ambiguity of the writing system. Wilcke has pointed out that the writings of the name Inanna with the divine determinative might in fact be understood as the pair An-Inanna “An (and) Inanna,” but this cannot really be proven.<sup>10</sup> Occasional attributions of cultic buildings of the archaic levels of Uruk to the god An are also impossible to substantiate. Szarzyńska has collected the following names of temples found in the archaic texts from Uruk: <sup>11</sup> èš-<sup>d</sup>inanna “the sanctuary of Inanna,” èš-<sup>d</sup>inanna-sig “the sanctuary of Inanna of the evening,” é-an “the temple of heaven” or “the temple of the god An,” and é-an-ki “the temple of heaven and the netherworld.”<sup>12</sup> This data might indicate that é-an was originally the temple of An, perhaps the same building later known as Eanna, and that Inanna was worshiped at that time in a separate temple, the èš-<sup>d</sup>inanna, but this is a debatable point. It is impossible to correlate these names with actual buildings excavated at Uruk, and we do not even know if the sanctuaries they designate were separate buildings or only chapels in a larger cultic compound.

### 3.1.2. *The Third Millennium*

According to Early Dynastic, Sargonic, and Ur III sources, Inanna was the most important deity of Uruk and the mistress of its main sanctuary, the Eanna temple. In the canonical collection of Sumerian temple hymns the Eanna temple is praised as the “temple of Inanna in Uruk” (211. é-<sup>d</sup>inanna unu<sup>ki</sup>-ga), and Inanna is hailed as its mistress (204. nin-zu <sup>d</sup>inanna).<sup>13</sup> An inscription of king Lugalkiginnedudu, who reigned towards the end of the Early Dynastic period, already praises Inanna as the “lady of Eanna.”<sup>14</sup> Although the same inscription mentions the god An, it is clearly Inanna who is portrayed in a dynamic role, delivering kingship of Uruk and lordship of Ur into Lugalkiginnedudu’s hands.<sup>15</sup> In one of his inscriptions from Uruk king Lugalzagesi bears the title of išib priest of An (6. išib-an-na), and claims to be “the one whom An, the lord of all the lands, looks steadfastly upon” (13. igi-zi-bar-ra- 14. an-lugal-kur-kur-

<sup>9</sup> See STEINKELLER 2002, who proposes to interpret one of the four forms of Inanna in the archaic texts, Inanna-NUN, as Inanna of Eridu (= NUN<sup>ki</sup>) rather than “princely Inanna,” the meaning tentatively posited by Szarzyńska. The title Inanna-NUN would thus reflect the political demise of Eridu in the 4th millennium and the triumph of Inanna of Uruk, who captured the me’s from Enki, the god of Eridu.

<sup>10</sup> WILCKE 1976–1980, pp. 74–75, § 1.1. The pair An-Inanna resurfaces at Uruk under the form An-<sup>d</sup>Inanna during the Old Babylonian period.

<sup>11</sup> SZARZYŃSKA 1992, pp. 271–274. The majority of the texts were found in the central precinct of Uruk, in levels IV-a and III. The information given by the texts, however, does not necessarily reflect the activities of the surrounding buildings exclusively. They may relate to any building or sanctuary located in the city.

<sup>12</sup> This was later the name of a temple of Ištar in Kār-bēl-mātāti near Babylon, and also the name of a sanctuary of Anu in Uruk in Seleucid times. See GEORGE 1993, nos. 68–69.

<sup>13</sup> SJÖBERG, BERGMANN 1969, p. 29.

<sup>14</sup> STEIBLE 1982, pp. 302–303, Lugalkiginnedudu 4: 1. an lugal-kur-kur-ra 2. <sup>d</sup>inanna nin-é-an-na-ra “To An, the lord of all countries, (and) Inanna, the lady of Eanna.”

<sup>15</sup> STEIBLE 1982, pp. 302–303, Lugalkiginnedudu, 5. u<sup>4</sup> <sup>d</sup>inanna-ke, 6. lugal-ki-gin-né-du<sup>7</sup>-du<sup>7</sup>-ra 7. nam-en 8. nam-lugal-da 9. e-na-da-tab-ba-a 10. unu<sup>ki</sup>-ga 11. nam-en mu-ak-k[<sub>4</sub>] 12. ur<sup>ki</sup>-ma 13. nam-lugal 14. mu-ak-[<sub>4</sub>ke] “When Inanna had tied the lordship with the kingship for Lugalkiginnedudu, she let him exert lordship in Uruk, she let him exert kingship in Ur.”

ka), while he bears at the same time the title of “provider of Inanna” (25. ú-a-dinanna), which suggests that Inanna was the main recipient of offerings in her quality as patron goddess of Eanna.<sup>16</sup> In his inscriptions commemorating the capture of Lugalzagesi, Sargon of Akkad adopts the titles of “bailiff of Inanna” (MAŠKIM.GI<sub>4</sub> dINANNA) and “anointed priest of An” (PA<sub>4</sub>.ŠEŠ AN).<sup>17</sup> In the Basetki inscription of Narām-Sîn Inanna is acknowledged as the chief goddess of Eanna, occupying the same position as Enlil in Nippur, Su'en in Ur, Šamaš in Sippar, and other patron gods in their respective cities, therefore clearly superseding An in his home city.<sup>18</sup>

At the time of the 4th and 5th dynasties of Uruk cultic personnel is attested for both An and Inanna. We have a dedicatory inscription for the life of Urgigir by one Lugalatum, purification priest of the god An,<sup>19</sup> as well as an inscription of Kuda, perhaps identical with the Kuda of the Sumerian King List, in which he claims the title of sanga of Inanna.<sup>20</sup> Utuḫegal claims to have driven the Gutians out of Sumer with the help of Inanna alone,<sup>21</sup> but in a recently discovered inscription the same ruler praises both An, the king of the gods, and Inanna, the lady of Uruk.<sup>22</sup> A few inscriptions of the 3rd dynasty of Ur commemorate the rebuilding of the Eanna temple. These include two inscriptions of Ur-Namma, one of which praises Inanna as the lady of Eanna;<sup>23</sup> one of Šulgi, which praises Inanna with the same title;<sup>24</sup> and one of Amar-Su'en, in which Inanna appears in her astral manifestation as Ninansanna.<sup>25</sup> In addition, a votive inscription for the life of Šulgi again praises Inanna as the lady of Eanna,<sup>26</sup> while a votive inscription of Amar-Su'en found at Uruk in the Eanna temple is dedicated to Inanna, the “lady of combat.”<sup>27</sup> None of these inscriptions mentions the god An. Archival texts from the Ur III period, on the other hand, mention both An and Inanna as recipients of offerings among the various deities of Uruk.<sup>28</sup> According to one of these texts An received offerings in the temple of Inanna.<sup>29</sup>

Another important source to consider is the epic cycle centered on Enmerkar, Lugalbanda, and Gilgameš, the early kings of Uruk and legendary heroes of Sumer.

<sup>16</sup> STEIBLE 1982, pp. 310–325, Lugalzagesi 1. This king bears the title “provider of Inanna” in another inscription, Lugalzagesi 3, line 2': ú-a dInanna (ibid, pp. 336–337).

<sup>17</sup> FRAYNE 1993, E2.1.1.1, E2.1.1.2, and E2.1.1.6.

<sup>18</sup> FRAYNE 1993, E2.1.4.10, lines 26–27.

<sup>19</sup> STEIBLE 1991, p. 322, Urgigir 1, line 6'. išib-an-na-ke<sub>4</sub>; also edited by FRAYNE 1993, E2.13.2.2001.

<sup>20</sup> STEIBLE 1991, pp. 322–323, Kud 1, line 4. sanga-dInanna; also edited by FRAYNE 1993, E2.13.3.1. The inscription was probably written prior to his accession to the throne.

<sup>21</sup> FRAYNE 1993, E2.13.6.4.

<sup>22</sup> STEIBLE 1991, pp. 330–332, Utuḫegal 7, lines 14. an-lugal-'dingir'-[re-n]e 15. dInanna 'nin\*-[u]nu<sup>ki</sup>-g[a]; also edited by FRAYNE 1993, E2.13.6.6.

<sup>23</sup> STEIBLE 1991, pp. 107–108, Urnammu 13, line 1. dInanna 2. nin-é-an-na; also edited by FRAYNE 1997, E3/2.1.1.34. The other inscription is STEIBLE 1991, pp. 100–101, Urnammu 7; also edited by FRAYNE 1997, E3/2.1.1.33.

<sup>24</sup> STEIBLE 1991, pp. 163–164, Šulgi 11: 1. dInanna 2. nin-é-an-na; also edited by FRAYNE 1997, E3/2.1.2.6.

<sup>25</sup> STEIBLE 1991, p. 231, Amarsuen 7: 1. dInanna 2. nin-an-si<sub>4</sub>-an-na; also edited by FRAYNE 1997, E3/2.1.3.14.

<sup>26</sup> STEIBLE 1991, pp. 196–197, Šulgi 42: 1. dInanna 2. nin-é-an-'na'; also edited by FRAYNE 1997, E3/2.1.2.72.

<sup>27</sup> STEIBLE 1991, pp. 244–245, Amarsuen 14, line 1. dInanna 2. nin-mè; also edited by FRAYNE 1997, E3/2.1.3.13.

<sup>28</sup> For An see SALLABERGER 1993, vol. 1, p. 218, and vol. 2, tables 69b, 70b, and 71b; and for Inanna see ibid., vol. 1, pp. 44, 47, 58, 126, and 209–221, and vol. 2, tables 1, 3, 5, 41, and 68–72.

<sup>29</sup> SALLABERGER 1993, vol. 2, p. 121, table 70b, text PDT 1, 563: 2. An šà é dInanna “two for An, in the temple of Inanna.”

Although these compositions are preserved mostly in Old Babylonian school copies, the material they contain is certainly much older and must have been transmitted in both oral and written form throughout the 3rd millennium before the final redaction of the cycle, which presumably took place under the patronage of the kings of the 3rd dynasty of Ur. The kings of Ur claimed a special kinship relation to the legendary kings of Uruk.<sup>30</sup> The hymns of Ur-Namma and Šulgi present the two kings as the offspring of Lugalbanda and the goddess Ninsun, and Šulgi himself is praised as the brother of Gilgameš.<sup>31</sup> This claim stemmed mainly from the fact that Ur-Namma very probably originated from Uruk, where Utu-ḫegal, possibly his brother, ruled just before him. Sîn-kāšid, who reigned in Uruk two centuries later, claimed Lugalbanda as his personal god and Ninsun as his divine mother.<sup>32</sup>

In this epic cycle, which may justifiably be called the *res gestae* of Uruk, the goddess Inanna is very closely associated with the fortune of Uruk and its legendary kings.<sup>33</sup> The god An, on the other hand, makes only a few timid appearances. Inanna's prominence is particularly obvious in the Enmerkar cycle. In ‘Enmerkar and Ensuhkešdanna’ she is praised as: 106. kù-gal-nin-é-an-na-ke<sub>4</sub> “the great holy lady of the Eanna temple,” while Enmerkar is described as her beloved high priest, hinting at the existence of a sacred marriage ceremony between the goddess and the sacral ruler of Uruk: 275. za-e-me-en en-ki-ág-dInanna-me-en “you alone are the beloved En-priest of Inanna.”<sup>34</sup> An, on the other hand, is not mentioned as a god of Uruk, but solely in his function as head of the pantheon together with Enlil, with whom he decrees the fate of Ereš, the city of Nisaba (line 252). The substantially longer epic ‘Enmerkar and the Lord of Aratta’ contains similar material.<sup>35</sup> Inanna is the divine mistress of Eanna (484 and 624. dInanna nin-é-an-na-ra; 233. dInanna nin-é-an-na-ka), and Enmerkar the En-priest chosen by her (33. en-šà-ge-pà-da-dInanna-ke<sub>4</sub>). Uruk-Kulaba and Eanna are repeatedly associated with the goddess (lines 13–14, 342–343, 384–385), while An makes only a shadowy appearance (line 314). In the Lugalbanda cycle Inanna likewise plays the dominant role, relegating An to the background.<sup>36</sup>

The five Sumerian epic tales centered on Gilgameš make up a somewhat distinct cycle within the *res gestae* of Uruk.<sup>37</sup> In ‘Gilgameš and Akka’ we read that Gilgameš, lord of Kulaba, placed his trust in Inanna (15. dInanna bil-ga-mes en-kul-aba<sub>4</sub>ki-a-ke<sub>4</sub> 16. dInanna-ra nir-gál-la-e), but also that he is a prince beloved by An (36. nun an-né ki-ág).<sup>38</sup> In ‘Gilgameš and the Bull of Heaven’ Inanna is present throughout the story, although An also plays an important role. Inanna complains to him that Gilgameš is on a rampage

<sup>30</sup> See MICHALOWSKI 1987, p. 66, who briefly discusses the use of Gilgameš as divine eponymous ancestor of the dynasty, and the probability that the Gilgameš Sumerian tales were first officially circulated in Ur III scribal schools.

<sup>31</sup> SJÖBERG 1972, pp. 93–94. A good example is hymn Šulgi C, edited in CASTELLINO 1972, pp. 256–257, line 104. šēš ku-li-mu dGilgameš(gi<sub>8</sub>.bil.ga.mēš)-gin<sub>7</sub>, “like my brother (and) friend Gilgameš.”

<sup>32</sup> See SJÖBERG 1972, p. 98.

<sup>33</sup> Brief discussion in WILCKE 1976–1980, pp. 84–85, § 11.3.

<sup>34</sup> Quoted according to BERLIN 1979.

<sup>35</sup> Quoted according to COHEN 1973.

<sup>36</sup> See WILCKE 1969, pp. 67–73 on the role of Inanna in the epic. In the other Lugalbanda epic, however, edited by HALLO 1984, there is no mention of either An or Inanna.

<sup>37</sup> Recent translation of the five tales with up-to-date references to previous editions by GEORGE 1999, pp. 141–208.

<sup>38</sup> Quoted according to KATZ 1993.

in Uruk, and asks him for the Bull of Heaven. While Eanna is portrayed as her temple, it is also hailed as “An’s beloved Eanna” (A i 7’. é-an-na an-né ki-ág).<sup>39</sup> In ‘Gilgamesh and the Netherworld’ An appears as an ancestral god, mostly in association with Enlil, while Inanna is present throughout as protagonist. Utu is also an important protagonist as brother of Inanna.<sup>40</sup> An and Inanna are absent from ‘Gilgameš and Huwawa,’ and An appears without Inanna in ‘The Death of Gilgameš,’ but only in his role as leader of the gods on a par with Enlil. Likewise An and Inanna are not mentioned a single time in ‘Gilgameš and Huwawa,’ in which Utu, Inanna’s brother, is the main divine protagonist.<sup>41</sup> The distribution of divine functions found in the Sumerian Gilgameš cycle is quite faithfully reflected in the Standard Babylonian epic, in which Ištar, Anu, and Šamaš all play prominent roles. In the Old Babylonian Akkadian epic, however, Uruk and the Eanna temple are called the home of Anu, with no mention of Ištar.<sup>42</sup>

In conclusion, the *res gestae* of Uruk is more or less in agreement with royal inscriptions and archival texts regarding the respective positions of An and Inanna in the early pantheon of Uruk. Inanna is the more dynamic deity, the mistress of the Eanna temple, and enjoys a closer relationship with the king, the En-priest of Uruk, with whom she engaged in the sacred marriage ritual.<sup>43</sup> An, while generally playing a passive role, is still sometimes acknowledged as patron god of Uruk and Eanna, and likewise maintains a personal relationship with the ruler, occasionally presented as “his beloved.”

### 3.1.3. *The Old Babylonian Period*

As we move into the Old Babylonian period we are again in a position to glean information from archival texts found in Uruk, in addition to the usual stream of royal inscriptions and literary texts. For the first time since the reign of Utu-ḫegal two and a half centuries earlier, Uruk was again in this period the seat of a local dynasty, which lasted a little more than two generations.<sup>44</sup> One inscription of Sîn-kāšid, the founder of that ruling house, puts An and Inanna on an equal footing.<sup>45</sup> Similarly, the building inscriptions of Anam acknowledge both An and Inanna. His two inscriptions commemorating the restoration of the *gipar* of the En-priestess in the Eanna temple praise the goddess as the “great lady of Eanna” (1. <sup>d</sup>inanna 2. nin-gal-é-an-na), while the king is portrayed as “the favorite of An and Inanna, the beloved son of Inanna” (6. še-ga-an-<sup>d</sup>inanna 7. dumu-

<sup>39</sup> Quoted according to CAVIGNEAUX, AL-RAWI 1993.

<sup>40</sup> See SHAFFER 1963.

<sup>41</sup> For ‘Gilgameš and Huwawa,’ Version A, see EDZARD 1990 and 1991, and Version B, EDZARD 1993. For ‘The Death of Gilgameš’ see CAVIGNEAUX, AL-RAWI 2000.

<sup>42</sup> For recent translation of this passage see GEORGE 1999, p. 104. TOURNAY, SHAFFER 1998, p. 15, speculate that this omission of the goddess might point to the existence of anti-Ištar sentiment at that time, which might also be reflected in the episode of the Bull of Heaven in the Epic. On this episode, and the conflictual relation between Ištar and Gilgameš, see also ABUSCH 1986, p. 161.

<sup>43</sup> STEINKELLER 1999, pp. 129–136.

<sup>44</sup> On the cult of Inanna/Ištar and Anu at Uruk during the Old Babylonian period see RICHTER 1999, pp. 238–251.

<sup>45</sup> FRAYNE 1990, E4.4.1.7: 1. an lugal-dingir-re-ne-ke<sub>4</sub> 2. <sup>d</sup>inanna nin-an-ki-bi-da 3. nin-a-ni-ir 4. <sup>EN</sup>ZU-kā-šī-id 5. lugal-unu<sup>ki</sup>-ga 6. lugal-am-na-nu-um 7. ū-a-é-an-na 8. u<sub>4</sub> é-an-na 9. mu-dù-a 10. é-pa-paḥ 11. é ki-tuṣ- 12. šā-ḫūl-la-ka-ne-ne 13. ḫu-mu-ne-dù “For An, king of the gods, (and) Inanna, lady of heaven and the underworld, his lady, Sîn-kāšid, king of Uruk, king of the Amnanum, provider of Eanna, when he built Eanna, built for them Epapah, their sanctuary, a place of rejoicing.”

ki-ág- 8. <sup>d</sup>inanna-ke<sub>4</sub>).<sup>46</sup> One of his two inscriptions commemorating the restoration of Eanna is dedicated to both deities,<sup>47</sup> while the other is dedicated solely to Inanna.<sup>48</sup> The year names of the Old Babylonian rulers of Uruk agree in this respect with their inscriptions, ascribing Eanna sometimes to Inanna alone, sometimes to both An and Inanna.<sup>49</sup> The prologue of the Code of Hammurabi also hails the temple Eanna in Uruk as the dwelling of both Anu and Ištar.<sup>50</sup>

The archival texts discovered in the palace of Sîn-kāšid date mainly to the 19th century. They are supplemented by a group of texts from Kish dated to the reigns of Ammiditana, Ammišaduqa, and Samsuditana, which provide additional information on the cults and priesthood of Uruk exiled to the north after the Babylonian withdrawal from the south under Samsuiluna.<sup>51</sup> An never occurs alone in archival texts from Uruk, but always in conjunction with Inanna in the compound An-<sup>d</sup>Inanna. In the same corpus, on the other hand, the goddess Inanna can occur without An (<sup>d</sup>Inanna). In texts from Kish three forms are attested: <sup>d</sup>Inanna-unug<sup>ki</sup>, An-<sup>d</sup>Inanna-unug<sup>ki</sup>, and An-<sup>d</sup>Inanna. The addition of unug<sup>ki</sup> to the names <sup>d</sup>Inanna and An-<sup>d</sup>Inanna is peculiar to the Kish corpus and was probably dictated by the need to distinguish this particular form of Inanna from the other manifestation of the goddess worshiped in Kish.

Opinions as to the interpretation of the compound An-<sup>d</sup>Inanna are divided. Most scholars understand it to mean “An (and) Inanna,” while others have considered the possibility that An-<sup>d</sup>Inanna might be a logographic compound denoting the particular form of the goddess Inanna worshiped in Uruk. In support of the latter interpretation Charpin invokes the parallel cases of the god Amurru, written alternatively <sup>d</sup>MAR.TU and AN-<sup>d</sup>MAR.TU, and of the goddess Nanibgal, written AN-<sup>d</sup>NAGA, Nanibgal being a form of Nisaba, written <sup>d</sup>NAGA.<sup>52</sup> He also points out that in the letter TCL 1, 19 the deities An-<sup>d</sup>Inanna, Nanaya, and Kanisurra are invoked as “my ladies” by the sender, supporting the theory that the compound An-<sup>d</sup>Inanna is a writing for Inanna.<sup>53</sup> Looking

<sup>46</sup> FRAYNE 1990, E4.4.6.1 and E4.4.6.2.

<sup>47</sup> FRAYNE 1990, E4.4.6.3: 1. an lugal-dingir-re-ne 2. lugal-a-ni-ir 3. <sup>d</sup>inanna nin-gal-é-an-na 4. nin-a-ni-ir 5. an-ām sipa-zi 6. unu<sup>ki</sup>-ga 7. dumu-ki-ág- 8. <sup>d</sup>inanna-ke<sub>4</sub> 9. u<sub>4</sub> é-a-ni-libir 10. mu-un-gibil 11. ki-bé bī-in-gi-a 12. <sup>u</sup>ig-l-šēš 13. al-gub-bu “For An, the king of the gods, (and) Inanna, the great lady of Eanna, his lady, Anam, the true shepherd of Uruk, the beloved son of Inanna, when he rebuilt her old temple (and) restored it, set up a door anointed with oil.”

<sup>48</sup> FRAYNE 1990, E4.4.6.5: 1. <sup>d</sup>inanna 2. nin-a-ni-ir 3. an-ām sipa-zi 4. unu<sup>ki</sup>-ga 5. dumu-ki-ág 6. <sup>d</sup>inanna-ke<sub>4</sub> 7. ‘u<sub>4</sub>’ é-a-ni-libir 8. mu-un-gibil 9. ki-bé bī-gi-a 10. a gū-nun-di-dam 11. mu-un-dù “For Inanna, his lady, Anam, true shepherd of Uruk, beloved son of Inanna, when he rebuilt her old temple and restored it, built the (moat called) Roaring Water.”

<sup>49</sup> FALKENSTEIN 1963, p. 10, no. 11: mu 3 unu<sup>du</sup>alan ad-da-ni é <sup>d</sup>inanna ... i-ni-in-ku<sub>4</sub>-re-en “Year (Sîn-gamil) brought into the temple of Inanna three copper statues of his father;” p. 10, no. 10: mu é-an-<sup>d</sup>inanna-libir-ra “Year he (Anam?) restored the old temple of An (and) Inanna;” p. 10, no. 12: mu <sup>u</sup>igir-maḥ kù-gi šu-du<sub>7</sub>-a na<sub>4</sub> nir-muṣ-gir na<sub>4</sub> igi me-luḫ-ḫa ak-a an-<sup>d</sup>inanna-ra mu-ne-en-ku<sub>4</sub> “Year (Irdanene) brought for An (and) Inanna in their temple the great chariot adorned with gold, muššaru stones, and eye-stones from Meluḫḫa.”

<sup>50</sup> BERGMANN 1953, p. 2, col. II, 37. be-lum mu-ba-ll-iṭ 38. UNUG<sup>ki</sup> 39. ša-ki-in me-e 40. mu-ūḫ-šī-im 41. a-na ni-šī-su 42. mu-ul-li 43. re-eš É.AN.NA 44. mu-kam-me-er 45. ḫi-iš-bi-im 46. a-na an-nim 47. ū <sup>d</sup>INANNA “(Hammurabi), the lord who revives Uruk, who establishes waters of abundance for its people, who builds the Eanna temple to its summit, who heaps up produce for Anu and Ištar.” Recent transcription and English translation by ROTH 1995, pp. 77–78.

<sup>51</sup> This was first noted by Finkelstein in YOS 13, pp. 11–12, and has been studied more extensively by CHARPIN 1986, pp. 403–415, and by PIENKKA 1998, pp. 179–187, and 375–388.

<sup>52</sup> CHARPIN 1986, p. 404, n. 2. On the writing of the name Nanibgal see also MCEWAN 1998.

<sup>53</sup> TCL 1, 19: 10. a-na An-<sup>d</sup>Inanna 11. <sup>u</sup>na-na-a ū <sup>u</sup>ka-ni-sur-ra 12. be-le-ti-ia 13. uš-ta-bi-la-ak-ku-um, and

back to the god lists from Fara, van Dijk proposed to read <sup>d</sup>Inanna as An-Inanna on the model of other deified cosmic phenomena such as an-<sup>d</sup>usan, the cosmic manifestation of <sup>d</sup>usan.<sup>54</sup> This might provide an antecedent to the writing An-<sup>d</sup>Inanna, and thus bolster the theory that the compound refers to a single deity. This theory might also be supported by the mention of a single high-priest for An-<sup>d</sup>Inanna in a text from the palace of Sîn-kāšid.<sup>55</sup>

Charpin's arguments have recently been criticized by Wilcke, who points out that other passages from TCL 1, 19 appear to contradict the view that An-<sup>d</sup>Inanna is a single, female deity.<sup>56</sup> In lines 4–5, for instance, An-<sup>d</sup>Inanna and Nanaya govern a verb in the masculine plural, which should indicate that there is at least one male god, namely An, in the chain of subjects.<sup>57</sup> Wilcke also points to the evidence from AO 5421 which supports the view that An-<sup>d</sup>Inanna means two separate gods. This text mentions an *išippu* priest of An and Inanna (27. *lú-si-ip-pu* 28. *ša An 'ù dInanna'*) and also records that an oath was sworn by two of the claimants "at the gate of An and Inanna, the gods(?) of their city" (48. *'ina KÁ An' 'ù dInanna i?-li a-li-šu-nu*).<sup>58</sup> The recent publication of a cylinder seal impression from Uruk dated to the reign of king Išme-Dagan of Isin and which also mentions a priest of An and Inanna (II, 2. *išib an-na 'ù?' dInanna*) further weakens the possibility that the compound An-<sup>d</sup>Inanna refers to one single deity.<sup>59</sup> The year names of the kings of Isin, on the other hand, only mention the office of high-priest of Inanna, with no allusion to the existence of An.<sup>60</sup>

The interpretation of the compound An-<sup>d</sup>Inanna as a form of Inanna would result in having no mention of the god An in the archival texts from the palace of Sîn-kāšid. This would seem problematic as An and Inanna are both mentioned as separate deities in the building inscriptions of the Old Babylonian kings of Uruk. Therefore the writing An-<sup>d</sup>Inanna in texts from that period should probably not be systematically interpreted as a name for the goddess Inanna, nor as evidence for a complete absorption of An by Inanna. It must also be stressed that the almost systematic absence of a conjunction between An and Inanna in the compound An-<sup>d</sup>Inanna does not necessarily mean that the latter refers to one single deity, since the triad formed by An, Inanna, and Nanaya is

21. *ma-ḥa-ar* An-<sup>d</sup>Inanna 22. *ù dInanna-a be-l[e]-* 23. *ti-ia ku-ur-ba-am* (CHARPIN 1986, pp. 411–412).

<sup>54</sup> VAN DIJK 1964, p. 6, fig. 1, note to text VA 12573 + 12763; and see BRUSCHWEILER 1987, p. 106, note to line 11, for a discussion of AN-AN-<sup>d</sup>usan.

<sup>55</sup> SANATI-MÜLLER 1994, p. 312, no. 206, col. I, 19'. PN *lú-azlag en-An-dInanna*, who translates as follows: "PN Walker des en-(Priesters) des An (und) der Inanna." The en-priest of Inanna of Uruk is mentioned in a few year names of the early Old Babylonian period (WILCKE 1976–1980, p. 85, § 12).

<sup>56</sup> WILCKE 1997, pp. 414–415.

<sup>57</sup> TCL 1, 19: 4. An-<sup>d</sup>Inanna *ù dInanna-a* 5. *aš-šum-ia da-ri-iš u<sub>4</sub>-mi-im li-ba-al-li-ti-ka* "May An, Inanna, and Nanaya maintain your health for ever on my account." Wilcke understands the designations "my ladies" in the rest of the letter as referring only to Inanna, Nanaya, and Kanisurra, not to An, translating the passages in question as "to An, (and) my ladies Inanna, Nanaya, (and) Kanisurra."

<sup>58</sup> Originally published by ARNAUD 1989, no. 23, and edited by Wilcke with collations.

<sup>59</sup> BRISCH 1998, pp. 31–33, with discussion of the compound An-<sup>d</sup>Inanna. The impression is mentioned by CAVIGNEAUX 1996, p. 9, n. 44, with review of previous scholarship on An-<sup>d</sup>Inanna on p. 10, n. 45.

<sup>60</sup> SIGRIST 1988, p. 24, Iddin-Dagan E: "Year, he chose by means of the omens the high-priest of Inanna" (mu en <sup>d</sup>Inanna? *māš-e in-[pād]*); p. 25, Iddin-Dagan K: "Year, Iddin-Dagan elevated (to office) the high-priest of Inanna" (mu <sup>d</sup>[i]-<sup>d</sup>in-<sup>d</sup>da-gan lugal-[e] en <sup>d</sup>Inanna mu-un-[il]); p. 27, Išme-Dagan P: "Year, Išme-Dagan the king elevated (to office) the high-priest of Inanna" (mu <sup>d</sup>[iš-me]-<sup>d</sup>da-gan lugal en <sup>d</sup>Inanna mu-un-[il?]); and p. 33, Enlil-bani B: "Year, Enlil-bani the king enthroned Enkiag-Inanna as high-priest of Inanna" (*en-lil-bani lugal-e en-ki-āg-dInanna en dInanna mu-[bun-gā]*).

written both An-<sup>d</sup>Inanna-<sup>d</sup>na-na-a and An-<sup>d</sup>Inanna-<sup>ù</sup>-<sup>d</sup>na-na-a in the archival texts from the palace of Sîn-kāšid.<sup>61</sup> One cannot exclude the possibility, however, that An-<sup>d</sup>Inanna was in certain contexts an alternative writing of the name Inanna. An-<sup>d</sup>Inanna may have initially meant "An and Inanna," but later on, because of the intimate relation between the two deities, it may have become a complex logogram, a frozen form, as it were, denoting only Inanna. This may have been especially true in texts from Kish.

#### 3.1.4. *The Induction of Inanna in the Eanna Temple*

Literary sources furnish considerably more explicit information on the relationship between An and Inanna.<sup>62</sup> The dominant tradition regarded Inanna as the daughter of the moon god Nanna-Su'en,<sup>63</sup> and therefore as the sister of the sun god Utu and as the great-granddaughter of An, while another tradition viewed her simply as the daughter of An.<sup>64</sup> Other, apparently conflicting notions existed, according to which she was the

<sup>61</sup> SANATI-MÜLLER 1991, p. 316, no. 154, 2. (sesame) *sá-du<sub>11</sub> An-dInanna-dna-na-a*; p. 317, no. 155, 2. (sesame) *sá-du<sub>11</sub> An-dInanna-dna-na-a*; and SANATI-MÜLLER 1992, p. 126, no. 166, 9. [o o] *nidba An-dInanna* 10. *ù dInanna-a* (offerings of fat-tailed sheep). Other Old Babylonian sources from Uruk published since CHARPIN 1986 and which mention the goddess Inanna or the compound An-<sup>d</sup>Inanna are: SANATI-MÜLLER 1988 (passim for attestations of An-<sup>d</sup>Inanna); SANATI-MÜLLER 1990, p. 165, no. 114, 10. <sup>d</sup>Inanna (gold jewelry for the goddess); p. 168, no. 115, 38. <sup>d</sup>Inanna (could be preceded by a shaded AN according to the copy; this is also a text concerning gold jewelry or paraphernalia); SANATI-MÜLLER 1993, p. 150, no. 202, col. I, 24'. *é-dInanna*; CAVIGNEAUX 1996, no. 56: 4. *sá-du<sub>4</sub> An-dInanna*; no. 76 (a letter), seems to treat An-<sup>d</sup>Inanna as one deity: 1. An-<sup>d</sup>Inanna DINGIR *ù-n[u o o o]* 2. *aš-šum-i-ni a-na da-'ri'-[a-tim]* 3. *li-ba-al-[i-it-ka]* "May Inanna, the goddess of Uruk?, preserve your health forever on our behalf;" the address formula of no. 80, on the other hand, also a letter, seems to keep An and Inanna distinct: 4'. An *'ù dInanna'* 5'. *li-ba-al-li-ti-ù-ù?-[ka?]*. PETTINATO 1998, pp. 277–278, and GEORGE 2000, p. 291, n. 48, briefly discuss the compounds An-Inanna and An-Inanna-Nanaya.

<sup>62</sup> The relationship between An and Inanna is also discussed by BRUSCHWEILER 1987, pp. 95, 134–135, and 178–180; and by HALLO, VAN DIJK 1968, pp. 7–10 and 97, who stress the political aspect of the rise of Inanna and date it mostly to the Sargonic period.

<sup>63</sup> SJÖBERG 1988, publishes a fragmentary Sumerian hymn which acknowledges Inanna as the daughter of Nanna-Su'en: p. 167, col. I, 14. *nu-gig 'x' a-a-ni dEN.ZU-da* 15. *inim du<sub>11</sub>-du<sub>11</sub>-ga-e* "the *nugig* ... together with her father Suen utters commands;" RÖMER 1965, p. 129, IV, 9. *dumu-gal-dsu'en-na dInanna-ra silim-ma ga-na-ab-bé-en* "let me greet the eldest daughter of Su'en, Inanna!;" SJÖBERG, BERGMANN 1969, p. 36, no. 26, 325. *dumu-gal-dsu'en-na kù-dInanna-ke<sub>4</sub>* "the eldest daughter of Su'en, the pure Inanna;" SJÖBERG 1975a, pp. 178–179: 2. *dumu-gal-dsu'en-na, DUMU.MI dEN.ZU ra-bi-tum* "the eldest daughter of Sîn;" BEHRENS 1998, line 52. *dInanna a-a-zu dsu'en-gim an-ša-ge am-gub* "O Inanna, you stand in the midst of heaven like your father Su'en!" (Ninegalla Hymn). Later sources; CT 15, pl. 45: 2. <sup>d</sup>INNIN DUMU.MI *30 ú-zu-un-ša [iš-kun]* "Ištar, the daughter of Sîn, [set] her mind" (K. 162, Ištar's descent to the netherworld); KING 1902, vol. II, pl. LXXV, 5. *at-ti-ma na-an-na-rat AN-e u KI-ti ma-rat 30 qa-rit-ti* "you are the luminary of heaven and the netherworld, the heroic daughter of Sîn" (*šu'illa* to Ištar, BM 26187); KING 1896, no. 5, 13. *lú-in-nin-ni bu-uk-rat 30 i-lit-ti dINNIN.GAL* "Innin, firstborn daughter of Sîn, offspring of Ningal" (*šu'illa* to Ištar). The genealogy of Inanna is discussed by WILCKE 1976–1980, p. 80, § 8.

<sup>64</sup> Ištar is portrayed as the daughter of Anu and Antu in the Standard Babylonian Epic of Gilgamesh, Tablet VI, 82. *il-lik-ma dIš-tar ana IGI dA-nu AD-ša i-[bak-ki]* 83. *ana pa-an an-tu<sub>4</sub> AMA-ša il-la-ka di-ma-[a]-ša* "Ištar went crying in the presence of Anu, her father, her tears flowed before Antu, her mother" (quoted following PARPOLA 1997); in Astrolabe B, KAV 218 B, col. I, 15. MUL BAN <sup>d</sup>INNIN *e-la-ma-tu<sub>4</sub>* 16. <sup>d</sup>DUMU.MI *dA-nu* "the constellation of the Bow is Ištar-of-Elam, the daughter of Anu;" The Hymn to the Queen of Nippur, published in LAMBERT 1982, contains an etiology of the name Ninanna, given to Inanna by her father An, pp. 198–199, 54. *ša qā-ad-mi-iš iz-ku-ru-ši a-bu da-di-ša dA-nu-um* 55. <sup>d</sup>NIN.AN.NA *šar-ra-tu<sub>4</sub> ša-ma-a-me* "which Anu, her beloved father, called her of old, is Ninanna, 'Queen of Heaven'." As pointed out by WILCKE 1976–1980, p. 80, § 8, the tradition that Inanna was the daughter of An could also be understood to mean that she was his descendant; being the daughter of Sîn made her the granddaughter of Enlil, and therefore the great-granddaughter of An.

mistress of An, his hierodule, or his wife.<sup>65</sup> The prominence of Inanna is reflected in the tradition that the goddess had usurped An's position of leadership. One finds the earliest exposition of this theology in the two hymnal compositions *Ninmešarra* and *Innin-šagurra*, both attributed to Sargon's daughter *Enheduanna*. In *Ninmešarra* Inanna receives all the me's from An and is praised as the "Lady, supreme over An."<sup>66</sup> The hymn *Innin-šagurra* likewise sings "the Lady (performing) great deeds, who gathers (for herself) the me's of heaven and the netherworld, (who) rivals the great An."<sup>67</sup> It portrays Inanna's command as supreme over An and Enlil,<sup>68</sup> and relates that An gave Inanna his seat together with control over all the rites, whereupon the great gods paid her obedience.<sup>69</sup> Thus *Innin-šagurra* clearly shows that the exaltation of Inanna over An, which resulted in her seizure of divine kingship, was also explained theologically by her physical appropriation of An's seat, his temple. This latter theme has recently become better documented with the publication of a Sumerian myth reconstructed from four manuscripts, including a bilingual version datable to the Middle Babylonian period. Although the composition is still in a very fragmentary state, its main subject can clearly be identified. It describes how Inanna stole the Eanna temple from An and made it into her abode. This can be appraised from the concluding lines of the composition, quoted here according to the better preserved manuscript (YBC 4665):<sup>70</sup>

159. é-an-na an-da im-da-an-kar [o o]-ta im-mi-in-ge-en  
160. u<sub>4</sub>-da <sup>d</sup>inanna-ke<sub>4</sub> é-an-na é ki-n[<sup>in</sup>?]-àm im-me

<sup>65</sup> The epithet *nu-gig-an-na* means "hierodule of An", indicating that Inanna is also the mistress of An, in addition to being his wife and daughter. It occurs in the *Descent of Inanna*, SLADEK 1974, p. 130, line 221. *nu-u<sub>8</sub>-gi[g-a]n-na-ke<sub>4</sub>* "the hierodule of An." It is often shortened simply to *nu-gig* "the hierodule" (discussions by HALLO, VAN DIJK 1968, p. 87; SJÖBERG, BERGMANN 1969, p. 111, no. 309; WILCKE 1976–1980, pp. 80–81, § 8; BRUSCHWEILER 1987, pp. 110–111; and ZGOLL 1997b). BRUSCHWEILER 1987, p. 167, discusses the possibility that the position of Inanna as *nu-gig-an-na* relates to the astral position of Inanna in the sky. Inanna/Ištar is portrayed as wife of Anu in *Innin-šagurra*, SJÖBERG 1975a, pp. 186–187, line 93. *nin-k[i-ág]-an-kù-ga* "the beloved lady of the holy An;" pp. 200–201, line 258. *an-gal ki-ág-zu* "the great An, your beloved;" and also in the Hymn to Ištar with subscription for king Ammiditana: THIUREAU-DANGIN 1925, p. 173, line 45. *iš-ti an-nim ha-we-ri-i-ša te-te-er-ša-aš-šu-um* 46. *da-ri-a-am ba-la-[a-am ar-ka-am]* "from Anu, her spouse, she has requested for him an enduring long life."

<sup>66</sup> HALLO, VAN DIJK 1968, p. 22, line 59. *nin an-ra diri-ga*.

<sup>67</sup> SJÖBERG 1975a, p. 179, line 3. *A. eriš-nam-maḥ me-an-ki ur<sub>4</sub>-ur<sub>4</sub> an-gal-d[a za-ša<sub>4</sub>] [be-le]-et na-ar-bi ša pa-ar-ši ša-me-e ù er-še-tim ha-am-ma-at it-ti a-ni-im ra-bi-im ši-it-(nu)-na-at*.

<sup>68</sup> SJÖBERG 1975a, pp. 178–179: 14. <sup>d</sup>inanna e-ne-da nu-me-a an-gal ka-aš nu-um-bar <sup>d</sup>en-III nam nu-[un-tar] 15. *in-nin sag-il kur-ra ab-điri a-ba sag mu-un-gá-gá* "Without Inanna the great An has not made a decision, Enlil has not determined the destiny. The mistress who raises (her) head, who resides in the mountain, who opposes her?"

<sup>69</sup> SJÖBERG 1975a, pp. 188–189: 106. *an-gal-e muš-za n[í] b[í]-te ki-tuš-zu im-mi-ḥu-luḥ* 107. *ki-tuš-an-gal-la-ke<sub>4</sub> d[ur] 'ba?-e?'-gar su nu-mu-e-da-zi-zi* 108. *PA.LUGAL-maḥ PA.AN-gal-g[al] šu-zu ga-mu-un-si* 109. *dingir-gal-gal-e-ne kiri!* *ki-a b[í]-in-su-ub-bu-uš šu-kin mu-un-dab<sub>5</sub>-bē-eš* "The great An feared your dazzling appearance, he was frightened of your dwelling place, he let you take your seat in the dwelling place of the great An (and then) he did not fear you any more (he said): 'I will hand over to you the lofty royal rites (and) the divine great rites!' The great gods kissed the earth, they served (you)." The assumption of heavenly kingship by Inanna is also reflected in the series *Urukū lemnūtu*, CT 16, pl. 20: 77. <sup>d</sup>innin-ke<sub>4</sub> an-da ki-tuš kù mu-un-ri nam-lugal-la- 78. *an-na-še ir-pag mu-un-ak* 79. *iš-tar it-ti <sup>d</sup>a-nim šar-ri šub-tú KÙ-tim* 80. *ir-me-ma ana LUGAL-ut AN-e i-ka-pu-ud* "Ištar took the pure seat alongside Anu the king, planning (to seize) heavenly kingship." According to CAD K, pp. 172–174, s.v. *kapādu*, this verb means "to plan" when used in conjunction with *ana*, e.g. *ana šarrūti kapādu* means "to plan to become king." Therefore this passage clearly depicts Ištar plotting to seize heavenly kingship from Anu.

<sup>70</sup> VAN DIJK 1998, pp. 20–21.

161. *in-nin-e ki ù-ma gub-bu-ba šu-sá-du<sub>11</sub>-ga-àm*  
162. <sup>d</sup>inanna-ke<sub>4</sub> ki ù-ma gub-bu-ba šu-sá-du<sub>11</sub>-ga-àm  
163. *é-an-na an-da im-da-kar-re-en ki-du<sub>10</sub>-ga im-me*

She has stolen the Eanna temple from An, she has firmly grounded (it) on [earth(?)].<sup>71</sup>  
On this day Inanna says: "The Eanna temple is the residence of the L[ady(?)]."  
The Mistress, who has reached the place of (her) triumph,  
Inanna, who has reached the place of (her) triumph,  
says: "I have taken the Eanna temple away from An as a propitious residence!"

Van Dijk ascribes the myth of Inanna's capture of Eanna to the *Enheduanna* cycle, as it shares many focal elements with the hymns *Ninmešarra* and *Innin-šagurra*. He also points out that the evidence from the new composition allows us to propose a new interpretation of a crucial passage of *Ninmešarra*, in which it is now evident that Inanna is accused of stealing Eanna from An: 86. *an-da é-an-na ha-ba-da-an-kar* 87. *an-lugal-da ní ba-ra-ba-da-te* "You have indeed stolen the Eanna temple from An, you have not feared An the king."<sup>72</sup> These literary works show that the motif of Inanna's exaltation was intimately connected with her induction in the Eanna temple, which she had allegedly stolen from An.

Other sources claim that Inanna was brought down from heaven in historical times to take up residence in the Eanna temple. They attribute this operation to the *apkallu* *Nun(gal)piriggal*, who allegedly lived at the time of Enmerkar. The sources preserving this tradition are two first millennium texts. The first one is the 'Etiological Myth of the Seven Sages':<sup>73</sup>

10. *nun-pirig-gal šidim abgal <sup>d</sup>en-me-kár <sup>d</sup>inanna ša-é-an-na-ke<sub>4</sub> an-ta e<sub>11</sub>-dē*  
11. *MIN ap-kal MIN ša <sup>d</sup>iš-tar iš-tu AN-e ana qé-reb a-a-ki ú-še-ri-da*

*Nunpiriggal*, the builder, the *apkallu* of Enmerkar, who brought down Ištar from heaven into Eanna.

The other source is the Uruk list of *apkallus* and *ummānus* preserved in a manuscript from the Hellenistic period:<sup>74</sup>

8. [EGIR? MAR.URU<sub>5</sub>?] *ina BALA-e <sup>d</sup>en-me-kár LUGAL: 'nun-gal-pirig-gal ABGAL*  
9. [*ša <sup>d</sup>iš-tar T*] *AN-e ana É.AN.NA ú-še-ri-du*

[After the flood?], during the reign of king Enmerkar, *Nungalpiriggal* was the *apkallu*, [he who] brought down [Ištar] from heaven into the Eanna temple.

<sup>71</sup> Compare *ibid.*, verse 155. *é-an-na an-gim hē-ge-en* "Let the Eanna temple be firmly grounded like heaven."

<sup>72</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 10–11. In the editio princeps of the *Exaltation of Inanna*, HALLO, VAN DIJK 1968, pp. 24–27, the editors tentatively understood *Lugalanne* as the subject in this verse, and therefore as the one who took the Eanna temple away from An.

<sup>73</sup> REINER 1961, pp. 2–5.

<sup>74</sup> VAN DIJK, MAYER 1980, text no. 89.

Inanna's induction in the Eanna temple at the time of Enmerkar is reflected in an earlier source, the Sumerian epic 'Enmerkar and the Lord of Aratta':<sup>75</sup>

229. nin-gal-an-na me-ḥuṣ-a u<sub>5</sub>-a  
 230. ḥur-sag-kur-šuba-ka dūr-gar-ra  
 231. bára-kur-šuba-ka še-er-ka-an-du<sub>11</sub>-ga  
 232. en-lugal-mu šubur-a-ni-im  
 233. ḏnin-é-an-na-ka mu-un-di-ni-ib-ku<sub>4</sub>-re-eš

The great Queen of Heaven, who rides upon an awesome *me*,  
 who dwells on the peak of the bright mountain,  
 who adorns the dais of the bright mountain,  
 my lord and king, who is her servant,  
 had them introduce her as the "Divine Queen of Eanna."

The tradition represented by these texts points to a demythologization of Inanna's induction in the Eanna temple, resolutely placing it in historical time. Accordingly, Szarzyńska has recently revived the notion that Inanna was originally the goddess of Kulaba, and that 'Enmerkar and the Lord of Aratta' preserves the memory of the transfer of her cult from Kulaba to Uruk.<sup>76</sup> Inanna is indeed associated with Kulaba in some early sources. One of the ZĀ-MĪ hymns from Abu Šalābīkh explicitly praises her as the goddess of Kulaba,<sup>77</sup> and in the canonical collection of Sumerian temple hymns the hymn to Eanna, the "temple of Inanna in Uruk" (209. é-dinanna unu<sup>ki</sup>-ga), begins by celebrating this temple as the "house with the great me's of Kulaba" (198. é-me-gal kul-aba<sup>ki</sup>-a).<sup>78</sup> The Sumerian King List preserves a tradition that Enmerkar was the founder of Uruk, and that prior to him his predecessors had ruled only in Eanna, although the same text claims that his successor Gilgameš was lord of Kulaba.<sup>79</sup> Are we to believe that Uruk emerged as the result of the Eanna's fusion with Kulaba, and that Inanna, originally Kulaba's goddess, then became the mistress of the Eanna temple and patron goddess of Uruk, dislodging its patron god An? The various traditions seem too contradictory to warrant such a specific reconstruction of events, which is also at variance with the evidence from the archaic texts. As seen above these records clearly

<sup>75</sup> This is a passage where the emissary of Enmerkar replies to the Lord of Aratta. Quoted according to the edition by COHEN 1973, p. 74. JACOBSEN 1987b, p. 295, has a different interpretation of this passage, reading the beginning of line 233 as follows: an nin é-an-na-ka, which leads to the following translation: "the lord my master, being her servant, An and the queen have moved with him in Eanna."

<sup>76</sup> SZARZYŃSKA 1997, p. 146.

<sup>77</sup> BIGGS 1974, pp. 46–47, lines 19–29.

<sup>78</sup> SJÖBERG, BERGMANN 1969, p. 29, hymn no. 16. CONTI 1993, pp. 345–346 has a new edition and translation of this hymn, more particularly of line 198. é-me-gal kul-aba<sup>ki</sup>-a bad mūš-e iri<sub>12</sub>-gal-e mú-a "Temple, répandant effroi/splendeur sur Kullab, dont la configuration surgit de l'Irigal (/configuration que l'Irigal a fait surgir)."

<sup>79</sup> "Kiš was vanquished, its kingship was transferred to Eanna. In Eanna [Meski]agga[šer, son] of Utu, was lord [and king]; he reigned 32[5] years; [Mes]kiagga[šer] went into the sea and disappeared. Enmerkar, son of Meskia[ggašer], the king of Uruk, the one who founded Ur[uk], was king; he reigned 420 years. The divine Lugalbanda, the shepherd, reigned 1,200 years. The Divine Dumuzi, the fisherman—his city was Ku'ara—reigned 100+[x] years. The divine Gilgameš—his father was an invisible being—the lord of Kulaba—reigned 126 years."

indicate that the various forms of Inanna were the main goddess(es) of Uruk already at the end of the 4th millennium (§ 3.1.1). Kulaba was probably the name of a district of Uruk, or of a neighboring settlement, which later became an alternate name for the entire city. This is clearly the meaning of the name Kulaba in the *res gestae* of Uruk and other literary texts of the 3rd millennium, in which the two toponyms are more or less interchangeable.<sup>80</sup>

In sum the evidence indicates that Inanna had always been the most important goddess of Uruk. An belonged to an older generation of gods and embodied the sky, a passive cosmic principle. Inanna was a member of the younger generations, being either the daughter or a more distant offspring of An, and in her astral incarnation as the planet Venus she embodied an active cosmic principle, radiating in the sky while she raced along her path. The rich hymnal and mythological literature of the 3rd and early 2nd millennia provided a number of theological explanations for her astral dominance of heaven, often expressed as the dislodging or overpowering of the god An, and her cultic prominence at Uruk was similarly rationalized by the legend of her capture of, or induction in the Eanna temple, allegedly An's abode. Anu became the most important god of Uruk only in the late Achaemenid and Seleucid periods, after the theological reforms which propelled him, together with his wife Antu, to supreme status in his new temple, the Rēš, which for the first time in Uruk's history overshadowed the city's venerable main sanctuary, the Eanna temple.<sup>81</sup> Prior to this, however, An appears to have always been worshiped in the shadow of Inanna.

### 3.1.5. *The Late Periods*

During the Middle Babylonian period the cults of Uruk exiled to Kish at the time of Samsuiluna returned to their home. From that period dates a new theological composition known as the 'Exaltation of Ištar,' probably the creation of Uruk priestly circles.<sup>82</sup> Its preserved portions (Tablets III and IV) portray Anu as king of the gods and relate how he selected Ištar to be his spouse, giving her all his royal prerogatives and elevating her to the status of Antu his consort. Ištar appears in this text as daughter of the moon god Sîn, while Anu and Ištar are identified as the primordial divine couple Anšar and Kišar, who are equated with Anu and Antu in the opening section of the god list An = Anum,

<sup>80</sup> In 'Enmerkar and Ensuhkešdanna' Uruk and Kulaba are consistently used as synonyms. Enmerkar is "lord of Uruk, lord of Kulaba." Uruk is also called "the brickwork of Kulaba" (e.g. lines 2–3, 22, 102–103, 121, 134). The same expressions recur in 'Enmerkar and the Lord of Aratta,' in which we also find the double name Uruk-Kulaba in reference to the urban center (lines 7, 13–14, 60 and 91: unu<sup>ki</sup>-kul-aba<sup>ki</sup>). The same interchangeableness is evidenced in almost all the other epics of the cycle, including the Gilgameš tales. 'Gilgameš and Akka' appears to be more specific, referring to Uruk to denote the city itself (lines 2, 49, 65, 84 and 86), while at the same time referring to Gilgameš solely as "lord of Kulaba" (lines 15–16, 40, 51, 100 and 113).

<sup>81</sup> On this see BEAULIEU 1992a, pp. 53–60.

<sup>82</sup> Edition in HRUŠKA 1969. All known duplicates of the text are very late, but there is some consensus that it was composed during the Middle Babylonian period. This opinion was first expressed by FALKENSTEIN 1952, p. 91, and both Hruška and LAMBERT 1971 have concurred with this view. The type of Sumerian found in the "Exaltation of Ištar" is characteristic of the period when the language was being revived as the idiom of liturgy.



also a work of the Middle Babylonian period. After having been elevated to the status of Antu and given “kingship,” Ištar is exalted in her astral aspect as the planet Venus, and is crowned with the epithet “Ištar the Star.”<sup>83</sup>

17. *ḏin-nin dim-me-er ḥi-li-bi mu-un-ši-in-kar-ra me-ur-zu sum-mu-un-na-ab*  
 18. *ana ḏMIN (= in-nin) i-lat te-em-nu-ši ḥi-im-mat par-ši-ka šu-ut-ḫim-ši*  
 19. *ḏki-šár ni-id-la-amnidlam e-da-sá ḥé-na-nam mu-zu-a nir ḥé-ḡGALAM-galamaga-la-ma*  
 20. *lu-ú an-tu<sub>4</sub> ḥi-ir-tu<sub>4</sub> šin-na-at-ka ši-ma ana šu-me-ka li-te-et-li*

Give to Innin, the goddess, whom you have loved, all your divine powers,  
 Let her be Antu, the spouse your equal; may she elevate herself to your name.

61. *ki-bi-a ḏinnin nam-nin-gú-SA-bi sag an-šè ù-mi-ni-in-íl-la*  
 62. *a-šá-riš ḏiš-tar a-na šar-ru-tu nap-ḥar-šú-nu ru-tab-bi-ma*  
 63. *ḏin-nin za-e dil-bad-bi ḥé-na-nam ḏti-mú-a ḥé-ri-in-e-še*  
 64. *ḏMIN (= in-nin) at-ti lu-ú na-bit-su-nu-ma ḏiš-tar MUL liq-bu-ki*

There, O Ištar, exalt yourself to kingship over everything;  
 May you, Innin, shine over them, let them call you “Ištar the star.”

While this text contains elements of theological reflection which are already familiar from the works ascribed to Enḫeduanna, such as the theme of the exaltation of Inanna/Ištar to supreme power, two notions are here fully developed for the first time. The first one is the syncretism between Antu and Ištar, which created a “ménage-à-trois” between Anu, Antu, and Ištar analogous to those existing between Marduk, Zarpanītu, and Ištar in Babylon, and between Nabû, Tašmētu, and Nanaya in Borsippa. In these “love triangles” Ištar and Nanaya fulfilled the role of hierodule or mistress of Marduk and Nabû, respectively, while they were at the same time theologically identified with their spouses Zarpanītu and Tašmētu. The other theological notion which gains more ground during that period is the equation Innin = Ištar. It is probable that from Kassite times onwards the logogram ḏMÚŠ must be read ḏInnin rather than ḏInanna. This conclusion is based upon the Neo-Babylonian evidence from the Eanna archive where the logogram ḏMÚŠ followed by the phonetic complement *-na* alternates in personal names with various phonetic spellings of the divine name Innin (e.g. *ḏin-ni-in*, *ḏin-nin-na*), a form of Ištar attested only in the onomastics and the toponymy (§ 3.2.5), and therefore must be understood as *ḏinnin-na*, with the pronunciation /innin/. A perusal of the above quoted verses quite clearly shows that the author of the ‘Exaltation of Ištar’ shared this theological view.

Starting with the Middle Babylonian period, Babylonian and Assyrian rulers no longer mention Anu in their inscriptions related to Uruk. The only exception is the “Donation of Kurigalzu,” which records endowments of land made by Kurigalzu I, son of Kadašman-Ḫarbe, to Ištar.<sup>84</sup> In this text the Kassite king claims to have rebuilt

the temple of Anu and Ištar,<sup>85</sup> and also to have reinstalled Anu in his shrine.<sup>86</sup> The authenticity of the text, which is available only in two first millennium copies, has sometimes been doubted, and the possibility of a later forgery cannot be excluded.<sup>87</sup> The mention of Anu might be just an echo of the older theological tradition of pairing An and Inanna as patron gods of Uruk and the Eanna temple,<sup>88</sup> and should probably not be taken as evidence that Anu enjoyed a position of prominence in the pantheon of Uruk at that time. To be sure, the inscriptions of the Kassite kings Karindaš and Kurigalzu I<sup>89</sup> commemorating the rebuilding of Eanna mention only Ištar (ḏinnin) as the Lady-of-Eanna (ḏnin-é-an-na).<sup>90</sup>

After the 14th century there is a major gap in our documentation until the end of the 8th century. The divine name Lady-of-Eanna occurs again in an inscription of Merodach-Baladan II recording repair work in the Eanna temple: 1. *a-na ḏiš-tar be-ḫei* KUR.KUR *šur-bu-[ti] DINGIR.MEŠ qa-rit-ti* 2. ḏNIN-É.AN.NA *a-šib-ḫi* [U]NUG<sup>ki</sup> *šá kul-lat [pá]r-ši ḥa-am-mat* “For Ištar, mistress of the lands, supreme (among) the gods, valiant one, the Lady-of-Eanna, who dwells in Uruk, who has gathered to herself all the divine offices.”<sup>91</sup> A brick inscription of the same king which also records the restoration of Eanna hails Ištar as “mistress of the lands:” 1. *nin ḏinnin* 2. *nin kur-kur-ra* “For the lady, Ištar, mistress of the lands.”<sup>92</sup> This title also occurs in the contemporary inscriptions of Sargon II from Uruk: FRAME 1995, B.6.22.6, 1. *nin ḏinnin* 2. *nin kur-kur-ra* “For the lady, Ištar, mistress of the lands;” and B.6.22.3, col. I, 1. [ana] ḏINNIN *be-let* KUR.KUR *ti-iz-qar-ti DINGIR.MEŠ* “(For) Ištar, mistress of the lands, most eminent of the gods,” col. II, 7. ḏINNIN GAŠAN KUR.KUR “Ištar, mistress of the lands.” This latter inscription also hails Ištar-of-Uruk as “beloved of the lord of the gods” (col. II, 20. ḏINNIN *na-ram-ti* EN DINGIR.MEŠ), and it is possible that this epithet was intended to reflect the syncretism between Ištar-of-Uruk and Zarpanītu/Ištar-of-Babylon, which seems to have been prevalent in Uruk in the 8th and 7th centuries, provided we understand the epithet “lord of the gods” as a title of Marduk (§ 2.1.2; § 3.2.6; § 3.3). Another inscription of Sargon II from Uruk takes up the traditional titulary embodying

<sup>85</sup> Exemplar A. 13. [e-p]iš É *ḏa-nu u ḏINNIN* “who built the temple of Anu and Ištar.”

<sup>86</sup> Exemplar A. 16. [ḏa-nu A]D DINGIR.MEŠ GAL.MEŠ B. 3. *ḏa-nu AD DINGIR.MEŠ GAL-ti* A. 17. [ina ku-ú]m-mi-šú ḫi-i-ri B. 3. *ina ku-um-ḫi-šú [ḫi-i-ri]* A. 18. [ḫi-šar]r-ma-a *šū-bat-su* B. 3. [ḫi-šar-ma-a] *šū-bat-su* “I caused Anu, father of the great gods, to dwell in his lofty sanctuary.” Given the context of the inscription, there is no serious reason to doubt that the Eanna temple is meant.

<sup>87</sup> Discussion by BRINKMAN 1976, p. 209, no. Q.2.1, who stresses that there are no compelling reasons for doubting the authenticity of the text.

<sup>88</sup> This echo is also found in ‘Išum and Erra,’ which presents Uruk as the dwelling of both Anu and Ištar. See FOSTER 1993, p. 797, verse 52.

<sup>89</sup> Which of the two kings named Kurigalzu is the author of these inscriptions is uncertain. The question is discussed by BRINKMAN 1976, pp. 205–207 (also pp. 218–219, nos. Q.2.38 and Q.2.39). CLAYDEN 1996, p. 119, has argued for Kurigalzu I.

<sup>90</sup> A 3519 (BRINKMAN 1976, p. 378), commemorative inscription of Karindaš in Sumerian for rebuilding of Eanna in Uruk in which Ištar is praised as: 1. ḏinnin 2. nin-é-an-na. UVB 1, pl. 26, no. 12, Sumerian inscription of Karindaš commemorating restoration of Eanna in which Ištar is also called: 1. ḏinnin 2. nin-é-an-na. UVB 1, pl. 27, no. 14, Sumerian inscription of Kurigalzu: 1. ḏnin-é-an-na 2. nin-gal nin-a-ni-ir. UVB 1, pl. 27, no. 15, Sumerian inscription of Kurigalzu: 1. ḏinnin 1. nin-é-an-na.

<sup>91</sup> FRAME 1995, B.6.21.1.

<sup>92</sup> FRAME 1995, B.6.21.2; B.6.21.3 has the same introduction.

<sup>83</sup> The line count follows Hruška’s edition.

<sup>84</sup> This inscription is known in two exemplars; text A: CT 36, 6–7; text B: BIN 2, 33.

Ištar's control of Uruk and the Eanna temple: 1. <sup>d</sup>innin 2. nin unug<sup>ki</sup>-ga-ta 3. dūr-mar é-an-na 4. gašan maḥ bülug-ga "For Ištar, lady of Uruk, who dwells in Eanna, the august, supreme lady."<sup>93</sup>

More elaborate statements are found in the inscriptions of Esarhaddon and Assurbanipal. An inscription of Esarhaddon recording the restoration of the Eanna temple refers to it as the "house of Anu-ship, beloved of Ištar" (30. É.AN.NA É <sup>d</sup>a-nu-ú-tu na-ram <sup>d</sup>15),<sup>94</sup> and praises Ištar-of-Uruk as follows:<sup>95</sup>

1. a-na <sup>d</sup>iš-tar GAŠAN šur-bu-ti e-tel-let AN-e u KI-tim qa-rit-ti DINGIR.MEŠ šá-ru-uḥ-ti
2. <sup>d</sup>INNIN UNUG<sup>ki</sup> ru-ba-a-ti šir-ti le-qa-a-ti pa-ra-aš <sup>d</sup>a-nū-ú-tu
3. šá ri-kis te-re-e-ti ḥa-am-mat
4. ru-um-ti ti-iz-qar-ti šá a-na LUGAL mi-ig-ri-šá ki-niš ip-pal-la-su
5. BALA-šú ú-šal-ba-ru i-šar-ra-ku-uš da-na-nu ù li-i-ti
6. šá-nun-ka-at ád-na-a-ti šá-qu-ti DINGIR.MEŠ a-ši-bat É.NIR.GÁL.AN.NA
7. šá qé-reb É.AN.NA be-let UNUG<sup>ki</sup> GAŠAN GAL-ti

For Ištar, supreme lady, sovereign of heaven and the netherworld, most valiant of the gods, splendid, Ištar-of-Uruk, august princess, (who) has appropriated the rites of Anu-ship, (who) has gathered to herself (all) ordinances, beloved, eminent, who looks upon the king, her favorite, with steady favor, (who) prolongs his reign (and) bestows on him power and victory, empress of the world, most exalted of the gods, who dwells in Enirgalanna which is inside Eanna, lady of Uruk, great lady.

Another inscription of Esarhaddon which commemorates the restoration of Enirgalanna, the cella of Ištar in the Eanna temple, begins as follows:<sup>96</sup>

1. a-na <sup>d</sup>INNIN UNUG<sup>ki</sup> e-tel-let AN-e u KI-tim qa-rit-ti DINGIR.MEŠ šir-ti
2. GAŠAN šur-bu-ti ḥa-me-mat pa-ra-aš <sup>d</sup>a-nū-u-tú ša na-gab šu-luḥ-ḥu šu-up-qu-ud-du qa-tuš-šá
3. šá-nu-kàt i-la-a-te ša ina er-me a-nu ù ki-gal-li šur-ru-ḥu zik-ru-šá
4. i-lat MURUB<sub>4</sub> ù ta-ḥa-zi a-li-kàt i-di LUGAL mi-gir-i-šá mu-ra-áš-ši-bat ga-re-e-šú
5. a-ši-bat É.NIR.GÁL.AN.NA ša qé-reb É.AN.NA GAŠAN UNUG<sup>ki</sup> GAŠAN GAL-ti

For Ištar-of-Uruk, sovereign of heaven and the netherworld, most valiant of the gods, august, supreme lady, who has gathered to herself the rites of Anu-ship, the one into whose hand all purification rites are appointed, empress of the goddesses, whose words are preeminent in heaven and the netherworld, goddess of war and battle, who goes at the side of the king, her favorite, (and) slays his foes, who dwells in Enirgalanna which is inside Eanna, lady of Uruk, great lady.

<sup>93</sup> FRAME 1995, B.6.22.5.

<sup>94</sup> The same expression occurs in a brick inscription of Esarhaddon (FRAME 1995, B.6.31.19) commemorating the restoration of Eanna: 1. ana <sup>d</sup>INNIN UNUG<sup>ki</sup> 2. GAŠAN KUR.KUR.R[A] ... 11. É.AN.NA 12. <sup>d</sup>É <sup>d</sup>a-nu-u-ti'.

<sup>95</sup> FRAME 1995, B.6.31.15.

<sup>96</sup> FRAME 1995, B.6.31.16.

Finally an inscription of Assurbanipal commemorating the restoration of the Eanna temple opens with the following dedication:<sup>97</sup>

1. 'a'-na 'd'INNIN' UNUG<sup>ki</sup> e-tel-lat AN-e u KI-tim ga-šir-ti DINGIR.MEŠ šir-ti
2. 'šá' ina šir-tan u šir-la-an ur-tu ta-nam-di-nu ta-šak-kan šir-'ki-in-šá'
3. i-lat tam-ḥa-ri ez-zi-ti šá ina qé-reb te-še-e a-šam-šá-niš i-su-ur-ru
4. a-li-kát i-di LUGAL mi-gir-i-šá mu-ra-si-'bat' ga-re-e-šú
5. be-let KUR.KUR ḥa-mi-mat par-ši muš-te-ši-rat gi-mir šu-luḥ-ḥu
6. a-ši-bat é-nir-gál-<sup>d</sup>a-nim šá qé-reb É.AN.NA be-el-ti GAL-ti

For Ištar-of-Uruk, sovereign of heaven and the netherworld, most powerful of the gods, august one, who *executes* the command she gives in the east and west, the fierce goddess of battle, who whirls around in the melee like a dust storm, who goes at the side of the king, her favorite, (and) slays his foes, mistress of the lands, who has gathered to herself (all) divine offices, (and) who administers correctly all purification rites, who dwells in Enirgalanim, which is inside Eanna, the great lady.

Ištar-of-Uruk was twice abducted from the Eanna temple during the first millennium. The first abduction occurred in the 8th century, during the reign of Erība-Marduk or Nabû-šuma-iškun. Ancient sources claim that the legitimate image of Ištar returned to Uruk only two centuries later, during the reign of Nebuchadnezzar II (§ 3.3). During the intervening years, however, a second abduction apparently took place when Sennacherib captured Uruk in 693 B.C. and its gods were carried off by the Assyrians and the Elamites. Some, or all of the gods then abducted by the Assyrians returned to their abodes at the very end of Sennacherib's reign, in 681 B.C. or at the beginning of that of his son and successor Esarhaddon.<sup>98</sup>

### 3.2. The Names of Ištar in the Eanna Archive

As we move into the Neo-Babylonian period we again have at our disposal an archive from Uruk, for the first time in more than a millennium. The tutelary goddess of Uruk appears under five different appellations in texts from the Eanna archive: Ištar, Ištar-of-Uruk, the Lady-of-Uruk (Bēltu-ša-Uruk), Innin, and Bēltiya. Other names occur occasionally but do not seem to have gained wide currency.

#### 3.2.1. Ištar

The name Ištar may be spelled syllabically <sup>d</sup>iš-tar, or with the logograms <sup>d</sup>INNIN (= <sup>d</sup>MUŠ, earlier <sup>d</sup>INANNA) and <sup>d</sup>15, the latter being the sacred number of the goddess. The spellings (<sup>d</sup>)eš<sub>4</sub>-tár and (<sup>d</sup>)iṣ<sub>8</sub>-tár are not attested in the archive.<sup>99</sup> All three forms:

<sup>97</sup> FRAME 1995, B.6.32.19.

<sup>98</sup> BRINKMAN 1984, p. 70, n. 334, and p. 76, n. 369, with references to previous discussions.

<sup>99</sup> One of these two spellings occurs, however, in the name of the Eanna prebendary Ibni-Ištar in his kudurrú dated to the reign of king Marduk-zākir-šumi in the 9th century: THUREAU-DANGIN 1919, p. 126, col. III, 7. <sup>1</sup>ib-ni-<sup>d</sup>eš<sub>4</sub>-tár.



<sup>d</sup>iš-tar, <sup>d</sup>INNIN, and <sup>d</sup>15, can also be understood in the general sense of “goddess.” In one instance the logogram <sup>d</sup>INNIN.MEŠ is used to mean “goddesses.”<sup>100</sup>

### 3.2.2. Ištar-of-Uruk

The name Ištar-of-Uruk is always spelled <sup>d</sup>INNIN UNUG<sup>ki</sup>. The earliest attestation of the divine name Ištar-of-Uruk occurs in the Old Babylonian god lists from Nippur.<sup>101</sup> Thus far <sup>d</sup>INNIN UNUG<sup>ki</sup> is not attested in the Old Babylonian archival texts excavated in the palace of king Sîn-kāšid. However, after the abandonment of southern sites during the reign of Samsuiluna the cult of Ištar was transferred from Uruk to Kish, where the goddess became known as <sup>d</sup>Inanna unug<sup>ki</sup> and An-<sup>d</sup>Inanna unug<sup>ki</sup> (§3.1.3). She may have retained the appellation <sup>d</sup>Inanna (later <sup>d</sup>Innin) unug<sup>ki</sup> when she returned to Uruk during the Kassite period. In the first millennium this appellation is abundantly attested in texts from Uruk as well as in sources external to the city.

### 3.2.3. Lady-of-Uruk

The divine name Lady-of-Uruk is always written <sup>d</sup>GAŠAN šá UNUG<sup>ki</sup> in the archive. Its earliest occurrence is found in the Annals of Sennacherib, in the list of gods of Uruk carried off in the fall of 693 B.C.<sup>102</sup> The reading *bēltu*, rather than *šarratu*, for GAŠAN in the name of Uruk’s tutelary goddess is supported by syllabic spellings of the epithet *bēlet Uruk* in inscriptions of Nebuchadnezzar II and Esarhaddon,<sup>103</sup> and by the translation of gašan <sup>ur</sup>unug<sup>ki</sup> as *bēlet Uruk* in a late copy of a bilingual hymn.<sup>104</sup> The last occurrence of the appellation <sup>d</sup>GAŠAN šá UNUG<sup>ki</sup> is found in an archival text from Uruk, NCBT 1029, dated to the 41st year of Artaxerxes (II or III).<sup>105</sup> As discussed earlier (§2.1.2), it was usual in the late periods to worship a goddess as the “lady,” and another one as the “queen” of the city. In Neo-Babylonian Uruk it was Ištar who fulfilled the role of lady (*bēltu*), and Nanaya that of queen (*šarratu*).

Some evidence seems to suggest that the goddess Lady-of-Uruk was originally a separate deity who later merged with Ištar. In the Old Sumerian god list from Fara the deity <sup>d</sup>nin-unug occupies the 11th position and is distinct from <sup>d</sup>inanna, who is listed in 3rd place.<sup>106</sup> Further evidence for this occurs in the ZĀ-MĪ hymns from Abu

<sup>100</sup> YBC 7422: 22–23, offerings for [<sup>d</sup>IN]NIN.MEŠ. See also LACKENBACHER 1977, p. 40, for the occurrence of the same logogram in the “Fête d’Ištar,” line 23’. <sup>d</sup>INNIN.MEŠ.

<sup>101</sup> *SLT* 122, col. II, 19. [<sup>d</sup>INNIN]N UNUG<sup>ki</sup>; *SLT* 123, col. III, 13. <sup>d</sup>INNIN UNUG<sup>ki</sup>; and *SLT* 124, col. II, 27. <sup>d</sup>INNIN ‘UNUG<sup>ki</sup>, for which see WILCKE, 1976–1980, p. 76b.

<sup>102</sup> OIP 2, p. 87, 31. <sup>d</sup>GAŠAN šá UNUG<sup>ki</sup>.

<sup>103</sup> Inscription of Nebuchadnezzar published as I R 65–66, col. III, 52. <sup>d</sup>INNIN UNUG<sup>ki</sup> *bē-e-li-it* UNUG<sup>ki</sup> *e-el-li-ti* “Ištar-of-Uruk, the holy lady of Uruk,” with discussion below in §3.3. For Esarhaddon see FRAME 1995, B.6.31.15: 7. *be-let* UNUG<sup>ki</sup>.

<sup>104</sup> BRM 4, 10: rev. 39. *é-gi gašan <sup>ur</sup>unug<sup>ki</sup> ša-zu [o o o] ru-ba-a-ti be-let ú-ruk lib-ba-[ki o o]* “princess, lady of Uruk, [your] heart [o o o].”

<sup>105</sup> NCBT 1029: 9. ŠE.NUMUN NÍG.GA <sup>d</sup>GAŠAN šá [UNUG<sup>ki</sup>], and 19. ŠE.NUMUN NÍG.GA <sup>d</sup>GAŠAN šá UNUG<sup>ki</sup> “the arable land, the property of the Lady-of-[Uruk].” Publication of this text by BEAULIEU, STOLPER 1995.

<sup>106</sup> KREBERNIK 1986, p. 168. The goddess Nin-Unug is discussed by HALL 1985, vol. 2, pp. 750–751, who points out that she is clearly associated with Uruk in the Hymn Šulgi H (BE 31, 4, rev. col. II, 5–6).

Šalābīkh. One of them is dedicated to <sup>d</sup>nin-unug, whose cult center is Kulaba, and it immediately precedes two other hymns dedicated to Inanna, also worshiped in Kulaba.<sup>107</sup> The appellation nin-unug also occurs as an epithet, without the divine determinative. In an inscription of Lugalzagesi the goddess Nin-girim is called “the lady of Uruk,”<sup>108</sup> while in a recently rediscovered inscription of Utuḫegal it is Inanna who is praised with this epithet: 15. <sup>d</sup>inanna ‘nin\*’-[u]nu<sup>ki</sup>-g[a] “Inanna, the lady of Uruk.”<sup>109</sup> Recently Conti has revived the notion that the divine name <sup>d</sup>nin-unug should be read <sup>d</sup>nin-irigal<sub>x</sub>, a goddess associated with Inanna and sometimes considered to be one of her aspects.<sup>110</sup> However, in consideration of the huge time gap between the attestations of <sup>d</sup>nin-unug/nin-unug, which go back to the 3rd millennium, and the earliest occurrence of <sup>d</sup>GAŠAN šá UNUG<sup>ki</sup>, which dates to the beginning of the 7th century, it seems probable that the formal resemblance between the appellations <sup>d</sup>GAŠAN šá UNUG<sup>ki</sup> and <sup>d</sup>nin-unug/nin-unug is purely coincidental.

### 3.2.4. Ištar-of-Uruk = Lady-of-Uruk

The two divine names commonly translated Ištar-of-Babylon and Lady-of-Babylon were functionally equivalent in first millennium theology (§2.1.2). The same was true for the names Lady-of-Akkad and Ištar-of-Akkad, appearing in Middle Babylonian and first millennium texts;<sup>111</sup> the equivalence of these two appellations is proven by An=Anum, which translates <sup>d</sup>INNIN *a-ga-dē<sup>ki</sup>* as *be-let ak-’ka’-[di]*,<sup>112</sup> and by late topographical texts which explain the temple Emašdari in Babylon as the temple of <sup>d</sup>GAŠAN-*a-ga-dē<sup>ki</sup>*, with the variant <sup>d</sup>INNIN-*a-ga-dē<sup>ki</sup>* appearing in some manuscripts.<sup>113</sup> In view of this evidence it is probable that the names <sup>d</sup>INNIN UNUG<sup>ki</sup> and <sup>d</sup>GAŠAN šá UNUG<sup>ki</sup> were also functionally equivalent and referred to the goddess Ištar-of-Uruk as the *numen loci*, the mistress of Uruk and the Eanna temple, as opposed to the less specific designation “Ištar.”<sup>114</sup> In the Eanna archive the two names occasionally occur in the same text to designate the patron goddess of Uruk, indicating that they denoted the same concept.<sup>115</sup>

<sup>107</sup> BIGGS 1974, p. 46, lines 15–18. CONTI 1993 argues that nin-unug must be read nin-irigal<sub>x</sub> and that this hymn is a forerunner of the temple hymn in honor of Eanna, the temple of Inanna in Uruk, edited by SJÖBERG, BERGMANN 1969, p. 29, no. 16.

<sup>108</sup> STEIBLE 1982, p. 316, lines 31: *sag-á-è-a-32. <sup>d</sup>nin-gir<sup>mi</sup> 33. nin-unug<sup>ki</sup>-ga-ka*. Discussion by CUNNINGHAM 1997, pp. 16–17, who presents evidence that the goddess Ningirim was worshiped in Kulaba and closely associated with Uruk.

<sup>109</sup> STEIBLE 1991, pp. 330–332, Utuḫegal 7; also edited by FRAYNE 1993, E2.13.6.6.

<sup>110</sup> CONTI 1993.

<sup>111</sup> For Lady-of-Akkad see <sup>d</sup>GAŠAN *a-kad<sup>ki</sup>* in CT 56, 384: 10, and *JTVI* 57, 28, 4; <sup>d</sup>GAŠAN šá *a-kad<sup>ki</sup>* in *ABL* 1123, rev. 8; <sup>d</sup>GAŠAN *a-ga-dē<sup>ki</sup>* in CT 57, 100: 2; Moldenke 2, 65: 5; and *Nbk.* 73: 14; [<sup>d</sup>GAŠAN šá *a-ga-[dē<sup>ki</sup>]* in CT 54, 176: obv. 19. For <sup>d</sup>INNIN *a-ga-dē<sup>ki</sup>* see the many references collected in RGTC 8, p. 5. For Middle Babylonian evidence see RGTC 5, p. 8.

<sup>112</sup> LITKE 1998, Tablet IV, p. 157, line 128.

<sup>113</sup> GEORGE 1992, p. 58: TinTir IV, 16. É.MĀŠ.DA.RI=É <sup>d</sup>GAŠAN-*a-kā-dē<sup>ki</sup>*, with some manuscripts having <sup>d</sup>INNIN instead of <sup>d</sup>GAŠAN; see also *ibid.*, p. 312.

<sup>114</sup> In spite of this the appellations <sup>d</sup>INNIN UNUG<sup>ki</sup> and <sup>d</sup>GAŠAN šá UNUG<sup>ki</sup> are still translated separately “Ištar-of-Uruk” and “Lady-of-Uruk” throughout this work.

<sup>115</sup> There are a few examples of such texts listed in the chart below in §3.2.8.

## 3.2.5. Innin

Innin is attested as a name for Inanna/Ištar since the 3rd millennium. In texts from the Eanna archive Innin appears only in personal names, in which it is kept rigorously distinct from Ištar.<sup>116</sup> It also appears in the name of a watercourse, the Nār Innin.<sup>117</sup> The following spellings are attested: <sup>d</sup>innin-na, <sup>d</sup>in-nin, <sup>d</sup>in-nin-na, <sup>d</sup>in-nin-ni, <sup>d</sup>in<sub>5</sub>-nin-na and <sup>d</sup>in<sub>5</sub>-ni-in.<sup>118</sup> In one instance the name Innin is used in the plural as a collective term for several goddesses.<sup>119</sup> As seen above this was also the case for the logogram <sup>d</sup>INNIN.MEŠ (§ 3.2.1).

Outside the archive the name Innin appears, as a designation of Ištar-of-Uruk, only once in the Nabonidus stela (line 37. <sup>d</sup>in-nin-na, § 3.3). In administrative texts from the archive Innin does not appear a single time, either as a name for Ištar-of-Uruk, or as a separate deity, except in personal and geographical names. The ancestral name <sup>l</sup>UR <sup>d</sup>INNIN <sup>d</sup>15 u <sup>d</sup>na-na-a “servant of Innin, Ištar, and Nanaya” is attested in two texts.<sup>120</sup> Since <sup>d</sup>15 can only be read Ištar, it is evident that the logogram <sup>d</sup>INNIN, even if devoid of a phonetic indicator, must in this case be read Innin. This suggests that Innin, without being a completely separate goddess,<sup>121</sup> was nevertheless thought to embody a distinct aspect of Ištar.<sup>122</sup> This would explain her popularity in the local onomastic. The specificity of Innin is also illustrated by an inscription of Marduk-šāpik-zēri (reigned 1081–1069 B.C.) recording the restoration of the fortifications of Babylon which mentions Ištar and Innin side by side: 4. <sup>š</sup>á <sup>d</sup>iš-tar 5. <sup>ù</sup> 6. <sup>d</sup>in-ni-na “the goddess Ištar and the goddess Innin.”<sup>123</sup> A comparable statement is found in an inscription of Nabonidus in which the king invokes successively Bēl and Marduk: VAB IV, Nbn. 2, line 4. LUGAL la <sup>š</sup>á-an-na mi-gir <sup>d</sup>EN <sup>ù</sup> <sup>d</sup>AMAR.UD “the king without rival, favorite of Bēl and Marduk.” In personal names the name Bēl is kept indeed as rigorously distinct from Marduk as Innin is from Ištar, although in both cases the same deity is meant.

The origin and etymology of the name Innin are uncertain. Roberts proposed a Semitic etymology from the root ‘NN “to fight, to skirmish,” the same root from which the divine name Anunītum, another form of Inanna/Ištar, is derived.<sup>124</sup> The name might

<sup>116</sup> In the personal names honoring her, the name of the goddess Ištar is spelled <sup>d</sup>15, <sup>d</sup>INNIN, or syllabically <sup>d</sup>iš-tar. In the names honoring Innin the divine name is always spelled syllabically, or with the logogram <sup>d</sup>INNIN followed by the phonetic complement -na or -ni, indicating a phonetic reading of the logogram as /innin/.

<sup>117</sup> RGTC 8, pp. 372–373.

<sup>118</sup> Many of these forms display final overhanging vowels which are purely graphemic.

<sup>119</sup> TCL 13, 233: 4, ceremonies of <sup>d</sup>innin-na<sup>mes</sup>.

<sup>120</sup> SCHEIL 1927, rev. 15. <sup>l</sup>DUB.SAR <sup>ki</sup>-din-<sup>d</sup>AMAR.UD A-<sup>š</sup>u <sup>š</sup>á <sup>l</sup>NA-<sup>r</sup>ŠEŠ<sup>1</sup>-MU 16. (DUMU) <sup>l</sup>UR <sup>d</sup>INNIN <sup>d</sup>15 u <sup>d</sup>na-na-a “the scribe is Kidin-Marduk, son of Nabû-aḫ-iddin, (descendant) of the servant of Innin, Ištar, and Nanaya.” This text can be emended on the basis of the Oriental Institute of Chicago text A 32097, where the same man appears in a list of witnesses: 37. <sup>ki</sup>-din-<sup>d</sup>AMAR.UD A-<sup>š</sup>u <sup>š</sup>á <sup>l</sup>NA-ŠEŠ-MU DUMU <sup>l</sup>UR <sup>d</sup>INNIN 38. <sup>d</sup>15 u <sup>d</sup>na-na-a “Kidin-Marduk, son of Nabû-aḫ-iddin, descendant of the servant of Innin, Ištar, and Nanaya.”

<sup>121</sup> The theory that Innin and Inanna/Ištar were originally two separate goddesses who later merged was advocated by GELB 1960, and 1987, p. 131.

<sup>122</sup> JORDAN 1928–1929, p. 49, already noticed the presence of Innin and Ištar side by side in the text published by SCHEIL 1927.

<sup>123</sup> FRAME 1995, B.2.7.1.

<sup>124</sup> ROBERTS 1972, p. 36.

also be Sumerian, however, and represent the original form of the name of the goddess Inanna, if we posit that Inanna is a later etymologizing derived from the divine epithet nin/in<sub>5</sub>-an-na “mistress of heaven.”<sup>125</sup>

## 3.2.6. Bēltiya

The name Bēltiya is spelled <sup>d</sup>GAŠAN-ia, <sup>d</sup>GAŠAN-iá and <sup>d</sup>GAŠAN-ia<sub>5</sub>. This is a frequent appellation of the goddess Zarpanītu, the consort of Marduk, in late texts, which often designate the ruling divine pair of Babylon as “Bēl and Bēltiya.” As noted long ago by Zimmern the suffix -ia is probably a hypocoristic ending.<sup>126</sup> In some contexts the word <sup>b</sup>ēltu just means “goddess,” and the logograms <sup>d</sup>GAŠAN and <sup>d</sup>GAŠAN.MEŠ are well attested in the sense of “goddess” and “goddesses.”<sup>127</sup> In the Eanna archive the logogram <sup>d</sup>GAŠAN.MEŠ occurs a few times as a designation of a group of anonymous goddesses (§ 4.1), and the appellative Bēltu for Ištar is frequently attested in religious texts.<sup>128</sup> The appearance of the name Bēltiya for Ištar-of-Uruk in 7th century texts, on the other hand, probably points to a theological agenda which aimed at assimilating Ištar-of-Uruk to Zarpanītu, and consequently to Ištar-of-Babylon as well.

## 3.2.7. Other Names

Other names of Ištar appear on rare occasions in the archive. The appellation <sup>d</sup>INNIN GAŠAN <sup>š</sup>á UNUG<sup>ki</sup> “Ištar, the lady of Uruk” occurs three times (BIN 1, 41: 23; YOS 7, 162: 1; and YBC 4149: 1). In YOS 6, 71/72: 23 Ištar is designated as <sup>d</sup>GAŠAN a-šib-ti UNUG<sup>ki</sup> “the lady/goddess who resides in Uruk.” ArOr 8, 39: 5 contains the form <sup>d</sup>INNIN <sup>š</sup>á UNUG<sup>ki</sup>, a minor variant of <sup>d</sup>INNIN UNUG<sup>ki</sup>, and in fact an equivalent of <sup>d</sup>GAŠAN <sup>š</sup>á UNUG<sup>ki</sup>.<sup>129</sup>

## 3.2.8. Diachronic Study of the Names of Ištar

The four main appellations which refer to the patron goddess of Uruk in the Eanna archive are Bēltiya, Ištar, Ištar-of-Uruk, and Lady-of-Uruk, but these four names are not evenly attested throughout the life span of the archive, and during specific intervals only certain names were in use. In some instances one is tempted to assume that only fashion dictated the shift in preference from one appellation to the other, since no compelling

<sup>125</sup> The hymn to the Queen of Nippur, edited by LAMBERT 1982, contains such an explanation of the name Ninanna, pp. 198–199: 53. iš-ti-lu-um-ma šu-uš-šá si-ik-ra-šá ra-bi-lu-um 54. šá qá-ad-mi-iš iz-ku-ru-ši a-bu da-di-šá <sup>d</sup>a-nu-um 55. <sup>d</sup>NIN.AN.NA šar-ra-tu<sub>4</sub> šá-ma-a-me “Her first name, her great title, which Anu, her beloved father, called her of old, is Ninanna: ‘Queen of Heaven.’”

<sup>126</sup> ZIMMERN 1926, p. 282, n. 1, and p. 286.

<sup>127</sup> See especially CAD B, p. 187, s.v. <sup>b</sup>ēltu, lex. section, quoting the series A = naqū, II/6 ii 8ff, di-gi-ir AN = be-lum, be-el-tum.

<sup>128</sup> GAŠAN is sometimes translated Ištar in the Akkadian version of a Sumerian hymn, indicating that Bēltu is simply a name for Ištar: SBH, p. 20, no. 9, rev. 22. á-nu-ma-al gašan a-na-a ša-(mu-un-u<sub>5</sub>) tu-x-[o o] <sup>d</sup>iš-tar šá-qa-at MIN (i-šaq-ql-ka); see also LIVINGSTONE 1989, no. 8 (Hymn to the City of Arbela), rev. 5'. <sup>d</sup>GAŠAN ina UGU UR.MAḪ uš-bat ina UGU a[n o o] 6'. UR.MAḪ.MEŠ KALA.GA.MEŠ šá-pal-šá ka-an-[š]u “Bēltu (Ištar-of-Arbela) is seated on a lion, on a [o o o], mighty lions crouch beneath her.”

<sup>129</sup> Possibly also an error of the copyist.

alternative explanation lies at hand. One change, however, appears to be historically significant. This is the gradual shift, at the end of the 7th and the beginning of the 6th centuries, from the group 'Bēltiya and Ištar' to the group 'Ištar-of-Uruk and Lady-of-Uruk' as the preferred designations of the tutelary goddess of Eanna. The chronology of this shift may be appraised from Table 13, which lists all the dated texts from the Eanna archive which contain references to the goddess until the end of the reign of Nebuchadnezzar II.<sup>130</sup>

Table 13. Designations of Ištar in the Eanna Archive Until 562 B.C.

TEXT	DATE	Bēltiya	Ištar	Ištar-of-Uruk	Lady-of-Uruk
THUREAU-DANGIN					
1919, p. 126: III, 9	MZŠ1.02.01.20			×	
YBC 7422: <i>passim</i>	MB2.08.08.01	×			
NCBT 217: 4	ŠŠU.09.07.28			×	
AnOr 9, 2: 1	ASB.xx.xx.xx		×		
NU 5: 2	ASB.18.02.15	×			
AnOr 9, 3: 63	KAN.02.xx.xx			×	
TBC 1, 7: 4	KAN.06.06.14			×	
TBC 1, 15: 1	KAN.11.06.22		×		
YBC 4047: 2	KAN.14.05.01		×		
NU 6: 2	KAN.17.05.13			×	
BIN 2, 132: 4, 6, 43	7th century			×	
NU 14: 1	ŠŠ1.xx.10.xx	×			
NCBT 557: 8	NPL.00.02.xx	×			
<i>SpTU</i> IV, 221: 2, 32	NPL.00.09.06			×	
NCBT 589: 2	NPL.02.13.03	×			
NBC 4904: 5 <sup>131</sup>	Unrest year 4	×			
AnOr 9, 5: 1 <sup>132</sup>	NPL.05.xx.xx				×
GCCI 2, 46: 2	NPL.06.11.15	×			
NCBT 544: 1	NPL.06.12.26		×		
NCBT 885: 8	NPL.07.01.23	×			
NBC 4514: 1	NPL.07.03.14		×		
GCCI 2, 64: 2	NPL.07.06.07		×		
NCBT 981: 1	NPL.07.07.25		×		
YBC 4090: 1	NPL.08.05.27		×		
<i>SWU</i> 109: 3–8	NPL.08.08.xx		×		
NCBT 183: 3	NPL.09.05.11		×		
NCBT 355: 21'	NPL.09.09.27		×		
BIN 1, 152: 15	NPL.10.05.18		×		
NBC 4519: 1	NPL.10.10.12		×		
BIN 1, 121: 1	NPL.10.10.21		×		
YBC 4118: 5	NPL.11.01.05		×		

<sup>130</sup> At the end of the first line there is more than enough room to restore <sup>4</sup>INNI[N UNUG<sup>ki</sup>].

<sup>131</sup> For the chronological placement of the year name in this document see BEAULIEU 1997b.

<sup>132</sup> This was written at Kutha, but records a transaction involving the Eanna temple. It falls during the period of chaos at Uruk, and the *šatammu* who appears in it is Kudurru.

TEXT	DATE	Bēltiya	Ištar	Ištar-of-Uruk	Lady-of-Uruk
JURSA 1997, p. 99, no. 1: 3, 9	NPL.11.03.16		×		
GCCI 2, 49: 2, 9	NPL.16.01.22		×		
NCBT 335: 5	NPL.16.08.23		×		
BIN 1, 107: 1	NPL.16.09.08		×		
TCL 12, 20: 3	NPL.17.02.10		×		
BIN 1, 130: 9	NPL.17*.04.25		×		
NBC 4945: 1	NPL.17.05.08		×		
YBC 3808: 2, 8	NPL.17.08.16		×		
AnOr 9, 6: 2	NPL.19.xx.02			×	
YBC 9039: 4	NPL.20.13.21		×		
YBC 4153: 9	NPL.20.13.25		×		
NU 29: 9, 10	610–605 B.C.		×		
NBC 4845: 1	NBK2.01.01.14		×		
YOS 17, 245: 3	NBK2.01.07.25			×	
YOS 17, 30: 3, 6	NBK2.02.04.26		×		
NCBT 879: 1	NBK2.03.01.23		×		
PTS 3211: 3	NBK2.03.06.02		×		
<i>NBDUM</i> 61: 4	NBK2.03.10.xx		×		
AUWE 8, 89: 8	NBK2.03.10.28				×
YOS 17, 7: 4, 7, 11	NBK2.03.11.10				×
NCBT 660: 2, 11, 17	NBK2.03.11.30	×			
GCCI 1, 19: 2	NBK2.05.02.23	×			
GCCI 1, 18: 1	NBK2.07.02.06	×			
YOS 17, 172: 3	NBK2.07.08.09				×
TCL 12, 28: 2	NBK2.11.01.27		×		
BEAULIEU 1992b, p. 412: 9 (NCBT 722)	NBK2.11.06.29			×	
IBK 8, 153: 7	NBK2.11.xx.xx				×
NBC 4893: 1	NBK2.12.03.12			×	
PTS 3089: 2	NBK2.12.12.01				×
<i>NBDUM</i> 6: 6	NBK2.12.12.25				×
TCL 12, 34: 1, 2, 9	NBK2.12.xx.xx				×
YBC 9510: 3	NBK2.13?02.14				×
AnOr 8, 5: 2	NBK2.13.04.27			×	
NBC 4731: 2	NBK2.14.04.11				×
AnOr 8, 6: 1	NBK2.14.06.09		×		
NBC 4773: 7	NBK2.14.06.20				×
YOS 17, 360: IV 17, V 46	NBK2.14.10.08			×	×
NCBT 862: 5	NBK2.15.07.08				×
YOS 17, 166: 2, 8	NBK2.15.11.26				×
AnOr 8, 7: 1	NBK2.16.05.09		×		
TCL 12, 36: 15	NBK2.17.09.19				×
NCBT 1176: 13	NBK2.18.02.10				×

<sup>133</sup> At the end of the first line there is more than enough room to restore <sup>4</sup>INNI[N UNUG<sup>ki</sup>].

### 3. Ištar-of-Uruk

TEXT	DATE	Bēltiya	Ištar	Ištar-of-Uruk	Lady-of-Uruk
YOS 17, 173: 3	NBK2.18.06.01				×
NCBT 892: 1, 5, 9	NBK2.18.09.15			×	×
YOS 17, 32: 5, 8	NBK2.19.02.15				×
YBC 4146: 1, 6, 8	NBK2.19.03.11				×
BIN 1, 112: 10	NBK2.19.06.25				×
JURSA 1997, p. 101 no. 3: 2	NBK2.19.08.23			×	
YOS 17, 33: 3, 10	NBK2.19.09.20				×
YOS 17, 42: 3	NBK2.19.xx.08			×	
YBC 11901: 7, 15	NBK2.20.04.29				×
YOS 17, 6: 4	NBK2.21.03.23				×
YOS 17, 36: 2, 4	NBK2.21.6A.08				×
YOS 17, 38: 2	NBK2.21.6A.16			×	
NCBT 628: 2	NBK2.21.10.20			×	
YOS 17, 248: 4	NBK2.21.xx.26				×
YBC 9281: 1	NBK2.22.10.26			×	
NCBT 1172: 7	NBK2.23.02.15				×
YBC 3543: 1, 3, 9	NBK2.23.03.01				×
AnOr 8, 10: 1	NBK2.23.04.23			×	
NCBT 799: 2	NBK2.23.08.07				×
UCP 9/1, 44: 1	NBK2.23.08.20				×
BIN 1, 133: 9	NBK2.23.10.06				×
YBC 9431: 4	NBK2.23.11.29				×
BIN 1, 126: 1	NBK2.23.13.13			×	
UCP 9/1, 46: 3	NBK2.24.07.07				×
YBC 6863: 3	NBK2.24.09.23			×	
UCP 9/2, 16: 3	NBK2.24.10.16				×
NBC 4739: 2	NBK2.25.06.21			×	
YBC 4124: 1	NBK2.26.10.04			×	
UCP 9/2, 24: passim	NBK2.26.12.11				×
NCBT 647: 1	NBK2.27.01.xx				×
YBC 4120: 1	NBK2.27.04.25			×	
NCBT 581: 2	NBK2.27.05.xx			×	
UCP 9/1, 53: 5	NBK2.28.03.17				×
AnOr 8, 12: 2	NBK2.28.05.22			×	
YBC 3797: 2	NBK2.29.06.08			×	
YBC 6849: 3	NBK2.29.06.26			×	
NCBT 350: 1, 6	NBK2.29.10.xx		×		×
NCBT 192: 2	NBK2.30.06.27				×
NBC 4750: 13	NBK2.31.02.14				×
NBC 4879: 12	NBK2.31.05.22			×	
NCBT 357: 6	NBK2.31.12.02				×
NBC 4847: 1, 23	NBK2.32.04.09			×	
BIN 2, 125: 3	NBK2.32.11.24				×
YBC 9310: 1	NBK2.33.02.25				×
YBC 9316: 5	NBK2.33.02.25				×
AUWE 11, 218: 10, 11	NBK2.33.06.20+				×
YBC 3751: 1, 11	NBK2.33.07.15				×

### 3.2. The Names of Ištar in the Eanna Archive

TEXT	DATE	Bēltiya	Ištar	Ištar-of-Uruk	Lady-of-Uruk
NCBT 362: passim	NBK2.33.09.26				×
NCBT 837: 1	NBK2.33.09.28				×
NCBT 956: 3	NBK2.33.11.28				×
AUWE 11, 229: 3	NBK2.33.12.10				×
NCBT 191: 2	NBK2.34.04.16				×
NCBT 345: 1	NBK2.34.05.26				×
YBC 4092: 4, 6	NBK2.34.06.10				×
NCBT 591: 4	NBK2.34.06.18				×
YBC 4000: 14, 15	NBK2.34.07.03				×
YBC 4100: 3, 16	NBK2.34.11.03			×	×
YBC 9446: 19	NBK2.34.11.19				×
YBC 4119: 1	NBK2.34.12.11			×	
NCBT 408: 2, 4	NBK2.34.xx.01				×
NCBT 637: 9	NBK2.34.xx.04			×	
TCL 12, 53: 4, 7	NBK2.35.01.09			×	×
NCBT 650: 2	NBK2.35.01.11			×	
YBC 4131: 1	NBK2.35.01.20			×	
NCBT 172: 3	NBK2.35.01.26			×	
GCCI 1, 113: 5	NBK2.35.05.05			×	
AnOr 8, 15: 8	NBK2.35.05.08				×
GCCI 1, 237: 3	NBK2.35.07.24				×
VS 20, 88: 12, 16	NBK2.35.08.05				×
YBC 16192: 5, 6	NBK2.35.09.09				×
TCL 12, 50: 5, 6	NBK2.35.xx.xx				×
YBC 4102: 1	NBK2.36.01.24				×
NCBT 177: 2	NBK2.36.02.11+				×
NCBT 1004: 4, 6	NBK2.36.02.19				×
NBC 4801: 5	NBK2.36.06.16				×
GCCI 1, 65: 4, 8	NBK2.36.08.06				×
AnOr 8, 16: 2, 8	NBK2.36.11.16				×
YBC 4062: 1	NBK2.36.12.11				×
NCBT 542: 6	NBK2.36.13.xx				×
NCBT 1002: 11	NBK2.36.13.+6				×
ARRIM 7, 45: 6	NBK2.36.xx.13			×	
NCBT 626: 2, 7	NBK2.37.01.12				×
NCBT 98: 2, 8	NBK2.37.05.19				×
YBC 4056: 4, 7	NBK2.37.09.01				×
YBC 9356: 2	NBK2.37.09.05				×
YBC 7414: 12, 16, 20	NBK2.37.09.13				×
NCBT 1121: 3	NBK2.37.11.07				×
NCBT 792: 3	NBK2.37.11.30				×
YBC 9320: 2, 8	NBK2.37.12.19				×
GCCI 1, 262: 2, 7	NBK2.37.xx.03				×
GCCI 1, 261: 2, 9	NBK2.38.03.18				×
GCCI 1, 233: 2, 9	NBK2.38.04.26				×
TEBR 44: 17, 24, 26	NBK2.38.06.22				×
AnOr 8, 17: 1, 4, 7	NBK2.38.07.19				×
NCBT 1288: 2', 4', 6'	NBK2.38.10.29				×

TEXT	DATE	Bēltiya	Ištar	Ištar-of-Uruk	Lady-of-Uruk
NCBT 577: 5	NBK2.38.xx.xx				x
AUWE 5, 131: 3	NBK2.38.xx.xx				x
YBC 9567: 2	NBK2.39.01.09				x
GCCI 1, 251: 4	NBK2.39.02.02				x
YBC 9524: 5, 8	NBK2.39.04.05				x
YBC 9530: 2	NBK2.39.05.19				x
YBC 9517: 2, 7	NBK2.39.06.19				x
JOANNES 1987, pp. 155–156: 1 (PTS 3181)	NBK2.39.07.25				x
YBC 9466: 1, 5	NBK2.39.08.10				x
JOANNES 1987, p. 157: 4, 7 (PTS 2992)	NBK2.40.05.14				x
BIN 1, 101: 14	NBK2.40.05.25			x	
AUWE 11, 228: 4	NBK2.41.01.16				x
GCCI 1, 248: 2, 6	NBK2.41.6A.xx				x
YBC 3729: 2, 5	NBK2.41.08.17				x
AUWE 5, 77: 3	NBK2.41.xx.xx				x
YBC 6857: 2, 5	NBK2.42.01.22				x
GCCI 1, 135: 3	NBK2.42.06.16				x
VS 20, 1: 3	NBK2.43.02.09				x
NCBT 873: 2, 3, 6, 8	NBK2.43.04.21				x
YOS 17, 9: 2	NBK2.43.05.15				x
NCBT 1059: 4	NBK2.43.05.29				x
YBC 3504: 7, 9	NBK2.43.xx.xx			x	x

The table can be divided into five periods, during each of which a distinctive combination of appellations was preferred: 1. the period of Assyrian rule, when the names Bēltiya, Ištar, and Ištar-of-Uruk were used concurrently;<sup>134</sup> 2. the beginning of the reign of Nabopolassar, before the final expulsion of the Assyrians during his 6th regnal year,<sup>135</sup> which seems to display the same subset as the preceding period, but with a slightly more marked preference for Bēltiya; 3. the reign of Nabopolassar as undisputed ruler from the end of his 6th year onwards, during which Bēltiya is discarded and there is an obvious shift to Ištar as the nearly exclusive designation for Uruk's tutelary goddess; 4. the first part of the reign of Nebuchadnezzar II, before the final capture of Jerusalem in his 18th regnal year, during which the appellation Ištar is gradually abandoned in favor of Ištar-of-Uruk and Lady-of-Uruk; 5. and the second part of his reign, after the capture of the Judean capital, when the appellations Ištar-of-Uruk and Lady-of-Uruk now prevail almost exclusively.

<sup>134</sup> The appellation Ištar-of-Uruk is the exclusive designation of the patron goddess of Uruk in the address formulas of the official correspondence from Uruk dated to the time of the Sargonid kings and published in CT 54, for which see ARNOLD 1985, pp. 19–29. The appellation Bēltu-ša-Uruk occurs in these texts only once, in CT 54, 60: obv. 20'. *ina pa-ni* <sup>10</sup>GAŠAN šá UNUG<sup>ki</sup>.

<sup>135</sup> On the chronology of the early reign of Nabopolassar see BEAULIEU 1997b.

3.3. The Return of Ištar-of-Uruk to Uruk Under Nebuchadnezzar II<sup>136</sup>

The most radical shift in name preferences occurred during the reign of Nebuchadnezzar. The change may be correlated with a few inscriptions of that king, who claims to have returned the goddess Ištar to Uruk and restored the Eanna temple. The most elaborate account of this deed is found in I R 65–66 col. II:<sup>137</sup>

50. *si-ma-a-ti re-eš-ta-a-ti* 51. *pe-lu-de-e qú-ud-mu-ú-ti* 52. *ša* <sup>d</sup>INNIN UNUG<sup>ki</sup> *bé-e-le-et* UNUG<sup>ki</sup> *e-el-le-ti* 53. *ú-te-er aš-ru-uš-šu-un* 54. *a-na* UNUG<sup>ki</sup> *še-e-du-ú-šu* 55. *a-na* É.AN.NA *la-ma-sa ša da-mi-iq-ti ú-te-er* 56. *te-me-en-na* É.AN.NA *la-bi-ri* 57. *a-ḫi-iḫ ab-re-e-ma* 58. *e-li te-me-en-ni ša la-bi-ri* 59. *ú-ki-in uš-šu-ša*

I reinstated the original cultic features and the former rites of Ištar-of-Uruk, the holy lady of Uruk. I returned to Uruk her protective genius, and to Eanna its beneficent protective goddess. I searched and examined the old perimeter of Eanna and established its (new) foundations above the old perimeter.

The inscription refers to Ištar as <sup>d</sup>INNIN UNUG<sup>ki</sup> *bé-e-li-it* UNUG<sup>ki</sup> *e-el-li-ti* “Ištar-of-Uruk, the holy lady of Uruk.” It seems hardly coincidental that this name and epithet correspond to Ištar-of-Uruk and Lady-of-Uruk, the two appellations of Ištar which gradually become almost exclusively used in texts of the Eanna archive during the reign of Nebuchadnezzar. As discussed above (§3.2.4) these were in fact equivalent appellations which embodied the spirit of the old tutelary goddess of Uruk, the *numen loci* of the city.

YOS 3, 5 contains further evidence bearing on the question of the return of Ištar-of-Uruk to the Eanna temple. It consists of a letter addressed by the king to Ninurta-šar-ušur, who must be identified as the *qīpu* of Eanna who held this office from the latter years of the reign of Nabopolassar until the middle of the reign of Nebuchadnezzar.<sup>138</sup> The sender of the letter is therefore most probably Nebuchadnezzar.

## YOS 3, 5

1. *a-mat* LUGAL
2. *a-na* <sup>10</sup>MAŠ-LUGAL-ÛRI
3. *šul-mu ia-a-šú*

<sup>136</sup> The ancient historiography of this episode is analyzed in BEAULIEU 2001.

<sup>137</sup> Edition in VAB IV, Nbk. 9. The restoration of the Eanna temple is briefly mentioned in a few other inscriptions of Nebuchadnezzar II: VAB IV, Nbk. 1, col. II, 33 (= BERGER 1974, p. 285, Zylinder III, 3); Nbk. 13, col. II, 63 (= BERGER 1974, p. 292, Zylinder III, 7); Nbk. 19, B col. VIII, 1–4 (= BERGER 1974, pp. 314–318, Nahr el-Kelb/Wadi Brissa Inschrift); and Nbk. 20, col. III, 13 (= BERGER 1974, p. 293, Zylinder III, 8). Two inscribed bricks of Nebuchadnezzar were also found at Uruk (BERGER 1974, p. 202, Backsteine A, U, and pp. 221–222, Backsteine B I, 15). Mention must also be made of the existence, in the Yale Babylonian Collection, of a late Babylonian copy of an inscription of Ur-Namma excerpted, according to its colophon, from an old brick found in Eanna (MLC 2075). This inscription is mentioned by HALLO 1962, p. 25, s.v. Ur-Nammu 7, and edited, with quotation of the colophon, in FRAYNE 1997, E3/2.1.1.33. It is possible that this copy was made from an old inscribed brick found during the excavations of Eanna which preceded the restoration of the temple by Nebuchadnezzar.

<sup>138</sup> KÜMMEL 1979, p. 140. His earliest attestation in that post is from the 20th year of Nabopolassar, his latest from the 26th year of Nebuchadnezzar.

4. *lib-ba-ka*
5. *lu-u ʔa-ab-ka*
6. *ana muḫ-ḫi* EN.NUN-ti
7. *ša É.AN.NA ʔatʔ-kal*
8. *gi-nu-ú*
9. *sim-ma-nu-ú*
10. *ù te-er-si-ti*
11. *ša na-ʔdeʔ-e uš-šú*
12. *ša É.ʔANʔ.NA*
13. *la ta-šil-lu*
14. *gab-bi ḫi-i-ra*
15. *a-di al-la-kam-ma*
16. <sup>d</sup>EN <sup>d</sup>NA <sup>d</sup>GAŠAN *ša* UNUG<sup>ki</sup>
17. DINGIR.MEŠ-e-a
18. *ú-šal-lu-ú*
19. *ki-i ša ú-šal-la-mu*
20. *ép-pu-uš*

Command of the king to Ninurta-šar-ušur. I am well; may you rejoice! I am relying (on you) for the watch in Eanna. Do not be negligent concerning offerings, (building) materials, and tools for laying the foundations of Eanna. Prepare everything! Until I come I will pray Bēl, Nabû, and the Lady-of-Uruk, my personal gods. I will act in such a manner that they will grant success to me.

As noted above, Nebuchadnezzar claims in I R 65–66 col. II to have restored the old foundations of Eanna when he returned the goddess Ištar to Uruk: 56. *te-me-en-na É.AN.NA la-bi-ri* 57. *a-ḫi-iṭ ab-re-e-ma* 58. *e-li te-me-en-ni ša la-bi-ri* 59. *ú-ki-in uš-šu-ša* “I excavated and inspected the old perimeter of Eanna and established the (new) foundations above the old perimeter.” The letter YOS 3, 5, in which the king announces that he will preside over the ritual laying of the foundations of the temple, is very probably related to this building project. Another interesting feature of the letter is the occurrence of the name Lady-of-Uruk, also found in I R 65–66 col. II, to designate the tutelary goddess of the Eanna temple.

The evidence from I R 65–66 col. II, when considered in conjunction with the archival texts dated to the reign of Nebuchadnezzar, seems to suggest that the renovation of the Eanna temple either provided the pretext for a theological reform, or coincided with the return of the previously abducted image of Ištar-of-Uruk from exile. The latter possibility is supported by a monumental inscription of Nabonidus composed probably in the middle of his first regnal year (555–554 B.C.).<sup>139</sup> According to Nabonidus’ account important cultic disturbances had taken place at Uruk two centuries earlier, during the reign of king Erība-Marduk. The inscription ascribes these impious deeds to the citizens of Uruk, who had allegedly removed Ištar from the Eanna temple and installed in her place another goddess who did not belong there. It is only during the reign of an unnamed king, evidently Nebuchadnezzar II, nearly two centuries after Ištar-of-Uruk had been

<sup>139</sup> On this dating see BEAULIEU 1989b, pp. 20–22 (Inscription 1).

removed from her shrine, that the goddess was finally allowed to return to Uruk and the foreign deity inappropriately residing in the Eanna temple was expelled from the sanctuary:<sup>140</sup>

col. III, 11. <sup>d</sup>INNIN UNUG<sup>ki</sup> 12. *ru-ba-a-ti šir-ti* 13. *a-ši-bat at-ma-nu KÙ.GI* 14. *ša ša-an-da-ti* 15. 7 *la-ab-bu* 16. *ša ina BALA-e* 17. <sup>1</sup>eri<sub>4</sub>-ba-<sup>d</sup>AMAR.UD LUGAL 18. <sup>10</sup>UNUG<sup>ki</sup>-a-a 19. *šu-luḫ-ḫi-šu* 20. *uš-pe-el-lu* 21. *at-ma-an-šu id-ku-ma* 22. *ip-ṭu-ru ši-mi-it-tuš* 23. *i-na uz-zi* 24. *iš-tu qé-reb É.AN.NA* 25. *tu-šu-ma* 26. *tu-ši-bu la šu-bat-su* 27. <sup>d</sup>LAMA *la si-mat É.AN.NA* 28. *ú-še-ši-bu* 29. *i-na si-ma-ak-ki-šu* 30. <sup>d</sup>15 *ú-šal-lim at-man-šú* 31. *ú-kin-šu* 7 *la-ab-ba* 32. *si-mat i-lu-ti-šu* 33. *iš-mi-id-su* 34. <sup>d</sup>15 *la si-ma-a-tú* 35. *iš-tu qé-reb É.AN.NA* 36. *ú-še-ši-ma* 37. <sup>d</sup>in-nin-na 38. *ú-ter a-na É.AN.NA* 39. *ki-iš-ši-šu*

(As for) Ištar-of-Uruk, the lofty princess, who dwells in a golden shrine, who drives (a team of) seven lions, whose cult the citizens of Uruk altered during the reign of Erība-Marduk, removing her shrine and unharnessing her team, (who) left Eanna in anger to dwell in a place not her dwelling, (and) in whose cella they introduced a divine representation not belonging to Eanna, he (Nebuchadnezzar II) brought Ištar back safely, reestablished her shrine for her, (and) harnessed for her the seven lions befitting her godhead. The inappropriate goddess he removed from Eanna and returned Innin to Eanna, her sanctuary.

The same episode is echoed in the Uruk Prophecy, a text composed in its final form during the early Seleucid period, but based on older material. Contrary to the Nabonidus stela, this text does not ascribe the removal of Ištar from Eanna to the residents of Uruk, but to an anonymous evil king. Then, in another section which almost certainly refers to Nebuchadnezzar II, the Prophecy predicts the return of Ištar to her temple.

#### Uruk Prophecy

rev. 3. [EGIR]-šú LUGAL <sup>E</sup><sub>11</sub>-ma *di-i-ni KUR ul i-da-a-nu EŠ.BAR KUR ul KUD-as* 4. <sup>10</sup>LAMA UNUG<sup>ki</sup> *da-ri-tu<sub>4</sub> iš-tu qé-reb TIR.AN.NA<sup>ki</sup> ib-bak-ma ina qé-reb ŠU.AN.NA<sup>ki</sup> ú-še-eš-šib* 5. [I]a <sup>d</sup>LAMA UNUG<sup>ki</sup> *ina BĀRA-šú ú-še-eš-šib la UN.MEŠ-šú ana NÍG.BA i-qa-ás-su*

[After] him a king will arise (who) will not provide justice for the land. He will not make the right decisions for the land. The old goddess of Uruk he will take away from Uruk and make her dwell in Babylon. He will make dwell in her sanctuary a divine representation not belonging to Uruk and dedicate to her people not belonging to her.

rev. 11. EGIR-šú LUGAL *ina qé-reb TIR.AN.NA<sup>ki</sup> E<sub>11</sub>-ma di-i-ni KUR i-da-a-nu EŠ.BAR KUR KUD-as* 12. GARZA <sup>d</sup>a-nu-ú-tu *ina qé-reb TIR.AN.NA<sup>ki</sup> ú-ka-a-nu* 13. <sup>d</sup>LAMA UNUG<sup>ki</sup> *da-ri-ti iš-tu qé-reb ŠU.AN.NA<sup>ki</sup> ib-ba-kam-ma ina qé-reb TIR.AN.NA<sup>ki</sup> ina BĀRA-šú* 14. *ú-še-eš-šib UN.MEŠ-šú a-na NÍG.BA i-qa-ás-su É.KUR.MEŠ ša UNUG<sup>ki</sup> DÛ-uš É.MEŠ DINGIR.MEŠ ana KI-ši-na GUR-ár* 15. UNUG<sup>ki</sup> *ud-da-ás KÁ.GAL.MEŠ UNUG<sup>ki</sup> ša<sup>na</sup> ZA.GÌN DÛ-uš*

<sup>140</sup> Edition in VAB IV, Nbn. 8. Translation by Oppenheim in *ANET*, pp. 308–311. Editio princeps with photograph, transliteration, and translation, but no copy, by SCHEIL 1896. A somewhat inaccurate copy was published in the same year by MESSERSCHMIDT 1896.

After him a king will arise in Uruk (who) will provide justice for the land. He will make the right decisions for the land. He will establish the rites of the cult of Anu in Uruk. The old goddess of Uruk he will take away from Babylon and make her dwell in Uruk, in her sanctuary. He will dedicate to her people belonging to her. He will rebuild the temples of Uruk. He will restore the sanctuaries. He will renew Uruk. He will rebuild the gates of Uruk with lapis-lazuli.

Our three sources are by and large consistent with one another, but one discrepancy is noteworthy. While the Nabonidus stela and the Uruk Prophecy agree that the cultic image of Ištar-of-Uruk was replaced with the representation of a foreign goddess, the two texts lay the blame on different culprits. The Nabonidus stela charges the Urukeans who lived at the time of Erība-Marduk, while the Uruk Prophecy puts the blame on an anonymous ruler. Since the Nabonidus stela places the swapping of statues during the reign of Erība-Marduk, the original editors of the Uruk Prophecy assumed that this king should be identified as the anonymous perpetrator of the sacrilege in the Prophecy.<sup>141</sup> This interpretation is now compromised by a recently published literary composition found at Uruk and available in a copy made during the Seleucid period. This new text details various blasphemies committed in Babylon and Borsippa by king Nabû-šuma-iškun, the successor of Erība-Marduk.<sup>142</sup> We are told, among other crimes, of attempts to remove various statues from their places of worship and to alter their cultic practices. These sacrilegious deeds bear a definite resemblance to the one committed at Uruk. What seems even more interesting is that in a fragmentary passage which contains striking verbatim correspondences with the Nabonidus stela, the new composition also alludes to a sacrilege committed against the goddess Ištar:

*SpTU* III, 58, col. II.

31. [o o o o o o o] 'a'-ši-bat <sup>818</sup>GU.ZA
32. [o o o o o o o] 7 la-ab-bi
33. [o o o o o o o] 'ip'-tur-ma
34. [o o o o o o o] 'ū'-šak-bi-is
35. [o o o o o o o] ū]-šat!-mi-iḫ-ši
36. 'x x x' [o o o o o ū]-šā'-aš-mi-is-si
37. 'x x' [o o o o o] <sup>41</sup>INNIN U [NUG?<sup>ki</sup>?
38. [o] 'x' [o o o o o] 'x' ū-šap-tir

31. [o o o o o o o] who sits on a throne,
32. [o o o o o o o] seven lions,
33. [o o o o o o o] he released and
34. [o o o o o o o] he allowed to enter (or: he trampled).
35. [o o o o o o o] he made her grasp.
36. [o o o o o o o] he harnessed to her.
37. [o o o o o o o] Ištar-[of?]-U[ruk?]
38. [o o o o o o o] he loosened.

<sup>141</sup> HUNGER, KAUFMAN 1975, p. 374.

<sup>142</sup> *SpTU* III, 58, editio princeps by VON WEIHER 1984. Recent editions by FRAME 1995, B.6.14.1, and COLE 1994. French translation by GLASSNER 1993a, pp. 235–240.

The text appears to describe the deity in the following terms: she resides on a throne (31. *a-ši-bat* <sup>818</sup>GU.ZA), she is flanked by seven lions (32. '7' *la-ab-bi*), and the impious Nabû-šuma-iškun appears to have “released” (38. *ū-šap-tir*) something belonging to her. These words are so strongly reminiscent of the Nabonidus stela that there is a good probability that the passage in question alludes to the sacrileges perpetrated in Uruk. Indeed, the very fact that this text was carefully transmitted by Uruk scribes down to the Seleucid period suggests that the sacrilegious deeds of Nabû-šuma-iškun had local repercussions, and therefore that he should be identified as the malevolent king who forcibly removed Ištar-of-Uruk from her shrine and replaced her with a foreign goddess.

This new evidence forces us to reevaluate the entire episode, and in particular induces us to take a second look at the Uruk Prophecy. Is the malevolent king described on the reverse, lines 3 to 5, really Erība-Marduk? This now appears doubtful, especially as this king was remembered rather favorably in the native historiography.<sup>143</sup> A chronicle portrays him as the protector of the citizens of Babylon and Borsippa against the depredations of the Arameans,<sup>144</sup> and an inscription of Esarhaddon credits him with expanding the sanctuary of Nanaya in the Eanna temple at Uruk.<sup>145</sup> Perhaps less reliable is the praise lavished upon Erība-Marduk by Merodach-Baladan II, who may have had a vested interest in proclaiming his forebear as the “king of justice” who “(re)established the foundations of the land.”<sup>146</sup> Erība-Marduk, who came from the Sealand according to the Dynastic Chronicle,<sup>147</sup> might in fact be the subject of the preceding two lines of the Prophecy (reverse, lines 1–2), which allude to a ruler from the Sealand.<sup>148</sup> His successor Nabû-šuma-iškun, who belonged to the Chaldean clan of Bīt-Dakkūri,<sup>149</sup> is definitely more likely to be the sacrilegious king mentioned in lines 3–5.

If we adopt this course, however, we have to explain the discrepancies between the local tradition of Uruk and the Nabonidus stela, which insists that the inhabitants of Uruk were responsible for the profanation and that the events took place during the reign of Erība-Marduk. Perhaps Nabonidus laid the blame on the Urukeans for political reasons, and there is some evidence from contemporary sources to support this argument.<sup>150</sup>

<sup>143</sup> BRINKMAN 1968, pp. 221–224.

<sup>144</sup> GRAYSON 1975, pp. 182–183, Chronicle 24, lines 11–13.

<sup>145</sup> FRAME 1995, B.6.31.18, line 13.

<sup>146</sup> For the epithet “king of justice” applied by Merodach-Baladan II to Erība-Marduk see SEUX 1967, p. 317; for his reestablishment of the foundations of the land see FRAME 1995, B.6.21.1, line 13.

<sup>147</sup> GRAYSON 1975, p. 144, Chronicle 18, col. VI, lines 5–8. This section of the Dynastic Chronicle inserts Erība-Marduk, a king from the Sealand, between two kings of Chaldea. The first is Marduk-apla-ušur, and the second, unnamed, must be identified as Nabû-šuma-iškun.

<sup>148</sup> Unfortunately the passage in question is damaged, and the syntax of what remains is, as noted by HUNGER, KAUFMAN 1975, p. 373b, not altogether clear: rev. 1. [o o o Z]I-am-ma sap-ḫa-a-ta KUR i-bé-e[ o o ] 2. [o o o] 'šā? iš-tu' qé-reh <sup>ku</sup>am-ti šā ina qé-reh ŠU.AN.NA<sup>ki</sup> DU-šū be-lu-ū-tu “[o o will a]rise and rule the scattered parts of the land [o o o o] from the Sealand, who will exercise rulership in Babylon.”

<sup>149</sup> This we know from the cylinder inscription of Nabû-šuma-imbi, a governor of Borsippa in that period, published by LAMBERT 1968, p. 126, col. Ib, line 17. Recent edition by FRAME 1995, B.6.14.2001, col. I, line 17.

<sup>150</sup> The Nabonidus stela was commissioned very probably in the middle of the king's first year of reign, just after he had returned from a trip to southern Babylonia during which he visited Ur, Larsa, and Uruk. Archival texts from Uruk inform us that he held court at Larsa while proceeding to reform some aspects of the Eanna temple administration, a fact which might be suggestive of tensions between Nabonidus and Uruk. This could explain why the inscription recorded on the stela blames the citizens of Uruk for the expulsion of their tutelary goddess. Nabonidus' visit to the south is discussed in BEAULIEU 1989b, pp. 117–127, and FRAME 1991.

Another solution proposed recently is to posit that Nabû-šuma-iškun was already active politically during the reign of Erība-Marduk and incited the authorities of Uruk to alter the cult of Ištar, but that this event was later understood to have taken place during the actual reign of Nabû-šuma-iškun.<sup>151</sup> This would agree with a statement found in 'Erra and Išum,' which appears to refer to Ištar's abduction in the following passage, blaming a "merciless governor" (Nabû-šuma-iškun?) for the disasters which befell the city at that time:<sup>152</sup>

## Tablet IV

52. šá UNUG<sup>ki</sup> šu-bat <sup>d</sup>a-num u <sup>d</sup>iš-tar URU ke-ez-re-e-[ti] šam-ḥa-a-tú ù ḥa-ri-ma-[ti] ...  
 59. GÌR.NÍTA ek-šu la ba-bil pa-ni e-li-šú-nu taš-k[un]  
 60. uš-šis-si-na-ti-ma par-ši-ši-na i-te-t[i-iq]  
 61. <sup>d</sup>iš-tar i-gu-ug-ma is-sa-bu-us UGU UN[UG<sup>ki</sup>]  
 62. <sup>lú</sup>KÚR id-kam-ma ki-i ŠE-em ina IGI A.MEŠ i-maš-šá-a' KUR

As for Uruk, the dwelling of Anu and Ištar, a city of prostitutes, courtesans, and harlots ... You appointed over them a harsh and merciless governor. He caused them distress and transgressed their rites. Ištar was furious and she became angry at Ur[uk]. She aroused an enemy to plunder the land like grain (is carried off) by water.

On the other hand, it is equally possible that the Nabonidus stela is closer to the truth, and that the Urukeans eventually attributed the profanation to Nabû-šuma-iškun, a king apparently notorious for his numerous sacrileges, in order to exonerate their forebears. One must also bear in mind that the only source which contains a *damnatio memoriae* of that king is from Uruk. Sources contemporary with Nabû-šuma-iškun depict him as a rather weak and ineffectual ruler, barely able to extend his authority beyond the immediate surroundings of his capital. An inscription commissioned during his reign by the governor of Borsippa alludes to disturbances in his city which are very similar to those described in the Nabonidus stela and 'Erra and Išum,' with the king apparently unable to intervene. It seems therefore plausible that, during the reign of either Erība-Marduk or Nabû-šuma-iškun, an influential segment of Uruk's citizenry agreed to replace Ištar-of-Uruk with another goddess under pressure from a local governor or royal appointee; later on the Urukeans would have ascribed the sacrilege solely to outside culprits in order to conceal their participation in this shameful deed. The fact that the foreign goddess apparently stayed at Uruk for nearly two centuries seems to imply that at least part of the local elite truly accepted the new deity as theirs, since they had every opportunity to reclaim their old tutelary goddess who, according to the Prophecy, had been exiled to Babylon.

It appears impossible to ascertain where the truth lies in this tangled question of mnemohistory, as memory of the original events not only became blurred, but also more ideologically tainted with the passing of generations. What seems probable is that a dramatic alteration of the cult of Ištar-of-Uruk took place during the 8th century, when

a foreign goddess was installed in the Eanna temple. Ištar-of-Uruk was removed from Uruk, and perhaps exiled to Babylon, if we are to understand the Prophecy literally. It is Nebuchadnezzar II who took upon himself to return the goddess to Uruk and reinstall her in Eanna. This explains the change of conventions during the early years of his reign to designate the tutelary goddess of Eanna: it was dictated by theological considerations. The choice made by the scribes bespeaks a determination to assert the character of the returned goddess as the real tutelary deity of Uruk, the *numen loci*.

The descriptions of Ištar-of-Uruk and the foreign goddess introduced in Eanna merit further examination.

Table 14. Designations of Ištar-of-Uruk and the Foreign Goddess

Source	The Foreign Goddess	Ištar-of-Uruk
Inscription of Nebuchadnezzar, I R 65–66, col. II	no mention	<sup>d</sup> INNIN UNUG <sup>ki</sup> be-é-le-et UNUG <sup>ki</sup> e-el-le-ti še-e-du-ú (šá) UNUG <sup>ki</sup> la-ma-sa ša da-mi-iq-ti (šá) É.AN.NA
Letter YOS 3, 5	no mention	<sup>d</sup> GAŠAN šá UNUG <sup>ki</sup>
Nabonidus Stela, RT 18 (1896) 15–29	<sup>d</sup> LAMA la si-mat É.AN.NA <sup>d</sup> 15 la si-ma-a-tú	<sup>d</sup> INNIN UNUG <sup>ki</sup> <sup>d</sup> 15 <sup>d</sup> in-nin-na
Uruk Prophecy, SpTU I, 3	[I]a <sup>d</sup> LAMA UNUG <sup>ki</sup>	[ <sup>d</sup> ]LAMA UNUG <sup>ki</sup> da-ri-tu <sup>4</sup> /ti
Nabû-šuma-iškun, SpTU III, 58	[o o o]	<sup>d</sup> INNIN UN[UG <sup>ki</sup> ?]
Išum and Erra	no mention	<sup>d</sup> iš-tar

The foreign goddess is described as <sup>d</sup>LAMA la si-mat É.AN.NA "the divine representation not belonging to Eanna," as <sup>d</sup>15 la si-ma-a-tú "the inappropriate goddess," and as [I]a <sup>d</sup>LAMA UNUG<sup>ki</sup> "the divine representation not belonging to Uruk."<sup>153</sup> The expression *lā simāti* "that which does not belong" leaves little doubt as to the foreign nature of the goddess introduced in the Eanna temple in the 8th century. The terminology which describes Ištar-of-Uruk, on the other hand, emphasizes her close relationship to Uruk. The Uruk Prophecy calls her [<sup>d</sup>]LAMA UNUG<sup>ki</sup> da-ri-tu<sup>4</sup>/ti "the old goddess of Uruk." In the Nabonidus stela she is <sup>d</sup>INNIN UNUG<sup>ki</sup> "Ištar-of-Uruk," and Innin, the incarnation of Ištar which enjoyed great popularity in the onomastic of Uruk. Nebuchadnezzar refers to her as <sup>d</sup>INNIN UNUG<sup>ki</sup> be-é-li-it UNUG<sup>ki</sup> e-el-li-ti "Ištar-of-Uruk, the holy lady of Uruk."

This raises the question of the identity of the foreign goddess inducted in the Eanna temple in the 8th century. As suggested earlier this goddess may have been a form of Ištar-of-Babylon or Zarpanītu, and behind this theological crisis one can detect an attempt

<sup>151</sup> COLE 1994, p. 243.

<sup>152</sup> Following the composite text by CAGNI 1970; edition by CAGNI 1969, pp. 110–111. Several translations, commentaries, and studies have appeared since.

<sup>153</sup> The logograms <sup>d</sup>15 and <sup>d</sup>LAMA are both slightly ambiguous since they can be understood in the general sense of "goddess" (*ištaru*) and of "divine representation" (*lamassatu*), as well as in a more specific sense of "the goddess Ištar" and of "the protective spirit" (*lamassu*). In referring to the foreign goddess it is probable, however, that the redactors of these texts had the more general meanings in mind.



to make the cult of the Urukean Ištar conform to that of her Babylonian counterpart (§ 2.1.2, § 3.2.6). If we take at face value the statement found in the Uruk Prophecy that Ištar-of-Uruk was forced to take up residence in Babylon after her expulsion from Uruk, we may even go further and speculate that the purpose of this swapping of images was to transplant not only Ištar-of-Babylon into the Eanna temple at Uruk, but also Ištar-of-Uruk into the Eturkalamma, the temple of Ištar-of-Babylon in Babylon, in an attempt to homogenize and unify local cults and theological concepts, and perhaps also to eradicate the very strong sense of place emanating from the local city goddess. This would indeed explain the insistence in the sources dated to the reign of Nebuchadnezzar on the character of the restored goddess of Uruk as Ištar-of-Uruk and Bēltu-ša-Uruk, the *numen loci*.

Ištar-of-Uruk is further characterized in the inscription of Nebuchadnezzar as the *šēdu*, the “protective genius” of Uruk, and as the *lamassu ša damiqtu*, the “beneficent protective goddess” of the Eanna temple. Since the term *šēdu* normally applies to male spirits, some doubts may be raised as to whether this passage refers to Ištar. Yet this could be explained by the fact that Ištar assumes a male aspect in one of her two astral manifestations as the planet Venus.<sup>154</sup> Wiggermann has shown that goddesses with two faces, one male and one female, are well known from late scholarly texts.<sup>155</sup> In the astrological commentary *STC* I, 213: 12, Tiāmat *tu’amtu* (“the female twin”) is described with a male and a female face.<sup>156</sup> A religious text from Aššur syncretizes Ištar-of-Nineveh with Tiāmat, describing her with [four eyes] and four ears, and therefore presumably with two faces, one of which may have been male and the other female since the same text portrays her as androgynous: “her upper parts are Bēl, and her lower parts are Ninlil.”<sup>157</sup> *SpTU* I, 50, a late text from Uruk, describes the fashioning of an apotropaic figurine with a male and a female face: 10. [o o o] *diš-tar be-el-ti* 11. *NU GIŠ.MES šā 2’ IGI.MEŠ-šū DÙ-uš pa-ni zik-ri ar<sup>1</sup>-ki sin-niš* “[o o o] Ištar, the lady. You make a figurine of *mēsu*-wood with two faces, the front face is male, the back face is female.” Wiggermann argues that this figurine could be a simultaneous representation of the male *šēdu* and the female *lamassu* spirits, although it is uncertain whether it represents Ištar, who appears at the end of line 10. Considering all this evidence, it is possible that the inscription of Nebuchadnezzar, when referring to the *šēdu* of Uruk and

the *lamassu* of Eanna, is in fact describing Ištar in her male and female appearances.<sup>158</sup> This interpretation, however, presupposes that the words *šēdu* and *lamassu* must refer to Ištar, which is far from assured.

The *šēdu* and *lamassu* spirits are usually portrayed as protectors of the individual worshiper. In some prayers the supplicant bewails the loss of his *šēdu* and *lamassu* spirits and the subsequent ill fortune that befell him.<sup>159</sup> In others he entreats the deity in order to be accompanied by these spirits in his journey through life.<sup>160</sup> Some sources, on the other hand, portray the *šēdu* and the *lamassu* as protective spirits which accompany a goddess. In the Old Babylonian hymn to Ištar with subscription for king Ammiditana, the *šēdu* and *lamassu* spirits appear favorably at the casting of her eyes.<sup>161</sup> In a late *šu’illa* prayer to Ištar the supplicant asks for the protection of the *šēdu* which precedes the goddess, and the *lamassu* which follows her.<sup>162</sup> In a prayer to Ea the conjurer asks the god to be his *šēdu* and *lamassu*, indicating that a male deity could fulfill both roles.<sup>163</sup> A hymn to Tašmētu hails that goddess as the *lamassu* (or *šēdu*) of the land, and in a prayer to Aya the *šēdu* of Sippar and the *lamassu* of Ebabbar are asked to intercede with the goddess in favor of the supplicant.<sup>164</sup> Samsuiluna claims in an inscription to have returned to the Ebabbar temple its favorable protective genius (*LAMMA*), a circumstance quite similar to the statement found in Nebuchadnezzar’s inscription,<sup>165</sup> and an incantation recited during the *mīs pī* ritual even clearly identifies the inducted statue of the god as the protective deity (*lamassu damiqtu*) of its temple, a terminology nearly identical with the description of Ištar in Nebuchadnezzar’s inscription.<sup>166</sup>

<sup>158</sup> It would be stretching the evidence considerably, however, to claim that the cult statue of Ištar represented her with two faces. None of the numerous surviving representations of Ištar depicts her with two faces.

<sup>159</sup> Prayer to the personal god who has abandoned the worshiper; IV R, 2nd ed., pl. 59, no. 2: obv. 19. *KALxBAD SIG*, *KAL SIG*, BE-u UGU-ia, “the favorable *šēdu* spirit and the favorable *lamassu* spirit have withdrawn from me.” French translation and commentary by SEUX 1976, p. 209.

<sup>160</sup> KING 1896, no. 22, 19. *KALxBAD SIG*, *KAL SIG*, li-ra-kis KI-ia, “may a *šēdu* spirit and a *lamassu* spirit be attached to me” (SEUX 1976, p. 298, *šu’illa* to Nabû; edition in MAYER 1976, pp. 473–475). See also the prayer for the king in the series *bīt rimki*, edited by BORGER 1967, p. 12, 6+c. *udug-sigs-ga šu-gi-gi-da hē-en-da-ab-rig-eš* “may a favorable *šēdu* spirit, a favorable *lamassu* spirit lead you” (SEUX 1976, p. 242). See also the Neo-Assyrian letter edited by COLE, MACHINIST 1998, no. 66, in which the sender wishes that favorable *šēdu* and *lamassu* spirits follow the king (obv. 14–15).

<sup>161</sup> THUREAU-DANGIN 1925, p. 172, 15. *na-ap-la-su-uš-ša ba-ni bu-a-ru-ū* 16. *ba-aš-tum ma-aš-ra-ḥu la-ma-as-su-um še-e-du-um* “at the casting of her eyes flourish well-being, pride, splendor, *lamassu* (and) *šēdu* spirits.” French translation and commentary by SEUX 1976, p. 40.

<sup>162</sup> KING 1896, no. 8, 12. *lu-ur-ši KALxBAD SIG*, *šā pa-ni-ki šā ar-ki-ki a-li-kāt KAL lu-ur-ši* “may I acquire the *šēdu* spirit which precedes you, may I acquire the *lamassu* spirit which follows you.” French translation and commentary by SEUX 1976, p. 323.

<sup>163</sup> Series *Utukkū lemništu*, incantation invoking Enki, CT 16, pl. 8, 284. *udug-sigs-ga-mu hē-me-en* 285. *lu-ū še-e-du dum-qī-ia at-ta* 286. *lama-sigs-ga-mu [hē-me]-en* 287. *lu-ū la-mas-si dum-qī-ia at-ta*, “may you be my favorable *šēdu* spirit, may you be my favorable *lamassu* spirit” (SEUX 1976, p. 239).

<sup>164</sup> Prayer of Tukulti-Ninurta I to the god Aššur, KAR 128: rev. 31. *taš-me-tu ti-iq-zar-tu e-tel-le-tu KAL-at ma-a-ti li-ni-[iḫ-ka]* “May Tašmētu, the distinguished sovereign, the *lamassu* of the country, ca[lm you]” (see SEUX 1976, p. 497, and FOSTER 1993, p. 234); OECT 6, pl. 19, rev. 16. *KALxBAD UD.KIB.NUN KAL É.BABBAR* “the *šēdu* of Sippar, the *lamassu* of Ebabbar” (SEUX 1976, p. 165, hymn to Aya).

<sup>165</sup> FRAYNE 1990, E4.3.7.3, 93. *a-na É.BABBAR LAMMA-šu* 94. *da-mi-iq-tam* 95. *ū-te-er* “I returned to Ebabbar its favorable protective genius.” WIGGERMANN 1998, p. 46, argues that the male and female protective spirits of the temple evolved from statues of the warrior king and deified *entu*-priestess standing at the entrance of temples and leading the individual worshiper to the throne of the god.

<sup>166</sup> For this *šu’illa* incantation, which is preserved in several manuscripts, see BERLEJUNG 1998, pp. 454–455, and n. 2027 for a list of manuscripts; line 10 reads as follows: *lama sigs-ga é-za-a-kām hē-me-en lu-u*

<sup>154</sup> This question is discussed by REINER 1995, p. 6, n. 14, who points out that only one text holds that Venus is male at sunrise, while several others insist that she is male at sunset. See REINER, PINGREE 1981, pp. 46–47, text IV, 7a. *dil-bat ina UTU.[É IGI-ma sin-ni-šar]* “Venus rises in the east, she is female,” with many parallel manuscripts quoted, and also CAD S, p. 288a, s.v. *sinništu*, with quotation of the longer omen: [MUL *dil-bat ina UTU*]. *É KUR-ma sin-ni-šar SIG<sub>5</sub> ina UTU.ŠU.A IGI-ma zik-rat BAR-tu<sub>4</sub>* “Venus rises in the east, she is female, it is (portentous of) good, when she rises in the west, she is male, it is ill-portending.” That a correlation was established between the fact that she was “bearded” according to some traditions, and her assumption of a male form, is proven by the syncretistic hymn to Nanaya in which the goddess, assuming the appearance of Ištar, proclaims “in Babylon I am bearded” (*ina KÁ.DINGIR.MEŠ zi-iq-na zaq-[na-ku]*), while a duplicate of the same text has the variant “in Babylon I am male” (*ina KÁ.DINGIR.MEŠ zik-ra-[ku]*); see REINER 1974, p. 224, strophe I, line 4. The Hymn to Ištar as Queen of Nippur proclaims that Ištar (or one of her hypostases) is both female and male: LAMBERT 1982, pp. 200–201, III, 78. [o o o *si*] *n-ni-šat mu-ta-āt u x<sup>1</sup> [o o o] [o o o] she is a woman, she is a man, and x<sup>1</sup> [o o o].*

<sup>155</sup> WIGGERMANN 1993–1997, pp. 236–237.

<sup>156</sup> See REYNOLDS 1999, p. 377. Tiāmat is also assimilated to Antu (see VAN DIJK 1983, p. 26), who is in turn assimilated to Ištar.

<sup>157</sup> The text is KAR 307 (= VAT 8917): obv. 19–23; edition of this passage in LIVINGSTONE 1986, p. 233.

These sources indicate that the two protective spirits could either be independent beings who accompanied a deity, or else were completely identified with it theologically. Therefore, while it is possible that the inscription of Nebuchadnezzar identifies the *šēdu* of Uruk and the *lamassu* of Eanna with the goddess Ištar, they could also be protective spirits who accompanied the goddess on her return to Uruk and were considered distinct numinous beings.

### 3.4. Paraphernalia

According to the Nabonidus stela Ištar dwelt in a shrine with gold-plated walls (*atman ħurāši*) and drove a team of seven lions (*labbu*). Sumerian and Akkadian literary compositions from all periods describe Ištar driving lions. Innin-šagurra mentions the seven great “dogs” on which the goddess rides: 105. *ur-gal-gal-imin-bi ba-e-u<sub>5</sub> an-na ba-e-è-dè* “you ride seven great dogs, you come out in heaven.”<sup>167</sup> The legend of Etana also contains a description of Ištar enthroned in heaven on lions.<sup>168</sup> A letter sent probably by Belshazzar, Nabonidus’ son, to Mušēzib-Marduk, probably to be identified as the *šangū* of Sippar, alludes to a pictorial representation of Ištar which is similar to the description found in the Nabonidus stela:<sup>169</sup>

#### VAT 7

1. IM <sup>14</sup>EN-LUGAL-[<sup>14</sup>URI]
2. *a-na* <sup>14</sup>*mu-še-zib-<sup>14</sup>AMAR.UD*
3. DINGIR.MEŠ *šu-lum-ka*
4. *liq-bu-ú* <sup>na4</sup>*a-su-mit*
5. *ši-i šá* UD.KA.BAR
6. *šá ša-lam* <sup>14</sup>*iš-tar*
7. *šá* UR.MAĪ *ši-in-de-tu<sub>4</sub>*
8. *ina muḫ-ḫi eš-ri*
9. *šá* <sup>14</sup>*tab-né-e-a*
10. <sup>14</sup>GAL *ka-áš-kad-di-ni*
11. *ina muḫ-ḫi*
12. *iš-pu-rak-ka*
13. *kap-du ina* ŠU.MIN
14. <sup>14</sup>DUMU *šip-ri-ka*
15. *i-ša-áš-ši-im-mu*
16. *šu-bi-la-áš*

*la-mas-su da-mi-iq-tum šá Ē-ka at-ta* “may you be the favorable protective deity of your temple!”. See also the new edition by WALKER, DICK 2001, p. 160, lines 10a and 10b.

<sup>167</sup> Sjöberg 1975a, pp. 188–189.

<sup>168</sup> Horowitz 1998, p. 52, line 12. *ina šap-la* <sup>84</sup>GU.ZA *la-b[e-e i-r]ab-[bi-šu]* “beneath the throne lio[ns] do[wn],” with discussion on p. 58.

<sup>169</sup> The text was initially published by Meissner 1907. Mušēzib-Marduk was *šangū* of Sippar during the reign of Nabonidus, and the *rab kaškadinni* official is mentioned in another Sippar letter, CT 22, 112: 10. <sup>14</sup>GAL SUM.[NIN]DA. Another letter of Belshazzar to Mušēzib-Marduk, CT 22, 68, deals with the consecration rituals of the temple of Bunene in Sippar.

Letter of Belshaz[ar] to Mušēzib-Marduk. May the gods decree your well-being! (As for) this bronze stela upon which is engraved a representation of Ištar driving a lion (and) concerning which Tabnea, the *rab kaškadinni*, wrote to you, remove it and send it to him through the intermediary of your messenger!

The Nabonidus stela refers to the animals harnessed to Ištar as *labbus*, a poetic term for lion which can also denote a mythological beast such as a lion-serpent. In the Belshazzar letter we find the standard word for lion: UR.MAĪ, Akkadian *nēšu*. There is significant variation in the transmission of this motif since the 3rd millennium, some texts referring to Ištar’s allegorical animal as a dog, others as a lion, some even as a leopard.<sup>170</sup> These variations are understandable considering that lions were considered in Mesopotamian taxonomy to belong to the same order as dogs, as demonstrated by Ħar-ra = *ħubullu* XIV: 61. *ur=kal-bu* 62. *ur=lab-bu* 63. *ur=né-e-šú* 64. *ur.[m]aḫ=né-e-šú*.

Five texts mention the door curtain (*gidlū*) hanging at the entrance of the inner cella of Ištar; PTS 2038: 1. 35 MA.NA <sup>gada</sup>*gi-da-lu-ú* 2. *šá* KÁ Ē *pa-pa-ħu* 3. *šá* <sup>14</sup>GĀŠAN *šá* UNUG<sup>ki</sup> “35 minas (of linen) for the door curtain for the gate of the inner cella of the Lady-of-Uruk;” PTS 2491: 1. 1 <sup>gada</sup>*gid-a-lu<sup>1</sup>-ú* 2. *a-ri-du šá* KÁ *pa-pa-ħu* 3. *šá* <sup>14</sup>GĀŠAN *šá* UNUG<sup>ki</sup> “One removed door curtain belonging to the gate of the inner cella of the Lady-of-Uruk;” UCP 9/1, 46: 1. 27 MA.NA GADA.ĤĀ 2. *ana* <sup>gada</sup>*gid-lu-ú* 3. *šá* <sup>14</sup>GĀŠAN *šá* UNUG<sup>ki</sup> “27 minas of linen for the door curtain of the Lady-of-Uruk;” UCP 9/1, 68: 1. 12 MA.NA <sup>gada</sup>*ħal-ši* 2. *a-na* <sup>gada</sup>*gid-lu-u* 3. *šá* IGI <sup>14</sup>15 “12 minas of combed flax for the door curtain in front of Ištar;” and YBC 3715 mentions the door curtains hanging at the gate of the inner cellas of Ištar and other deities: 8. 5 <sup>gada</sup>*gi-da-la-né-e šá* KÁ Ē *pa-pa-ħu* 9. [*š*] <sup>14</sup>GĀŠAN *šá* UNUG<sup>ki</sup> <sup>14</sup>*na-na-a* 10. [*ú*] <sup>14</sup>šur-INIM-su <sup>14</sup>*gu-la u* <sup>14</sup>IGI.DU “The 5 door curtains for the gate(s) of the inner cella(s) of the Lady-of-Uruk, Nanaya, Ušur-amāssu, Gula, and <sup>14</sup>IGI.DU.”

The Divine *Urigallu* Standard of Ištar, mentioned in a few texts, was the object of a separate cult (§ 8.1.4). A delivery of gold for the balustrade of her cultic socle or altar is mentioned in GCCI 2, 49: 8. 2/3 GÍN 4-*tú* KÙ.GI *šá* IGI <sup>giš</sup>*tal-lum* 9. <sup>giš</sup>*šu-ba-tame šá* <sup>14</sup>15 <sup>u</sup> <sup>14</sup>*na-na-a* “2/3 (minas?) and 1/4 shekel of gold for the front part of the balustrade of the cultic seats of Ištar and Nanaya;” and pieces of plating for it are mentioned in YBC 7383: 3. *qí-il-pi šá* <sup>14</sup>KI.TUŠ *šá* <sup>14</sup>G[AŠAN *šá* UNUG<sup>ki</sup>] “pieces of plating for the cultic socle of the L[ady-of-Uruk].” The ceremonial chest of Ištar occurs in YOS 19, 244: 1. 19 GÍN 3 IGI-4-GÁL.LA.ME ‘KÙ.GI’ 2. 14 *an-ša-ab-ti a-na* 3. <sup>giš</sup>PISAN *šá* <sup>14</sup>GĀŠAN *šá* UNUG<sup>ki</sup> “19 3/4 shekels of gold (for) 14 earrings for the chest of the Lady-of-Uruk.”

There is substantial information on the vessels and implements used for the cult of Ištar. AUWE 5, 81 mentions offerings to Ištar and Nanaya presented in silver vats (*dannu*): obv. 6’. [o o] KÙ.BABBAR 2 *dan-nu-tu* KÙ.BABBAR IGI <sup>14</sup>GĀŠAN *šá* UNUG<sup>ki</sup> [o o] 7’. [o o] KÙ.BABBAR 3 *dan-nu-tu* KÙ.BABBAR IGI <sup>14</sup>*na-na-a* <sup>14</sup>NA-DÜ-ŠEŠ 8’. [o o] KÙ.BABBAR 3 *dan-nu-tu* KÙ.BABBAR IGI <sup>14</sup>GĀŠAN *šá* UNUG<sup>ki</sup>

<sup>170</sup> This question has been discussed by Wilcke 1976–1980, p. 82; Sjöberg 1975a, p. 229; and Heimel 1987–1990, pp. 82–83, § 4.3. See Boehmer 1991, pp. 170–171, who discusses a representation of a goddess enthroned on lions who is undoubtedly the warlike Ištar. Fauth 1981 discusses the association of Ištar with lions, dogs, and leopards, and draws parallels between the figure of Ištar and the figure of Lamaštu.

IdUTU-KAL “[o o] of silver, 2 vats of silver before the Lady-of-Uruk [o o]; [o o] of silver, 3 vats of silver before Nanaya, Nabû-bāni-aḥi; [o o of sil]ver, 3 vats of silver before the Lady-of-Uruk, Šamaš-mudammīq.” The *kallu* bowl and *šappu* container occur in NBC 4894: 77. 1 *kal-lu* KÙ.GI 1 *šap-pu* ‘x x’ [o o o] (§3.5.4). The pot stand (*kankannu*) and kettle (*taḫḫu*) are found in NBC 4904: 3. PAP 24 1/2 MA.NA 1 GÍN KÙ.BABBAR 4. 5 *bat-qa a-na taḫḫa-a-nu* 5. *ša pa-ni kan-kan-na ša* dGAŠAN-ia<sub>5</sub> 6. *ù ša* d<sup>a</sup>na-na-a “Total: 24 1/2 minas and one shekel of silver, (for) 5 repairs (to be done) on the kettles which (are placed) in front of the pot stand of Bēltiya and Nanaya.”<sup>171</sup> Another type of bowl, the *makkasu*, occurs in YOS 19, 246: 5. 4 GÍN *bit-qa* KÙ.GI *te-šir-tú* 6. ‘šā’ *ana ma-ak-ka-su ša* dGAŠAN *ša* UNUG<sup>ki</sup> “4 1/8 shekels of gold, supplementary delivery for the *makkasu* bowl of the Lady-of-Uruk.” The water-basin (*mē-qātī*) for ritually washing the hands and the linen towel (*kitinnū*) occur in the letter YOS 3, 194: 16. *me-e* ŠU.MIN *u ki-’tin-né-e* 17. *ša* ‘d’[GAŠA]N *ša* UNUG<sup>ki</sup> *u* d<sup>a</sup>na-na-a 18. [a-na EN]-ia 19. [u]l-*te-bi-la* “I shipped [to] my [lord] the water basin and the linen towels of the [Lad]y-of-Uruk and Nanaya.” YOS 7, 89 mentions a cultic vessel belonging to the *bīt-akīti* of Ištar: 6. *man-dī-tu<sub>4</sub>* UD.KA.BAR *ša* <sup>gi</sup>šid-da-ti *ša* ḫa-ru-ú *ša* dGAŠAN *ša* UN[UG<sup>ki</sup>] 7. *i-na sa-ar-tu<sub>4</sub>* ul-tu *É a-ki-tu<sub>4</sub>* na-šu-ú “the bronze mountings of the wooden stand belonging to the *ḫarū* container of the Lady-of-Uruk stolen from the *bīt-akīti*.” Finally a few texts mention the fish-box (*šussullu*) used by the fishermen consecrated to Ištar to carry fish for the offerings of the goddess (§3.7.10); YBC 9178: 6. 1 MA.NA 15 GÍN KÙ.BABBAR *ki-rit-ti* KÙ.BABBAR 7. *ša šul-sul* KÙ.BABBAR *ša* <sup>lu</sup>ŠU.ḪA 8. *ša* IGI <sup>d</sup>15 “1 mina and 15 shekels of silver for the silver *kirītu* ornament belonging to the silver fish-box of the fishermen who are on duty before Ištar;” PTS 2174: 2. (silver) *a-na bat-qa* 3. *ša šu-us-su-lu* KÙ.BABBAR 4. *ša* dGAŠAN *ša* UNUG<sup>ki</sup> “(Silver) to repair the silver fish-box of the Lady-of-Uruk;” and VS 20, 87 (quoted in §3.7.10).

### 3.5. Ornaments

#### 3.5.1. Tiara

The tiara of Ištar is mentioned in PTS 3073: 1. 53 GÍN 3 IGI-4-GÁL.LA.ME KÙ.GI 2. 2 *ga-ap-pu ša* AGA KÙ.GI 3. *ša* dGAŠAN *ša* UNUG<sup>ki</sup> “53 3/4 shekels of gold (for) two quills belonging to the golden tiara of the Lady-of-Uruk.” The mention of quills (*gappu*) suggests that the tiara of Ištar was a feathered headdress, a type well known from iconographic representations. The comparatively large weight of these quills indicates that the tiara of Ištar was a massive, heavy piece of craftsmanship, comparable in size to the tiara of Ušur-amāssu, which according to YBC 11390 weighed at least 47 minas (§4.4.2.1).

<sup>171</sup> Published in BEAULIEU 1997b, p. 388.

#### 3.5.2. Crown

The crown of Ištar may be mentioned in NBC 4577:<sup>172</sup> 15. 2 *taš-kis er-bi ša* LUGAL 2 *sa-an-ḫa ša* ‘ku?-lu?-lu?’ 16. *ša* dGAŠAN *ša* UNUG<sup>ki</sup> *ina* <sup>gi</sup>šad-du *ša* bat-qa “2 *tarkīsu* ornaments, a gift from the king, 2 suspension rings for a crown(?), (all) belonging to the Lady-of-Uruk (and put) in the repair container.”

#### 3.5.3. Breast Ornaments

A crescent-shaped breastplate is mentioned in VS 20, 127, an inventory of jewelry belonging to Ištar, Nanaya, and Bēltu-ša-Rēš: 6. 1 GABA *ša* U<sub>4</sub>.SAKAR “1 crescent-shaped breastplate.” A breastplate with a representation of a lion, the emblematic animal of Ištar, is mentioned in an inventory of the jewelry of Ištar and Nanaya, NBC 4577:<sup>173</sup> 23. 3 *sa-an-ḫa-ni* KÙ.GI *ša* TA GABA KÙ.GI *ša* UR.MAḪ *paṭ-ru-ni* “3 suspension rings of gold removed from the breastplate with a representation of a lion.” Two other texts, NCBT 1227 and YOS 6, 211, refer to the golden breast ornaments of Ištar, listing some of their components:

##### NCBT 1227

1. [x]+8 GÍN 4-tú KÙ.GI *e-lat* KÙ.GI *ša* GABA KÙ.GI
2. [šā] <sup>d</sup>15 *ina* ‘IGI ‘NÍG.DU’-nu
3. [o o o o] <sup>na4</sup>KIŠIB.ME KÙ.GI *ša* GABA KÙ.GI
4. [o o o o] ‘bi’ <sup>na4</sup>KIŠIB.ME *a<sub>4</sub>*
5. [o o o o o] ‘x’ <sup>na4</sup>ME ‘KÙ.GI’

[o o] and 8 1/4 shekels of gold, in addition to the gold from the golden breast ornament of Ištar, at the disposal of Kudurrānu. [o o o] cylinder-seal-shaped beads of gold for the golden breast ornament; [o o o] these cylinders-seal-shaped beads; [o o o o o] of gold.

##### YOS 6, 211

1. 1 GÍN *gi-ru-ú* KÙ.GI *ša* ba-at-qu
2. *ša* ku-ma-ru *a\*-gur-ru ša* ‘GABA’ KÙ.GI
3. *u sa-an-ḫa-a-ni ša* a-a-ri IGI
4. *ša* dGAŠAN *ša* UNUG<sup>ki</sup>

1 1/24 shekel(s) of gold for repairing the framed *agurru* ornament belonging to the golden breast ornament, and (of) the catches of the frontal rosette of the Lady-of-Uruk.

<sup>172</sup> Previously published in SACK 1979, pp. 42–43, as lines 1 and 2, with several mistakes not indicated by asterisks here.

<sup>173</sup> Published by SACK 1979, pp. 42–43, for which see the preceding note.

## 3.5.4. Jewelry

Two texts record deliveries of gold to repair the jewelry (*šukuttu*) of Ištar; GCCI 1, 251: 3. (gold) *a-na bat-qa* 4. *ša šu-kut-ti ša* <sup>d</sup>GAŠAN *ša* UNUG<sup>ki</sup> 5. *u* <sup>d</sup>na-na-a “Gold for repairing the jewelry of the Lady-of-Uruk and Nanaya”; and NCBT 1121: 2. (gold) *a-na bat-qa ša šu-kut-ti* 3. *ša* <sup>d</sup>GAŠAN *ša* UNUG<sup>ki</sup> “Gold to repair the jewelry of the Lady-of-Uruk.” A substantial number of texts mention the various pieces of jewelry belonging to Ištar. The most remarkable document is the inventory NBC 4894, which lists the jewelry belonging to Ištar and Nanaya. Included in the inventory are 52 necklaces and hundreds of smaller pieces such as seals, earrings, beads, mountings, figurines, and various other ornaments. Heavier pieces such as the tiara, crown, and breast ornaments, however, are not included.<sup>174</sup>

## NBC 4894

1. *šu-kut-ti* [i o o o o o o N[G.GA <sup>d</sup>GAŠAN *ša* UNUG<sup>ki</sup>]
2. *u* <sup>d</sup>na-na-a [o o o o o o o o o o o o o o o o]
3. 1 GÚ KÙ.GI '9 GÚ' [o o o o o o o o o o o o o o]
4. *ina gú-ḥal-ši* K[Ù.GI o o o o o o o o o o o o]
5. 1 <sup>na4</sup>KIŠIB <sup>na4</sup>BABBAR.'DIL' [o o o o o o o o]
6. 1-<sup>u</sup> 1 GÚ '3 DUR NA<sub>4</sub> *la* <sup>m</sup>[*it-ḥar* o o o o o o o]
7. 2-<sup>u</sup> 1 GÚ 8 'DUR NA<sub>4</sub> *la* <sup>m</sup>[*it-ḥar* o o o o o o o]
8. *šal-šú* 1 GÚ 8 DUR 'NA<sub>4</sub> *la* <sup>m</sup>[*it-ḥar* o o o o o o]
9. 4-<sup>u</sup> 1 GÚ '4 DUR NA<sub>4</sub> *la* <sup>m</sup>[*it-ḥar* o o o o o o o]
10. 5-<sup>šú</sup> 1 GÚ 4 'DUR NA<sub>4</sub> *la* <sup>m</sup>[*it-ḥar* o o o o o o]
11. 6-<sup>šú</sup> 1 GÚ 3 'DUR NA<sub>4</sub> *la* <sup>m</sup>[*it-ḥar* NA<sub>4</sub> [o o o o o]
12. 7-<sup>u</sup> 1 GÚ 5 'DUR NA<sub>4</sub> *la* <sup>m</sup>[*it-ḥar* NA<sub>4</sub> [o o o o]
13. 8-<sup>u</sup> 1 GÚ 7 'DUR NA<sub>4</sub> *la* <sup>m</sup>[*it-ḥar* NA<sub>4</sub> 'x' [o o o]
14. 9-<sup>u</sup> 1 GÚ 8 'DUR *ina lib-bi* 'x x x' KÙ.GI [o o o]
15. 10-<sup>u</sup> 1 GÚ NA<sub>4</sub> KÙ'.GI 11 'DUR' [o o o o o o o]
16. 11-<sup>u</sup> 1 [GÚ o o o] 'NA<sub>4</sub> *la* <sup>m</sup>[*it-ḥar* NA<sub>4</sub> KÙ.GI' [o o o]
17. 12-<sup>u</sup> 1 [GÚ o o o NA<sub>4</sub> *la* <sup>m</sup>[*it-ḥar* NA<sub>4</sub> KÙ.GI' [o o o o]
18. 13-<sup>u</sup> 1 GÚ 9 DUR NA<sub>4</sub> *la* <sup>m</sup>[*it-ḥar* NA<sub>4</sub> KÙ.GI' [o o o o]
19. 14-<sup>u</sup> 1 GÚ '5?' DUR NA<sub>4</sub> *la* <sup>m</sup>[*it-ḥar* NA<sub>4</sub> KÙ.GI' [o o o]
20. 15-<sup>u</sup> 1 GÚ 7 DUR NA<sub>4</sub> *la* <sup>m</sup>[*it-ḥar* NA<sub>4</sub> [o o o o o o o]
21. 16-<sup>u</sup> 1 GÚ 5 DUR NA<sub>4</sub> *la* <sup>m</sup>[*it-ḥar* NA<sub>4</sub> KÙ'.GI [o o o o]
22. 17-<sup>u</sup> 1 GÚ 4 DUR NA<sub>4</sub> *la* <sup>m</sup>[*it-ḥar* NA<sub>4</sub> KÙ'.GI [o o o]
23. 18-<sup>u</sup> 1 GÚ 13 'DUR' NA<sub>4</sub> KÙ.GI *ša* 'man-di-it' 2-ta <sup>na4</sup>tuk-pi-tu<sub>4</sub> *ša*-bit 2' [o o o]
24. 20-<sup>u</sup> 1 GÚ 7 DUR NA<sub>4</sub> TUR.ME *man-di-it* 'KÙ.GI *pi-in-ni*-šú KÙ.GI *ina gú-ḥal-ši* KÙ.GI *ša*-bit'
25. 21 1 GÚ 15 DUR NA<sub>4</sub> TUR.ME *man-d*[*i-it* KÙ.GI] '2?-ta' [o o]-tu<sub>4</sub> *ina gú-ḥal-ši* KÙ.GI 'DIB'
26. 22 1 GÚ 9 DUR NA<sub>4</sub> TUR.ME *man*-<sup>d</sup>di-it KÙ.GI' 2-ta NA<sub>4</sub> [o o o] [*ina*] *gú-ḥal-ši* KÙ.GI 'DIB'

<sup>174</sup> Edition with handcopy in BEAULIEU 1999.

27. 23 1 GÚ 9 DUR NA<sub>4</sub> *man-di-it* KÙ.GI *pi-in-ni*-šú-<sup>d</sup>nu KÙ.GI' *ina gú-ḥal-ši* KÙ.GI DIB
28. 24 1 GÚ 13 DUR NA<sub>4</sub> *man-di-it* KÙ.GI 2-ta *tuk-pi-ti* *ša*-bit'
29. 25 1 GÚ 12 DUR NA<sub>4</sub> 'man-di-it' KÙ.GI 3-ta *tuk-pi-ti* *ša*-bit'
30. 26 1 GÚ 6 DUR NA<sub>4</sub> KÙ.GI NA<sub>4</sub> *la* <sup>m</sup>[*it-ḥar*
31. 27 1 GÚ 9 DUR NA<sub>4</sub> KÙ.GI NA<sub>4</sub> *la* <sup>m</sup>[*it-ḥar*
32. 28 1 GÚ 5 DUR NA<sub>4</sub> KÙ.GI NA<sub>4</sub> *la* <sup>m</sup>[*it-ḥar*
33. 29 GÚ 6 DUR NA<sub>4</sub> KÙ.GI NA<sub>4</sub> *la* <sup>m</sup>[*it-ḥar*
34. 30 GÚ 5 DUR NA<sub>4</sub> KÙ.GI NA<sub>4</sub> *la* <sup>m</sup>[*it-ḥar*
35. 31 GÚ 7 DUR NA<sub>4</sub> KÙ.GI NA<sub>4</sub> *la* <sup>m</sup>[*it-ḥar*
36. 32 GÚ 5 DUR NA<sub>4</sub> KÙ.GI NA<sub>4</sub> *la* <sup>m</sup>[*it-ḥar*
37. 33 GÚ 6 DUR NA<sub>4</sub> KÙ.GI NA<sub>4</sub> *la* <sup>m</sup>[*it-ḥar*
38. 34 GÚ 8 'DUR' [o o o o o o o o o o o]
39. 35 GÚ 7 'DUR' [o o o o o o o o o o o]
40. 36 GÚ 5 'DUR' [o o o o o o o o o o o]
41. 37 GÚ 7 'DUR' [o o o o o o o o o o o]
42. 38 GÚ 5 'DUR' [o o o o o o o o o o o]
43. 39 GÚ 6 'DUR' [o o o o o o o o o o o]
44. 40 GÚ 5 'DUR' NA<sub>4</sub> KÙ.GI [o o o o o o o]
45. 41 GÚ 8 DUR NA<sub>4</sub> KÙ.GI [o o o o o o o]
46. 42 GÚ 7 DUR NA<sub>4</sub> [o o o o o o o o o o]
47. 43 1 GÚ GUG 5 'DUR' [o o o o o o o o]
48. 44 2 GÚ GUG 9 'DUR' [o o o o o o o o]
49. 45 3 GÚ GUG 8 DUR *ina* Š[Á o o o o o o]
50. 46 4 GÚ GUG 7 DUR *ina* ŠÁ 28 NA<sub>4</sub> 'KÙ'.GI [o o o]
51. '47' 5 GÚ GUG 7 DUR *ina* ŠÁ 30 'NA<sub>4</sub> KÙ'.GI 1 <sup>na4</sup>AŠ.GI.GI
52. 48 6 GÚ GUG 7 DUR *ina* 'ŠÁ' 4' 'NA<sub>4</sub> KÙ.GI 2-ta <sup>na4</sup>tuk-pit 1 <sup>na4</sup>AŠ.GI.GI
53. 49 '7 GÚ GUG 9' DUR *ina* ŠÁ 26 NA<sub>4</sub> KÙ.GI 1 <sup>na4</sup>tuk-pit 1 <sup>na4</sup>sag-gil'-mud
54. 50 1 GÚ <sup>na4</sup>ZA.GIN 16 DUR
55. 51 1 GÚ <sup>na4</sup>BABBAR.DIL 17 DUR 2-ta <sup>na4</sup>tuk-pi-ti
56. 52 1 GÚ 9 DUR *ki-li-li* NU.MUR<sup>175</sup> IGI.MIN NA<sub>4</sub> KÙ.GI GAL.MEŠ 1 <sup>na4</sup>tuk-pit 2 [o o o]
57. 52 1 GÚ 8 DUR 46 <sup>na4</sup>nu-ur-mu KÙ.GI 5-ta *bi-ni*-tú KÙ.GI
58. 5 <sup>na4</sup>KIŠIB *la* <sup>m</sup>[*it-ḥar* 2-ta <sup>na4</sup>tuk-pi-ti
59. 8 <sup>na4</sup>taš-kis-meš 65 DUR NA<sub>4</sub> KÙ.GI NA<sub>4</sub> *la* <sup>m</sup>[*it-ḥar* *ina* 'lib-bi 1 'x x x' [o o];
60. 2 <sup>na4</sup>šip-ri <sup>na4</sup>GUG 21 <sup>na4</sup>ár-zal-lu<sub>4</sub> 14 <sup>na4</sup>dig-lu <sup>na4</sup>BABBAR.'DIL
61. *ina lib-bi* 1 *mi-it-ri* 1 *te-en-šu-ú* KÙ.GI 17 'NA<sub>4</sub>' [o o o]
62. 2 <sup>na4</sup>šip-ri <sup>na4</sup>BABBAR.DIL 42 <sup>na4</sup>ár-zal-lu<sub>4</sub> 97 NA<sub>4</sub> *man-di-it* KÙ'.GI [o o o]
63. 1 <sup>na4</sup>šip-ri 11 *a-a-ri* KÙ.GI *ša* *tam-le-e* [o] '4 NA<sub>4</sub> KÙ'.GI] 'TUR?.ME' [o o o]
64. 210 ŠU.GUR KÙ.GI '4' ḤAR KÙ.GI 93 *gú-ḥal-ši* KÙ.GI
65. 351 <sup>na4</sup>ma-ak-nak-tu<sub>4</sub> KÙ.GI SUḤUŠ <sup>na4</sup>KIŠIB KÙ.GI *pa-zu-zu* KÙ.GI' [o o]
66. *ina gú-ḥal-ši* KÙ.GI *šab-lu-u*
67. 10-ta ŠU.GUR KÙ.GI.MEŠ *pi-in-ni*-šú-<sup>d</sup>nu KÙ.GI *ina gú-ḥal-ši* KÙ.GI *šab*-<sup>d</sup>ta' (or 'bit')
68. 1<sup>sic</sup>-ta *el-le* 47 *in-ša-ab-tu* KÙ.GI 119 'šú'-ri KÙ.GI
69. 1 *ki-li-li* 30 *a-a-ri* KÙ.GI *ša* *tam-le-e* 27 <sup>na4</sup>dig-lu' NA<sub>4</sub> [o o o]
70. 7 <sup>na4</sup>ár-zal-lu<sub>4</sub> 2-ta *el-le* NA<sub>4</sub> KÙ.GI <sup>na4</sup>GUG <sup>na4</sup>ZA.GIN NA<sub>4</sub> [o o o]
71. *kur-ši-ni*-šú KÙ.GI 12 <sup>na4</sup>tuk-pi-ti <sup>na4</sup>BABBAR.DIL *sa-ma-ḥal-ši-na* 46 [o o o]

<sup>175</sup> This word is unknown. A scribal mistake for NA<sub>4</sub> is possible, but not likely.

72. 169 *in-ša-ab-tu<sub>4</sub>* KÙ.GI 40 DUR NA<sub>4</sub> KÙ.GI <sup>na4</sup>'GUG NA<sub>4</sub>' [o o o]  
 73. *sa-ma-ḫal-šú* 1 *du-di-it* KÙ.GI *ina gú-ḫal-ši* KÙ.GI *šab-tat* 4! [o o o]  
 74. 7-*ta gú-ḫal-ši* KÙ.BABBAR *sa-ma-ḫal-ši-na* 1 *mu-šá-'lu'* K[Ù.GI?]  
 75. 1 *na-ma-ru* KÙ.GI 2 *iš-šur<sup>me</sup>* KÙ.GI 2 *mu-mál-l[i* o o o]  
 76. 1 *mul-tu* KÙ.GI 1 *mut-tab-bil-tu<sub>4</sub>* KÙ.GI 3-*ta 'x'* [o o o]  
 77. 1 *kal-lu* KÙ.GI 1 *šap-pu 'x x'* [o o o o o o o]  
 78. 1 [o o o o o o o o o o o o o o o o o]  
 79. 1 *gú-ḫal-ši* KÙ.GI *er-bi*  
 80. 2-*ta in-ša-ba-a-tú* KÙ.GI *er-bi*

1. Jewelry [o o o o property of the Lady-of-Uruk]  
 2. and Nanaya [o o o o o o o o o o o o o o o]

3. A necklace of gold; 9 necklaces [o o o o o];  
 4. on a wire of g[old o o o o o o o o o o o];  
 5. a cylinder-seal-shaped bead of banded agate [o o o o o o];  
 6. 1: a necklace (made of) 3 strings of beads of varied [size o o o o];  
 7. 2: a necklace (made of) 8 strings of beads of varied [size o o o o];  
 8. 3: a necklace (made of) 8 strings of beads of varied [size o o o o];  
 9. 4: a necklace (made of) 4 strings of beads of varied [size o o o o];  
 10. 5: a necklace (made of) 4 strings of beads of varied size [o o o o];  
 11. 6: a necklace (made of) 3 strings of beads of varied size (and of) beads [o o o o];  
 12. 7: a necklace (made of) 5 strings of beads of varied size (and of) beads [o o o o];  
 13. 8: a necklace (made of) 7 strings of beads of varied size (and of) beads [o o o o];  
 14. 9: a necklace (made of) 8 strings (and) including x x x of gol[d o o];  
 15. 10: a necklace (of) gold beads (made of) 11 strings [o o o o o o o];  
 16. 11: a [necklace (made of) x strings] of beads of varied size (and of) gold beads [o o o];  
 17. 12: a [necklace (made of) x strings of sto]nes of varied size (and of) gold beads [o o o];  
 18. 13: a necklace (made of) 9 strings of beads of varied size (and of) gold beads [o o o];  
 19. 14: a necklace (made of) 5(?) strings of beads of varied size (and of) gold beads [o o o];  
 20. 15: a necklace (made of) 7 strings of beads of varied size (and of) beads [o o o o o];  
 21. 16: a necklace (made of) 5 strings of beads of varied size (and of) gold beads [o o o];  
 22. 17: a necklace (made of) 4 strings of beads of varied size (and of) gold beads [o o o];  
 23. 18: a necklace (made of) 13 strings of gold beads with mountings, held by 2 kidney-shaped beads, two [o o o];  
 24. 20 (sic!):<sup>176</sup> a necklace (made of) 7 strings of small size beads (with) gold mountings, whose *pinnu* is (made of) gold, (and) which is held by a gold wire;  
 25. 21: a necklace (made of) 15 strings of small size beads (with) [gold mou]ntings (and) 2(?) [o o o] (and) held by a gold wire;  
 26. 22: a necklace (made of) 9 strings of small size beads (and) 2 [o o o] held [by] a gold wire;  
 27. 23: a necklace (made of) 9 strings of beads (with) gold mountings, whose *pinnus* are (made of) gold, (and) which is held by a gold wire;  
 28. 24: a necklace (made of) 13 strings of beads (with) gold mountings (and) held by 2 kidney-shaped beads;  
 29. 25: a necklace (made of) 12 strings of beads (with) gold mountings (and) held by 3 kidney-shaped beads;

<sup>176</sup> On line 24 the scribe skipped the number 19 in his count of necklaces. Realizing his error he listed two necklaces as number 52 on lines 56 and 57, thus arriving at the same total.

30. 26: a necklace (made of) 6 strings of gold beads of varied size;  
 31. 27: a necklace (made of) 9 strings of gold beads of varied size;  
 32. 28: a necklace (made of) 5 strings of gold beads of varied size;  
 33. 29: a necklace (made of) 6 strings of gold beads of varied size;  
 34. 30: a necklace (made of) 5 strings of gold beads of varied size;  
 35. 31: a necklace (made of) 7 strings of gold beads of varied size;  
 36. 32: a necklace (made of) 5 strings of gold beads of varied size;  
 37. 33: a necklace (made of) 6 strings of gold beads of varied size;  
 38. 34: a necklace (made of) 8 strings [o o o o o];  
 39. 35: a necklace (made of) 7 strings [o o o o o];  
 40. 36: a necklace (made of) 5 strings [o o o o o];  
 41. 37: a necklace (made of) 7 strings [o o o o o];  
 42. 38: a necklace (made of) 5 strings [o o o o o];  
 43. 39: a necklace (made of) 6 strings [o o o o o];  
 44. 40: a necklace (made of) 5 strings of gold beads [o o o];  
 45. 41: a necklace (made of) 8 strings of gold beads [o o o];  
 46. 42: a necklace (made of) 7 strings of beads [o o o o];  
 47. 43: a necklace of carnelian (made of) 5 strings [o o o o o o o];  
 48. 44: a 2nd necklace of carnelian (made of) 9 strings [o o o o o o o];  
 49. 45: a 3rd necklace of carnelian (made of) 8 strings, (and which) inclu[des o o o o];  
 50. 46: a 4th necklace of carnelian (made of) 7 strings, (and which) includes 28 beads of gold [o o];  
 51. 47: a 5th necklace of carnelian (made of) 7 strings, (and which) includes 30 beads of gold (and) a turquoise;  
 52. 48: a 6th necklace of carnelian (made of) 7 strings, (and which) includes 4 gold beads, 2 kidney-shaped beads, (and) a turquoise;  
 53. 49: a 7th necklace of carnelian (made of) 9 strings (and which) includes 26 gold beads, a kidney-shaped bead, (and) a *saggilmud* stone;  
 54. 50: a necklace of lapis-lazuli (made of) 16 strings;  
 55. 51: a necklace of banded agate (made of) 17 strings, (with) 2 kidney-shaped beads;  
 56. 52: a necklace (made of) 9 strings, a circlet of ... eye-stones, large size gold beads, a kidney-shaped bead, (and) 2 [o o o];  
 57. 52 (sic!): a necklace (made of) 8 strings, 46 pomegranate-shaped beads of gold, (and) 5 fish-roe-shaped beads of gold;  
 58. 5 cylinder-seal-shaped beads of varied size;<sup>177</sup> 2 kidney-shaped beads;  
 59. 8 *tarkisu* beads; 65 strings of gold beads (and) beads of varied size (and) which include a x x [o o];  
 60. 2 ornamental trims of carnelian; 21 *arzallu* stones; 14 gems of banded agate,  
 61. including a *mitru*; a *tenšû* of gold; 17 [o o o];  
 62. 2 ornamental trims of banded agate; 42 *arzallu* stones; 97 beads with go[ld] mountings;  
 63. an ornamental trim; 11 inlaid rosettes of gold [o]; 4 small size beads of go[ld];  
 64. 210 finger rings of gold; 4 gold bracelets; 93 gold wires;  
 65. 351 gold seals; a gold base for a cylinder-seal-shaped bead; a Pazuzu (head) of gold [o o]  
 66. held by a gold wire;  
 67. 10 finger rings of gold, whose *pinnus* are (made of) gold, held by a gold wire;  
 68. an *elletu*; 47 gold earrings; 119 *šu-ri* of gold;  
 69. a circlet; 30 inlaid rosettes of gold; 27 gems of [o o o];

<sup>177</sup> It is unclear whether the beads mentioned on this line are separate items or belong with the 52nd necklace.

70. 7 *arzallu* stones; 2 *elletu*s of gold, carnelian, lapis, and [o o o],
71. whose links are (made of) gold; 12 kidney-shaped beads of banded agate (with) their attachments; 46 [o o o];
72. 169 gold earrings; 40 strings of gold beads (and) carnelian; a [o o o]
73. (with) its attachment; a gold fibula held by a gold wire; 4 [o o o];
74. 7 silver wires (with) their attachments; a cosmetic jar of go[ld?];
75. a gold mirror; 2 bird figurines of gold; 2 *mumal*[li o o];
76. a gold comb; a *muttabiltu* recipient of gold; 3 [o o o];
77. a *kallu* bowl of gold; a *šappu* container [o o o o o o o];
78. a [o o o o o o o o];
79. a gold wire, a gift;
80. 2 gold earrings, a gift.

NCBT 72<sup>178</sup>

1. 1 KÁ *mu-ša-lu-ú* KÙ.GI<sup>r</sup>
2. *ša* dGAŠAN *ša* UNUG<sup>ki</sup>

A gold lid for the cosmetic jar of the Lady-of-Uruk.

## YOS 6, 216

1. 1 GÚ 88 <sup>na4</sup>*nu-úr-mu-ú* BABBAR.DIL
2. *man-di-tu*<sub>4</sub> KÙ.GI 88 *kur-šu-ú* KÙ.GI
3. <sup>na4</sup>GUG <sup>na4</sup>AŠ.GI<sub>1</sub> *ša* bi-rit
4. *ina* 2 *pi-in-gu* KÙ.GI *ina* DUR GADA.ĜÁ *ša-bit*
5. PAP *ša* dGAŠAN *ša* UNUG<sup>ki</sup>

A necklace (composed of) 88 pomegranate-shaped beads of banded agate (with) gold mountings, 88 gold links, a bead of carnelian and a bead of turquoise in the middle, (all) held between 2 gold knobs on a linen string. Total (of the jewelry) belonging to the Lady-of-Uruk.

YBC 4174<sup>179</sup>

4. *taš-kis* KÙ.GI 15 UR.MAĜ.MEŠ KÙ.GI *ša* TA *nak-ma-ru na-šu-nu*
5. 2 *ša* *ku-ma-ru* KÙ.GI *e-du-tu* 2 *a-a-ri* IGI *ša* 4-ú *šab-tu*
6. 1 GÚ 43 <sup>na4</sup>*ši-bir-ti* *la* *mit-ḥar* *ina* *gú-ḥal-šu* KÙ.GI *ša-bit*
7. 2-ú GÚ KÙ.GI 20 <sup>na4</sup>KIŠIB *la* *mit-ḥar* *man-di-ti* KÙ.GI
8. 25 <sup>na4</sup>GUG 22 <sup>na4</sup>*tuk-pi-tú* 32 NA<sub>4</sub> KÙ.GI
9. 2 <sup>na4</sup>*ši-bir-ti* <sup>na4</sup>*sag-gil-mud* *ina* *gú-ḥal-ša* KÙ.GI *ša-bit*
10. 41 UR.MAĜ.MEŠ KÙ.GI *ša* *sa-a-du* TUR.ME
11. 31 *a-a-ri* KÙ.GI *sa-a-du* 1 *kur-šu-ú* *ša* *tam-le-e*
12. *ša* *ul-tu ka-su-se-e* *ša* dGAŠAN *ša* UNUG<sup>ki</sup> *paṭ-ru*
13. PAP *šu-kut-ti* KÙ.GI *ša* dGAŠAN *ša* UNUG<sup>ki</sup>

<sup>178</sup> Published by NEMET-NEJAT 1993, who maintains the traditional interpretation of *mušālu* as "mirror."

<sup>179</sup> The heading of this document reads as follows: 1. *šu-kut-ti* *ša* dGAŠAN *ša* UNUG<sup>ki</sup> *u* *na-na-a* *ša* 'ina <sup>na4</sup>*šad-du* 2. *ša* *šu-kut-ti* KÙ.GI *ka-an-za-ti* "Jewelry of the Lady-of-Uruk and Nanaya stored in the jewelry container."

A *tarkīsu* ornament of gold; 15 lions of gold removed from the storage container, 2 (of them) have individual gold frames; 2 frontal rosettes of gold attached in 4 places; a necklace (made of) 43 unworked stones of varied size held on a gold wire; a 2nd necklace of gold (made of) 20 cylinder-seal-shaped beads of varied size with gold mountings, 25 beads of carnelian, 22 kidney-shaped beads, 32 gold beads, (and) 2 unworked *saggilmud* stones, (all) held on a gold wire; 41 small lions of *sādu* gold; 31 rosettes of *sādu* gold;<sup>180</sup> 1 inlaid link removed from the falcon figurine of the Lady-of-Uruk. Total of the gold jewelry belonging to the Lady-of-Uruk.

## YBC 7383

1. 1/3 MA.NA 6 GÍN 3 IGI-4-GÁL.LA.M[E KÙ.GI o o o]
2. 10 *a-a-ri sa-a-du* 4 GÍN [4-tú KÙ.GI o o]
3. *qi-il-pi* *ša* dKI.TUŠ *ša* dGAŠAN *ša* UNUG<sup>ki</sup> o o o]
4. PAP 1/2 MA.NA 1 GÍN *a-na* DÛ-šú *ša* 11 'x'[o o o]
5. 1/2 MA.NA 1/2 GÍN KÙ.GI *bi-ta-qu* 'šá' [o o o]
6. '2' GÍN 4-tú *bit-qa* KÙ.GI TA NÍG.GA [o o o]
7. PAP 1/2 MA.NA 2 GÍN 3 IGI-4-GÁL-L[A.ME *bit-qa* KÙ.GI o o]
8. [o] 'a-na DÛ-šú *ša* se'-me-ri *ša* [o o o o]
9. [o o o o]'x KÙ'.GI *ša* la [o o o o]
10. [o o o o] MUL ù '16 *ḥa'-še-e*
11. [*a-na* <sup>na4</sup>BAR.DUL<sub>8</sub> *ša* dGAŠAN *ša* UNUG<sup>ki</sup>
12. [o o o o] '18' GÍN 3 IGI-4-GÁL.LA.ME 2 *gir-e* KÙ.GI
13. [*a-na* DÛ-šú] *ša* <sup>na4</sup>*šu-kut-tu*<sub>4</sub> *ša* dGAŠAN *ša* UNUG<sup>ki</sup> ...
21. PAP-ma 2 1/3 MA.NA 9 GÍN *bit-qa* KÙ.GI *a-na bat-qa*
22. *ša* <sup>na4</sup>*šu-kut-tu*<sub>4</sub> *ša* dGAŠAN *ša* UNUG<sup>ki</sup> *u* *na-na-a* 'a'

1/3 of a mina and 6 3/4 shekels [of gold o o o] 10 rosettes of *sādu* gold; 4 [1/4] shekels [of gold o o o the] plating of the cultic socle of the L[ady-of-Uruk o o]. Total: 1/2 mina and 1 shekel (of gold) to make 11 [o o o]. 1/2 mina, 1/2 (and) 1/8 shekel of gold for/of [o o o]; 2 1/4 shekels of gold from the (temple) property [o o o]. Total: 1/2 mina (and) 2 (and) 3/4 [and 1/8] shekels [of gold o o] to make the bracelets of [o o o]. [o o o] gold without [o o o o o] star and 16 *ḥašūš* [for the] *kusītu* [garment] of the Lady-of-Uruk. [Total: x minas] and 18 3/4 and 1/12 shekels of gold [to make] the jewelry of the Lady-of-Uruk. ... Grand total: 2 1/3 minas (and) 9 1/8 shekels of gold to repair the jewelry of the Lady-of-Uruk and Nanaya.

## VS 20, 128

- 3'. [o o K]Û'.GI<sup>r</sup> *ina* *gú-ḥal-šu* KÙ.GI *ša* [a-bit o o o]
- 4'. [o o o] KÙ.GI *ina* *gú-ḥal-šu* KÙ.GI 'ša-bit' [o o o]
- 5'. [o o o] 'x *ina* 2 *pi-in-gu* KÙ.GI *ina* DUR GADA *ša-bit* [o o o]
- 6'. [o o o] *ša* *zi-i-mu ul-tu ka-an-zu* [zu o o]
- 7'. [o o o]'x' *a-na* UGU dGAŠAN *ša* UNUG<sup>ki</sup> *it-te*-[lu-ū]

- 8'. [PAP] *ša* dGAŠAN *ša* UNUG<sup>ki</sup>

<sup>180</sup> For rosettes of *sādu* gold belonging to the Lady-of-Agade, see FALES, POSTGATE 1992, no. 60: 5. [o o] *a-a-ri sa-da-ni* 6. [*ša*] dGAŠAN <sup>na4</sup>*ak-kad* KÙ.GI "[o] rosettes of *sādu* gold [of] the Lady-of-Akkad."

[o o] of gold h[eld] on a gold wire [o o o]; [o o] of gold held on a gold wire [o o o]; [o o o] held 'by' 2 knobs of gold on a linen string [o o o]; [o o] as garment decoration, from the chi[n o o o o o which we]nt on the Lady-of-Uruk. [Total] (of the jewelry) belonging to the Lady-of-Uruk.

## YBC 9039

3. red gold *a-na gú-ḫal-šu šá* <sup>na4</sup>KIŠIB.M[EŠ]
4. *šá* <sup>d</sup>15

Red gold for the suspension wire for the cylinder-seal-shaped beads of Ištar.

## GCC I 1, 386

5. 11 GÍN 3 IGI-4-GÁL.LA.MEŠ KÙ.GI
6. *šá* TA *ki-ra-a-ta šá* GÚ *šá* KÙ\*.PAD\*.DU.ME
7. *šá* <sup>d</sup>GAŠAN *šá* UNUG<sup>ki</sup> *paṭ-ru-ni*

11 3/4 shekels of gold removed from the *kirītu* ornaments of the necklace of unworked stones belonging to the Lady-of-Uruk.

## AUWE 11, 213

1. [o M]A.NA 17 'GÍN' *bit-qa* KÙ.GI
2. 'ina' KI.LÁ *šá* UR.MAḪ *šá* AN.BAR
3. 8 *a-a-ri pa-ni šá* <sup>d</sup>GAŠAN *šá* UNUG<sup>ki</sup>
4. *a-di* 136 *sa-an-ḫa-ni-šú-nu*

[x m]inas and 17 1/8 shekels of gold, (weighed) with the lion-shaped iron weight, (for) 8 frontal rosettes belonging to the Lady-of-Uruk, together with their 136 catches.

## PTS 2162

1. 1 GÍN *bit-qa* KÙ.GI
2. 5 *in-bé-e* KÙ.GI
3. 5 *kal-tap-pe-e* KÙ.GI
4. 5 *sa-an-ḫu-šú-nu* KÙ.GI
5. [o] *su-ú-tu šá* KÁ *li-bi šá?*
6. '3' *ti-'tur-ru'-e-ti*
7. *a-na la a-šu-ú*
8. *šá* <sup>d</sup>'GAŠAN *šá* UNUG<sup>ki</sup>

1 1/8 shekels of gold (for) 5 fruit-shaped ornaments of gold, 5 footstool figurines of gold, their 5 catches of gold, [o] *sūtu* for the opening of the ... for(?) 3 crosspieces for the *lā-āšū* of the Lady-of-Uruk.

## PTS 2175

1. 1 GÍN KÙ.GI *bat-'qu'*
2. 3 *ar-za-la-nu* KÙ.'GI'
3. 1 *ú-ra-ku šá* ḪAR 'x x' KÙ.GI
4. *šá* <sup>d</sup>GAŠAN *šá* UNUG<sup>ki</sup>
5. 2 *e-rim-m[a-at]* KÙ.GI
6. *šá* AŠ.ME KÙ.GI.ME
7. *šá* <sup>d</sup>GAŠAN *šá* UNUG<sup>ki</sup>

1 shekel of gold to repair 3 *arzallu* jewels of gold, 1 rod for the 'x' bracelet of gold of the Lady-of-Uruk, (and) 2 'egg-shaped ornaments' of gold for the gold sun-disk ornaments of the Lady-of-Uruk.

## PTS 2438

1. 1 1/2 GÍN *ḫal-lu-ru*
2. KÙ.GI 19 BAR.MEŠ
3. 2 1/2 *ú-ra-ka*
4. *šá bat-qa šá šá-an-šu*
5. *šá* <sup>d</sup>GAŠAN *šá* UNUG<sup>ki</sup>

1 1/2 and 1/40 shekels (for) 19 pieces of gold plating (and) 2 1/2 rods to repair a sun-disk ornament belonging to Ištar.

## PTS 2684

1. 40 <sup>na4</sup>IGI.MIN.ME
2. 14 <sup>na4</sup>*er-rim-mat*
3. *a-na šá-an-šá-a-ta*
4. *šá* <sup>d</sup>15

40 eye-stones, 14 egg-shaped beads, for the sun-disk ornaments belonging to Ištar.

## YBC 9204

1. 3 AŠ.ME KÙ.GI *ḫab-'šu'-tu*
2. 1 GÚ *šá* <sup>na4</sup>KIŠIB.ME
3. *la mit-ḫar*
4. 31 *a-a-ri* KÙ.'GI'
5. *šá sa-a-du*
6. PAP *šu-kut-ti* KÙ.GI
7. *šá* <sup>d</sup>GAŠAN *šá* UNUG<sup>ki</sup>
8. *šá ina* <sup>biš</sup>*šad-du šá bat-'qa'*

3 lustrous sun-disk ornaments of gold; 1 necklace of cylinder-seal-shaped beads of varied size; 31 rosettes of *sādu* gold. Total of the jewelry of the Lady-of-Uruk which is in the repair container.

## GCC I, 135

1. 1/2 GÍN *hal-lu-ru* LÁ KÙ.GI<sup>1</sup>
2. *ša bat-qu ša a-ri* KÙ.GI
3. *sa-a-du ša* dGAŠAN *ša* UNUG<sup>ki</sup>

1/2 minus 1/40 shekel of gold to repair a rosette of *sādu* gold belonging to the Lady-of-Uruk.

## YBC 11649

1. 2 *ḪAR as-pu ša 3-šú šab-tu*
2. *ša* IGI MAŠ.DĀ.MEŠ
3. *ša ul-tu* dGAŠAN *ša* UNUG<sup>ki</sup>
4. *ú-ri-du-nu ina É dul-lu*
5. *ina* IGI dINNIN-MU-DÙ *ú* KÙ.DIM.MEŠ
6. *ina lib-bi 1 dig-lu* na<sup>4</sup>BABBAR.DIL
7. 1 *ár-za-a-lu* KÙ.GI *ma-ṭu*

2 cleft bracelets attached in 3 places, with (terminals in the shape of) faces of gazelles, (and) which were removed from the Lady-of-Uruk, are in the workshop at the disposal of Ištar-šum-ibni and the goldsmiths; 1 gem of banded agate (and) 1 *arzallu* jewel of gold are missing from it.

## GCC I, 49

1. 1 *ḪAR.GÚ.GIL* KÙ.GI *as\*-p[u\*]*
2. *ša iš-kar É ša* d15
3. *a-ri-du 19 GÍN* KÙ.GI
4. *ḫa-a-ṭu*

1 removed torque of gold belonging to the furnishings of the chapel of Ištar, its weight in gold is 19 shekels.

## GCC I, 360

29. 5 GÍN KÙ.GI SA<sub>5</sub> *a-na* IGI.MUŠ
30. [o o].GA\*.MEŠ dGAŠAN-*ia*

5 shekels of red gold for the snake-eye ornaments(?) [o o] (?) of (?) Bēltiya.

## PTS 3089

1. 5 GÍN KÙ.GI *a-na bat-<sup>r</sup>qa<sup>1</sup>*
2. *ša taš-kis* dGAŠAN *ša* UNUG<sup>ki</sup>

5 shekels of gold to repair the *tarkīsu* ornament of the Lady-of-Uruk.

Three texts mention pieces of jewelry in the shape of door-locking mechanisms: AnOr 9, 6; NCBT 357; and Stigers 19. AnOr 9, 6 mentions such jewelry for Ištar-

of-Uruk, Nanaya, Bēltu-ša-Rēš, Adapa, Kilīlu, and Barirītu (dated NPL.19.xx.02); NCBT 357 mentions them for the Lady-of-Uruk, Nanaya, Bēltu-ša-Rēš, and Adapa (NBK2.31.12.02); and Stigers 19 mentions them for the Lady-of-Uruk, Nanaya, Bēltu-ša-Rēš, and Adapa, while it further specifies that the jewelry was removed (*šūrudūni*) from these gods on the 12th day of the 12th month in the accession year of Amēl-Marduk. The remarkable coherence of these texts suggests that the jewelry was used in rituals which started on the 2nd day of Addaru (AnOr 9, 6; NCBT 357) and ended on the 12th day of the same month (Stigers 19), when the jewelry was removed from the statues.<sup>181</sup> These rituals coincided in part with the largest annual increase in offerings of sacrificial sheep to the gods of Uruk, which occurred between the 2nd and 6th days of the month Addaru.<sup>182</sup>

Textual references to the door-locking jewelry of Ištar are AnOr 9, 6: 1. [o p]i-in-gu KÙ.GI 8 *ḫar-gul-lum* KÙ.BABBAR 2. [o]+9 *sa-an-ḫa-nu* KÙ.BABBAR *ša* dINNIN UNUG<sup>ki</sup> “[o] knobs of gold, 8 locks of silver, [o] and 9 rings of silver, (all) belonging to Ištar-of-Uruk;” NCBT 357: 1. ‘8’ pi-in-ga KÙ.BABBAR 2. 10 *ḫar-gul-lum* KÙ.BABBAR 3. 40 *ḫa-an-du-uḫ-ḫu* KÙ.BABBAR 4. *ina lib-bi 1 MU* ‘28’-KAM *ḫa-liq* 5. *ša* dGAŠAN *ša* UNUG<sup>ki</sup> “8 knobs of silver, 10 locks of silver, 40 *ḫandūḫus* of silver, one of which disappeared in the 28th year,<sup>183</sup> (all) belonging to the Lady-of-Uruk;” and Stigers 19: 1. 10 pi-in-gu KÙ.BABBAR 2. 4 *ḫar-gul-lum* KÙ.BABBAR 3. 39 *ḫa-an-duḫ* KÙ.BABBAR 4. *ša* dGAŠAN *ša* UNUG<sup>ki</sup> “10 knobs of silver, 4 locks of silver, 39 *ḫandūḫus* of silver, (all) belonging to the Lady-of-Uruk.”

## 3.6. Clothing

Several texts record disbursements of textiles, threads, and various fabrics for the sacred wardrobe of Ištar. The following pieces of her clothing apparel are mentioned: *adīlu* “tassel(?)”, *eru* “headband,” *guḫalšu* “scarf,” *ḫullānu* “wrap,” *ḫuṣannu* “sash,” the *išḫe/anabe* garment, the *kusītu* garment, *lubāru kulūlu* “head scarf,” the *lubāru* garment, the *lubāru mēṭu* garment, *mēzeḫu* “scarf,” *naḫlaptu* “outer garment,” *nēbeḫu* “belt,” *paršīgu* “turban,” the *šiblu* garment, *ṣubātu ša sādī* “gold-colored garment,” and the *šalḫu* cloth. The following garments were decorated with gold sequins: the *kusītu*, the *lubāru mēṭu*, and *nēbeḫu* “belt.”

<sup>181</sup> It is possible to tentatively identify the ritual inferred from these texts as the “ceremony of entering the temple (or the cella),” if we rely on the evidence from YOS 3, 62: 20–27, a letter sent to the *šatammu* of Eanna (§ 6.2) which refers to *pingus* and *tarkullus* of bronze in connection with “entering the temple.” Since the word *tarkullu* refers to a part of the lock, and the word *pingu* occurs in the texts mentioned here, we may posit that such a ceremony is involved in these cases as well. Another possibility is that these rituals were part of the *pit bābāni* ceremony “the opening of the gates,” for which see CAD B, p. 20, s.v. *bābu*.

<sup>182</sup> ROBBINS 1996, pp. 69–70.

<sup>183</sup> According to this text, dated to the 31st year of Nebuchadnezzar, one of the 40 *ḫandūḫus* had been missing since the 28th year of that king. Text Stigers 19, dated 12 years later, mentions only 39 *ḫandūḫus*, suggesting that the missing object had not yet been found, nor been replaced, after all those years.



## 3.6.1. Garments

## YOS 7, 183

1. 20 MA.NA <sup>úg</sup>mi-ih-ši BABBAR-ú 2 <sup>úg</sup>MÁŠ.ME
2. 1 5/6 MA.NA <sup>úg</sup>mi-ih-ši BABBAR-ú 10 <sup>úg</sup>NÍG.ÍB.LÁ.ME
3. 4 5/6 MA.NA <sup>úg</sup>mi-ih-ši BABBAR-ú 1 <sup>úg</sup>me-ze-eḫ
4. 5 MA <sup>úg</sup>mi-ih-ši šá <sup>úg</sup>HÉ.ME.DA šá in-za-ḫu-re-e-ti 2 <sup>úg</sup>par-ši-gu<sup>me</sup>
5. 10 GÍN KI.MIN 1 <sup>úg</sup>NÍG.ÍB.LÁ
6. 5 '2/3' MA 5 'GÍN' <sup>úg</sup>mi-'ih-ši šá' <sup>úg</sup>ZA.GÍN.KUR.RA 1 <sup>úg</sup>lu-bar ku-lu-lu 1 <sup>úg</sup>e-ri
7. '2\* TÚG\* šá\*' sa-a-du 1 gu-ḫal-ša šá MUD ù ti-mu
8. PAP šá <sup>úg</sup>GAŠAN šá UNUG<sup>ki</sup>

20 minas of white woven cloth (for) 2 *šibtu* garments, 1 5/6 minas of white woven cloth (for) 10 sashes, 4 5/6 minas of white woven cloth (for) 1 scarf, 5 minas of woven cloth of red-colored wool dyed with *inzaḫurētu* (for) 2 turbans, 10 shekels of the same (for) 1 sash, 5 2/3 minas (and) 5 shekels of woven cloth of blue-colored wool (for) 1 head scarf and 1 headband, 2 gold-colored garments, 1 scarf made of dark-colored fabric and thread. Total (of the clothing) of the Lady-of-Uruk.

## YOS 17, 301

1. 20 MA.NA <sup>úg</sup>mi-ih-šu BABBAR-ú 1 TÚG.ḪÁ
2. 40 MA.NA KI.MIN 4 <sup>úg</sup>MÁŠ.ME
3. 1 2/3 MA.NA KI.MIN 10 <sup>úg</sup>NÍG.ÍB.LÁ.ME
4. 10 GÍN <sup>úg</sup>HÉ.ME.DA šá in-za-ḫu-re-e-ti 1 <sup>úg</sup>NÍG.ÍB.LÁ
5. PAP šá <sup>úg</sup>GAŠAN šá UNUG<sup>ki</sup>

20 minas of white woven cloth (for) 1 *lubāru* garment, 40 minas of the same for 4 *šibtu* garments, 1 2/3 minas of the same for 10 sashes, 10 shekels of red-colored wool dyed with *inzaḫurētu* (for) 1 sash. Total (of the clothing) of the Lady-of-Uruk.

## YOS 19, 270

1. 20 MA.NA <sup>úg</sup>mi-ih-ši BABBAR-ú 1 TÚG.ḪÁ
2. 20 MA.NA KI.MIN 2 <sup>úg</sup>MÁŠ.ME
3. 1 5/6 MA.NA KI.MIN 10 <sup>úg</sup>NÍG.ÍB.LÁ.ME
4. 10 GÍN <sup>úg</sup>HÉ.ME.DA šá in-za-ḫu-re-e-(ti) 1 <sup>úg</sup>NÍG.ÍB.LÁ
5. PAP šá <sup>úg</sup>GAŠAN šá UNUG<sup>ki</sup>

20 minas of white woven cloth (for) 1 *lubāru* garment, 20 minas of the same (for) 2 *šibtu* garments, 1 5/6 minas of the same for 10 sashes, 10 shekels of red-colored wool (dyed) with *inzaḫurētu* (for) 1 sash. Total (of the clothing) of the Lady-of-Uruk.

## YOS 19, 271

1. [o o o] <sup>úg</sup>mi-ih-šu BABBAR-ú <sup>úg</sup>lu-'bar<sup>1</sup>
2. [o o o] <sup>úg</sup>mi-ih-šu BABBAR-ú 2 <sup>úg</sup>MÁŠ.ME
3. [o o o] <sup>úg</sup>mi-ih-šu BABBAR-ú 10 <sup>úg</sup>NÍG.ÍB.LÁ.ME
4. [o o o] <sup>úg</sup>HÉ.ME.DA šá in-za-ḫu-re-e-tu<sup>4</sup>

5. [o <sup>úg</sup>N]ÍG.ÍB.LÁ šá <sup>úg</sup>GAŠAN šá UNUG<sup>ki</sup>
6. PAP šá <sup>úg</sup>GAŠAN šá UNUG<sup>ki</sup>

[o o o] of white woven cloth (for) 1 *lubāru* garment, [o o] of white woven [cloth] (for) 2 *šibtu* garments, [o o] of white woven [cloth] (for) 10 sashes, [o o] of red-colored wool (dyed) with *inzaḫurētu* (for) [1] sash for the Lady-of-Uruk. Total (of the clothing) of the Lady-of-Uruk.

PTS 2094<sup>184</sup>

col. I, obv.

1. 2 *gadašal-ḫu*
2. 2 <sup>úg</sup>GÚ.È <sup>úg</sup>ZA.GÍN.KUR.RA
3. 2 <sup>úg</sup>KI.MIN <sup>úg</sup>HÉ.ME.DA
4. 2 <sup>úg</sup>MÁŠ.ME
5. 1 <sup>úg</sup>ḫul-la-nu
6. 1 <sup>úg</sup>iš-ḫé-be
7. 1 <sup>úg</sup>lu-bar
8. PAP <sup>úg</sup>mi-ih-šu šá <sup>úg</sup>GAŠAN šá UNUG<sup>ki</sup>

2 pieces of *šalḫu* fabric, 2 outer garments of blue-colored wool, 2 of the same of red-colored wool, 2 *šibtu* garments, 1 wrap, 1 *išḫel/anabe* garment, 1 *lubāru* garment. Total (of the) woven cloth belonging to the Lady-of-Uruk.

## NBC 4750

1. 1 <sup>úg</sup>lu-bar
2. 1 *gadašal-ḫu*
3. 1 <sup>úg</sup>iš-ḫa-be
4. 1 <sup>úg</sup>ḫu-la-nu
5. 3 <sup>úg</sup>MÁŠ
6. 2 <sup>úg</sup>HÉ.ME.DA
7. 2 <sup>úg</sup>ZA.GÍN.KUR.RA
8. 1 *gadašal-ḫu*
9. 11 <sup>úg</sup>ḫu-ša-né-e
10. ina ŠÁ 1 šá ta-bar-ri
11. 1 <sup>úg</sup>me-ze-eḫ
12. PAP <sup>úg</sup>mi-ih-ši
13. šá <sup>úg</sup>GAŠAN šá UNUG<sup>ki</sup>

1 *lubāru* garment, 1 *šalḫu* cloth, 1 *išḫel/anabe* garment, 1 wrap, 3 *šibtu* garments, 2 (cloths of) red-colored wool, 2 (cloths of) blue-colored wool, 1 *šalḫu* cloth, 11 sashes including 1 of red-colored wool, 1 scarf. Total of the clothing belonging to the Lady-of-Uruk.

<sup>184</sup> The heading of this text reads: 1. <sup>úg</sup>mi-ih-šu 'te'-nu-ú šá a-na <sup>úg</sup>NÍG.'LÁM' šá ITI GAN 2. a-na 'DÙ-'15 <sup>úg</sup>AZLAG na-ad-nu "Spare woven cloth allotted to Ibni-Ištar, a cleaner, for the clothing ceremony of the month Kislimu."

PTS 3257<sup>185</sup>

1. [o o M]A.NA <sup>u</sup>g<sup>mi-iḫ-ṣu</sup> BABBAR-ú 1 TÚG.ḪÁ!<sup>186</sup>
2. [o] <sup>r</sup>u<sup>g</sup>MÁŠ' šá dGAŠAN šá UNUG<sup>ki</sup> 2 <sup>u</sup>gMÁŠ šá d<sup>na-na-a</sup> ...
5. 10 GÍN <sup>s</sup>gḪÉ.ME.DA šá d<sup>in-za-ḫu-re-e-tú</sup>
6. 1 <sup>u</sup>gNÍG.ÍB.LÁ šá dGAŠAN šá UNUG<sup>ki</sup>

[o o m]inas of white woven cloth (for) 1 *lubāru* garment, [o o] *ṣibtu* garment belonging to the Lady-of-Uruk (and) 2 *ṣibtu* garments belonging to Nanaya ... ; 10 shekels of red-colored wool dyed with *inzahurētu* (for) 1 sash belonging to the Lady-of-Uruk.

## PTS 3471

1. 9 1/2 MA.NA 5 GÍN <sup>s</sup>gZA.GÍN.KUR'.RA
2. a-na <sup>u</sup>gBAR.DUL<sub>g</sub> šá dGAŠAN šá UNUG<sup>ki</sup>
3. <sup>u</sup>gGÚ.È šá d<sup>na-na-a</sup>
4. <sup>u</sup>glu-bar ku-lu-lu<sup>me</sup>
5. šá dGAŠAN šá UNUG<sup>ki</sup>
6. u d<sup>na-na-a</sup>

9 1/2 minas (and) 5 shekels of blue-colored wool for the *kusītu* garment of the Lady-of-Uruk, the outer garment of Nanaya, (and) the head scarves of the Lady-of-Uruk and Nanaya.

## PTS 2881

1. [o] MA.NA 1-et <sup>u</sup>gGÚ.È šá dGAŠAN šá UNUG<sup>ki</sup>

[o] minas (of woven cloth of red colored-wool dyed with *ḫūratu* for)<sup>187</sup> 1 outer garment belonging to the Lady-of-Uruk.

## NCBT 200

1. <sup>u</sup>g<sup>mi-iḫ-ṣu</sup> šá UGU [o o o]
2. šá dGAŠAN šá UNUG<sup>ki</sup> d<sup>n</sup>[a-na-a]
3. dGAŠAN šá SAG d<sup>U</sup>RI-INIM-su
4. d<sup>gu-la u</sup> É ḫi-il-ṣu

Woven garments which are on the [o o o] of the Lady-of-Uruk, N[anaya], Bēltu-ša-Rēš, Ušur-amāssu, Gula, and the *bīt-ḫilši*.

## PTS 2282

16. 2 par-ši-gu šá dGAŠAN šá UNUG<sup>ki</sup>

2 turbans (of woven cloth of red-colored wool dyed with *inzahurētu*)<sup>188</sup> belonging to the Lady-of-Uruk.

## YBC 9030

2. <sup>u</sup>glu-bar šá dGAŠAN' šá UNUG<sup>ki</sup>;
9. <sup>u</sup>glu-bar šá dGAŠAN šá UNUG<sup>ki</sup>  
"the *lubāru* garment of the Lady-of-Uruk."

## IBK 8, 165

- 14'. 8 (GUN) 40 MA.N[A <sup>u</sup>g<sup>mi-iḫ-ṣu</sup> BABBAR-ú <(ú)> 6 TÚG.ḪÁ.ME šá dGAŠAN šá UNUG<sup>ki</sup>

8 talents of white woven [cloth] (for) 6 *lubāru* garments for the Lady-of-Uruk.

## YBC 9431

1. [o o] <sup>r</sup>x' <sup>u</sup>ḫaš-ḫu-re-e-ti
2. [o o] 1/2 GÍN <sup>s</sup>gZA.GÍN.KUR.RA
3. [a-n]a <sup>u</sup>ga-di-la-nu šá <sup>u</sup>gBAR.DUL<sub>g</sub>.ME
4. 'šá' dGAŠAN šá UNUG<sup>ki</sup> <sup>r</sup>u šá d<sup>gu-la</sup>

[o o] of *ḫašḫūru* dye, [o o o] and 1/2 shekels of blue-colored wool [fo]r the tassels(?) of the *kusītu* garments of the Lady-of-Uruk 'and Gula'.

## YBC 9510

1. 1/3 3 GÍN <sup>s</sup>gZA.GÍN.KUR.RA
2. ina <sup>s</sup>gZA.GÍN.KUR.RA
3. šá <sup>u</sup>glu-bar šá dGAŠAN šá UNUG<sup>ki</sup>

1/3 mina and 3 shekels of blue-colored wool from the blue-colored wool assigned for the clothing of the Lady-of-Uruk.

## PTS 3190

1. 6 gadašal-ḫu<sup>me</sup> ...
5. ... a-na te-né-e
6. 'šá' dGAŠAN šá UNUG<sup>ki</sup>
7. d<sup>na-na-a u</sup> dGAŠAN (šá) SAG

6 pieces of *šalḫu* fabric ... as spare (clothing) for the Lady-of-Uruk, Nanaya, and Bēltu-ša-Rēš.

<sup>185</sup> The subscription of the text reads: 11. a-na <sup>u</sup>gNÍG.LÁM šá U<sub>4</sub> 1-KAM šá ITI NE "for the *lubuštu* ceremony of the first day of the month Abu."

<sup>186</sup> The signs emended as ḪÁ! are UD.'A', which could also be read BABBAR.'MIN'.

<sup>187</sup> Total reads: 7. PAP 17 1/2 MA.NA <sup>u</sup>g<sup>mi-iḫ-ṣu</sup> 8. šá <sup>s</sup>gḪÉ.ME.DA <sup>s</sup>gḪAB "total: 17 1/2 minas of woven cloth of red-colored wool (dyed with) *ḫūratu*."

<sup>188</sup> This occurs in a list of ten *paršigis* for which are disbursed, line 15: 9 1/3 MA.NA <sup>u</sup>g<sup>mi-iḫ-ṣu</sup> šá <sup>s</sup>gḪÉ.ME.DA šá in-za-ḫu-re-e-tú "9 1/3 minas of woven cloth of red-colored wool dyed with *inzahurētu*."

YOS 6, 71+72 is a deposition before the temple assembly concerning two *kusītu* garments which were periodically loaned from Nanaya of Ezida, presumably the form of Nanaya worshiped in Borsippa, to Ištar and Nanaya of Uruk (20. <sup>u</sup>gBAR.DUL<sub>8</sub>.MEŠ *ši-na 2-ta*).

## 3.6.2. Decorated Garments

In addition to YBC 7383 (§3.5.4) a number of texts refer to the gold sequins sown onto the ceremonial vestments of Ištar. Correlations between these texts and the various dates of the clothing ceremony (*lubuštu*) were discussed earlier (§1.7.2). Two texts mention lion-shaped sequins for the belt and the *lubāru mēṭu* garment of the goddess; PTS 2927: 3. 15 UR.MAḤ KÙ.GI *ša* <sup>u</sup>g<sup>né</sup>-bi-ḥu *ša* <sup>d</sup>15 “15 lions of gold belonging to the belt of Ištar;” and NCBT 557: 7. 70 UR.MAḤ.MEŠ GAL.MEŠ 8. *ša* TÚG.ḤÁ me-ṭu *ša* <sup>d</sup>GĀŠAN-<sup>r</sup>ia<sup>5</sup> “70 large lions for the *lubāru mēṭu* garment of Bēltiya.” Two texts with formats identical to NCBT 557 probably refer to the same garment and the same goddess, although neither of them are specifically mentioned; GCCI 2, 133: 7. 70 UR.GU.LA.MEŠ GAL.MEŠ “70 large lions;” and GCCI 2, 367: 6. [70] UR.GU.LA GAL.ME “[70] large lions.” The remaining texts quoted below all refer to the *kusītu* garment, which was decorated with two types of sequins: the star (*kakkabu*) and the *ḥašū* (meaning unknown). According to NBC 4577, however, it appears that Ištar borrowed on one occasion 86 rosettes (*qyaru*) and *tenšūš* from the wardrobe of Nanaya. The number of sequins sown onto the *kusītu* of Ištar varied considerably: the lowest figure which appears to be complete is NBC 4504, which lists 554 stars and 536 *ḥašūš*, while the highest one occurs in YOS 6, 117, with 703 stars and 688 *ḥašūš*. A still higher figure might be found in NCBT 1008, which records “759 stars and *ḥašūš*,” provided this is understood to mean 759 items of each type. Textual references are as follows:

## BIN 2, 125

1. 18 GÍN 3-ta 4-ti<sup>me</sup> KÙ.GI
2. 61 MUL KÙ.GI *ša bat-qu*
3. *ša* UGU <sup>u</sup>gBAR.DUL<sub>8</sub> *ša* <sup>d</sup>GĀŠAN *ša* UNUG<sup>ki</sup>
4. *a-na bat-qu* *ša* MUL KÙ.GI.ME

18 3/4 shekels of gold (for) 61 damaged gold stars belonging the *kusītu* garment of the Lady-of-Uruk, for repairing the gold stars.

## NBC 4504

1. 554 MUL.MEŠ K[Ù.GI]
2. 536 *ḥa-še-e* KÙ.GI
3. PAP 1,090 MUL.MEŠ
4. *u* *ḥa-še-e* *ša* <sup>u</sup>gBAR.<sup>r</sup>DUL<sub>8</sub>
5. *ša* <sup>d</sup>GĀŠAN *ša* UNUG<sup>ki</sup>

554 gold stars, 536 *ḥašūš* of gold. Total: 1,090 stars and *ḥašūš* belonging to the *kusītu* garment of the Lady-of-Uruk.

NBC 4577<sup>189</sup>

1. 1,090 MU[L.MEŠ KÙ.GI *u* *ḥa*]-<sup>r</sup>še-e KÙ.GI
2. *ša* UGU *ku-si-tu*<sub>4</sub> *ša* <sup>d</sup>GĀŠAN *ša* UNUG<sup>ki</sup>
3. 86 *a-a-ri* KÙ.GI *u* *te-en-ši-i* 'KÙ.GI'
4. 'ša UGU' *ku-si-tu*<sub>4</sub> *ša* <sup>u</sup>na-na-a
5. 'PAP 1,176' MUL.MEŠ KÙ.GI *ḥa-še-e* K[Ù.GI]
6. *a-a-ri* KÙ.GI *u* *te-en-ši-ia* KÙ.GI
7. *ina* UGU <sup>u</sup>gBAR.DUL<sub>8</sub> *ša* <sup>d</sup>GĀŠAN *ša* UNUG<sup>ki</sup>
8. 1,300 *a-a-ri* KÙ.GI *u* *te-en-še-e*
9. *ina* UGU <sup>u</sup>gBAR.DUL<sub>8</sub> *ša* <sup>u</sup>na-na-a '86'
10. *ina* UGU <sup>u</sup>gBAR.DUL<sub>8</sub> *ša* <sup>d</sup>GĀŠAN *ša* 'UNUG<sup>ki</sup>
11. 26 'ina <sup>u</sup>na-na-a
12. [PAP 1],412
13. *a-a-ri* KÙ.GI *u* *te-en-še-e*
14. *ša* <sup>u</sup>na-na-a

1,090 [gold sta]rs and [*ḥa*]*šūš* of gold belonging to the *kusītu* garment of [the Lady-of-Uruk], 86 gold rosettes and *tenšūš* of gold belonging to the *kusītu* garment of Nanaya. Total: 1,176 gold stars, *ḥašūš* of gold, gold rosettes, and *tenšūš* of gold belonging to the *kusītu* garment of the Lady-of-Uruk; 1,300 gold rosettes and *tenšūš* belonging to the *kusītu* garment of Nanaya, 86 (loaned) for the *kusītu* garment of the Lady-of-Uruk, 26 in the storage container. [Total: 1],412 gold rosettes and *tenšūš* belonging to Nanaya.

## NCBT 1008

1. 759 MUL 'KÙ.GI'
2. 'u' *ḥa-še-e* *ša* U[GU <sup>u</sup>gBAR.DUL<sub>8</sub>]
3. *ša* <sup>d</sup>GĀŠAN 'ša' [UNUG<sup>ki</sup>]

759 gold stars and *ḥašūš* belonging to the [*kusītu* garment] of the Lady-of-[Uruk].

## NCBT 1251

1. 2 MA.NA 12 GÍN K[Ù.GI]
2. EN 1 GÍN KÙ.GI *ša bat-qa* [o o]
3. KÙ.GI SA<sub>5</sub> 100 MUL.'MEŠ'
4. 115 *ḥa-še-e*
5. *ša* <sup>u</sup>gBAR.DUL<sub>8</sub>! *ša* <sup>d</sup>GĀŠAN *ša* UNUG<sup>ki</sup>

2 minas and 12 shekels of g[old], together with 1 shekel of gold for repairing [o o o], red gold (for) 100 stars and 115 *ḥašūš* belonging to the *kusītu* garment of the Lady-of-Uruk.

## PTS 2539

1. 652 MUL KÙ.GI
2. 638 *ḥa-še-e* KÙ.GI

<sup>189</sup> Published in SACK 1979, pp. 42–43, with several mistakes not indicated by asterisks here.

3. PAP 1,290 MUL KÙ.GI
4. ù *ha-še-e* ina UGU <sup>úg</sup>BAR.DUL<sub>8</sub>
5. šá <sup>d</sup>GAŠAN šá UNUG<sup>ki</sup> 1 MUL KÙ.GI
6. ina <sup>gi</sup>nak-ma-ru

652 gold stars, 638 *hašûs* of gold. Total: 1,290 gold stars and *hašûs* belonging to the *kusîtu* garment of the Lady-of-Uruk. 1 gold star is in the storage container.

## PTS 2674

1. 692 MUL KÙ.GI
2. 688 *ha-še-e* KÙ.GI
3. PAP 1,380 MUL KÙ.GI
4. ù *ha-še-e* ina UGU <sup>úg</sup>BAR.DUL<sub>8</sub>
5. šá <sup>d</sup>GAŠAN šá UNUG<sup>ki</sup> 11 MUL KÙ.GI
6. ina <sup>gi</sup>nak-ma-ru

692 gold stars, 688 *hašûs* of gold. Total: 1,380 gold stars and *hašûs* belonging to the *kusîtu* garment of the Lady-of-Uruk. 11 gold stars are in the storage container.

## PTS 3067

1. 604 MUL KÙ.GI
2. 593 *ha-še-e* KÙ.GI
3. PAP 1,197 'MUL'
4. u *ha-še-e* šá UGU
5. <sup>úg</sup>BAR.DUL<sub>8</sub> šá <sup>d</sup>GAŠAN šá UNUG<sup>ki</sup>

604 gold stars, 593 *hašûs* of gold. Total: 1,197 stars and *hašûs* belonging to the *kusîtu* garment of the Lady-of-Uruk.

## YBC 9240

1. 1,100 MUL KÙ.GI
2. ù *ha-še-e* KÙ.GI
3. šá UGU <sup>úg</sup>BAR.DUL<sub>8</sub> šá
4. <sup>d</sup>GAŠAN šá UNUG<sup>ki</sup>
5. [ina] IGI <sup>úg</sup>KÙ.DIM.MEŠ
6. [ina ŠÀ x]+26 šu-ub-bu-ru-tu
7. [ina <sup>gi</sup>]nak-ma-ru.

1,100 gold stars and *hašûs* of gold belonging to the *kusîtu* garment of the Lady-of-Uruk are at the disposal of the goldsmiths, [including x] and 26 broken ones, [put in] the storage container.

## YBC 9638

1. 1,173 MUL KÙ.GI.ME
2. ù *ha-še-e*

3. šá UGU <sup>úg</sup>'BAR.DUL<sub>8</sub>
4. šá <sup>d</sup>GAŠAN šá UNUG<sup>ki</sup>

1,173 gold stars and *hašûs* belonging to the *kusîtu* garment of the Lady-of-Uruk.

## YOS 6, 117

1. 703 MUL KÙ.GI
2. 688 *ha-še-e* KÙ.GI
3. šá <sup>úg</sup>BAR.DUL<sub>8</sub> šá <sup>d</sup>GAŠAN šá UNUG<sup>ki</sup>

703 gold stars (and) 688 *hašûs* of gold belonging to the *kusîtu* garment of the Lady-of-Uruk.

## YOS 17, 248

1. '604' *ha-še-e*<sup>me</sup> KÙ.GI
2. 593\* MUL.ME KÙ.GI
3. PAP 1,193 MUL.ME
4. [ù *h*]a-še-e<sup>me</sup> KÙ.GI šá <sup>úg</sup>BAR.DUL<sub>8</sub> šá <sup>d</sup>GAŠAN šá UNUG<sup>ki</sup>

604 *hašûs* of gold (and) 593 gold stars. Total: 1,193 gold stars [and] *hašûs* belonging to the *kusîtu* garment of the Lady-of-Uruk.

## YOS 19, 269

1. 653 MUL.MEŠ KÙ.GI
2. 638 *ha-še-e* KÙ.GI
3. PAP 1,291! MUL.MEŠ 'KÙ.GI'
4. ù *ha-še-e* KÙ.GI
5. šá UGU <sup>úg</sup>BAR.DUL<sub>8</sub> šá <sup>d</sup>GAŠAN 'šá UNUG<sup>ki</sup>'

653 gold stars, 638 *hašûs* of gold. Total: 1,291<sup>190</sup> gold stars and *hašûs* of gold belonging to the *kusîtu* garment of the Lady-of-Uruk.

## 3.7. Offerings

## 3.7.1. Salt

Offerings of salt to Ištar are mentioned in YBC 9296: 1–3 (withdrawal of 2 talents and 20 minas, *ginû* of the Lady-of-Uruk, Nanaya, and Bēltu-ša-Rēš), and YOS 19, 190: 1–3 (2 talents, *ginû* of the month Tašrītu for the Lady-of-Uruk, withdrawn by Balāṭu, son of Nabû-[ušaḫlim]). It is probable that many texts recording disbursements of salt without specifying their purpose were in fact directed to Ištar. Four texts record allocations of large quantities of salt to "Eanna," by which we must understand the three deities Ištar, Nanaya, and Bēltu-ša-Rēš (§ 2.1.1); NCBT 779: 1–4 (5 talents and 40 minas from the

<sup>190</sup> The total in line 3 should be 1,291, but the scribe made an error and wrote 1,191.

*ginû* of Eanna for the months Nisannu, Ayaru, and Simānu, Nabû-ušallim); PTS 3112 (1+ talents and 40 minas for the *ginû* of Eanna for the months Abu and Ulûlu, withdrawn by Erišu);<sup>191</sup> YBC 9452: 1–3 (1 talent and 40 minas for 10 days to Eanna, withdrawn by Eanna-ibni); and finally there is YOS 17, 194 which, contrary to many other documents recording allocations of salt, does not specify that the allocations were made for the *ginû*, the “regular offerings.” Since the text is dated to the 11th day of Nisannu it is possible that the salt was used for special rituals connected with the New Year Festival.

## YOS 17, 194

1. 1 GUN 40 MA.NA MUN.‘ĤÁ’
2. *a-na* É.AN.NA
3. *ša* TA U<sub>4</sub> 10-KAM EN U<sub>4</sub> 11-KAM
4. *ša* ITI BĀRA ‘ĤR\*.<sup>d</sup>*innin-na*
5. A ‘NĀ-<sup>10</sup>NUMUN-MU GIŠ
6. 30 MA.NA *ša* 10 u<sub>4</sub>-*mu*
7. *a-na* ‘ĤRI-INIM-su
8. ‘šū-la-a GIŠ
9. ‘ITI’ BĀRA U<sub>4</sub> 11-KAM MU 15\*-KAM
10. [‘NĀ-NĪG.D]U\*-‘ĤRI LUGAL TIN.TIR<sup>ki</sup>

1 talent and 40 minas of salt for Eanna, from the 10th until the 11th day of the month of Nisannu, withdrawn by Arad-Innin, son of Nabû-zēr-iddin; 30 minas for 10 days for Ušur-amāssu, withdrawn by Šulā. Month of Nisannu, 11th day, 15th year of Nebuchadnezzar, king of Babylon.

## 3.7.2. Dates

According to Group 1 of *SWU* texts the bakers received a daily allowance of one *kurru* of dates for the offerings to Ištar-of-Uruk. Nanaya received an equal allowance, and Bēltu-ša-Rēš and Ušur-amāssu 75 % of that amount, respectively. In PTS 2097, which records the changes ordered by Nabonidus at the beginning of his reign, the allowance of Bēltu-ša-Rēš and Ušur-amāssu climbed to 87 % of the amount each received by Ištar and Nanaya, which is given as 3 5/6 *mašīḫus*. Allocations of Telmun dates in the same text are given as 3 *qûs* by the great measure (*ina rabīti*) each for Ištar and Nanaya, which is twice the amounts received by the other two goddesses (1 1/2 *qûs* each) (§ 2.3.2).

Several texts record allotments of Telmun dates to the bakers as *maššartu* delivery; PTS 2708: 3. ITI DU<sub>6</sub> IGI ‘GAŠAN *ša* UNUG<sup>ki</sup> “(*maššartu* delivery of Telmun dates to the bakers for the) month Tašrītu before the Lady-of-Uruk;” YBC 3478: 1. ZÚ.LUM.MA NI.TUK<sup>ki</sup>.me *maš-šar-ti* *ša* ITI APIN ‘<sup>lū</sup>MU.ME ‘x x x’ 2. 2 (PI) 3 BĀN ITI APIN IGI ‘<sup>lū</sup>EN-PAP.ME-MU ‘<sup>lū</sup>U.GUR-PAP u ‘<sup>lū</sup>U.GUR-KAR “Telmun dates ‘x x’ (to) the bakers as *maššartu* for the month Araḫsamnu; 2 *pānus* (and) 3 *sātus* for the month Araḫsamnu before Ištar, Bēl-aḫḫē-iddin, Nergal-nāšir, and Nergal-ēṭir;” YBC 3997: 1. ZÚ.LUM.MA NI.TUK<sup>ki</sup> *ša* *maš-šar-ti* *ša* ITI APIN 2. MU 1-KAM ‘<sup>lū</sup>U.GUR-LUGAL-‘ĤRI LUGAL TIN.TIR<sup>ki</sup> *a-na* ‘<sup>lū</sup>MUḪALDIM.ME SUM-*nu* (lines 3,5,6: various quantities to PNs IGI

<sup>191</sup> The numeral is damaged and consequently one could read 1, 2, or 3 talents.

‘GAŠAN *ša* UNUG<sup>ki</sup>); YOS 6, 39: 1. ZÚ.LUM.MA NI.TUK<sup>ki</sup> *ša* *a-na* *maš-šar-ti* *ša* ITI AB *a-na* ‘<sup>lū</sup>MUḪALDIM.ME 2. SUM-*na* (lines 3–11: various quantities to PNs IGI ‘GAŠAN *ša* UNUG<sup>ki</sup>); YOS 17, 173: 1. ZÚ.LUM.MA NI.TUK<sup>ki</sup> *maš-šar-ti* *ša* ITI KIN ... 3. ITI KIN IGI ‘GAŠAN *ša* UNUG<sup>ki</sup> (lines 3–5, various quantities withdrawn by PNs); and YOS 19, 134: 1. [Z]Ú.LUM.MA NI.TUK<sup>ki</sup> *ša* *a-na* *maš-šar-ti* *ša* ITI ŠE MU 1-KAM ‘NĀ-NĪ[TUK LUGAL TIN.TIR<sup>ki</sup>] 2. *a-na* ‘<sup>lū</sup>MUḪALDIM.MEŠ *na-ad*-[*nu*] (lines 3–7: various quantities to PNs IGI ‘GAŠAN *ša* UNUG<sup>ki</sup>). YOS 17, 172 records *maššartu* deliveries of standard quality dates (2. ZÚ.LUM.MA *maš-šar-ti* *ša* ITI APIN), probably to the bakers, for Ištar (3. 15 <sup>bi</sup>*ma-ši-ḫu* ITI APIN IGI ‘GAŠAN *ša* UNUG<sup>ki</sup>). Finally YOS 17, 166 records allotments of dates to the bakers for the second meals (*tardennu*) of the four main goddesses of Eanna in the month Addaru (1. ZÚ.LUM.MA *ša* *a-na* *tar-den-né-e* *ša* ITI ŠE *a-na* ‘<sup>lū</sup>MUḪALDIM.MEŠ SUM-*nu*), some of which were directed to Ištar (2. ITI ŠE IGI ‘GAŠAN *ša* UNUG<sup>ki</sup>), and also allotments of dates as *maššartu* for the month Nisannu (7. ZÚ.LUM.MA *maš-šar-ti* *ša* ITI BĀRA *ša* *a-na* ‘<sup>lū</sup>MUḪALDIM.MEŠ SUM-*nu*), some of which were also directed to Ištar (8. ITI BĀRA IGI ‘GAŠAN *ša* UNUG<sup>ki</sup>).

The following texts are memoranda concerning offerings of standard or Telmun dates before Ištar; NCBT 592: 1. 20 <sup>bi</sup>*ma-ši-ḫu* (ZÚ.LUM.MA) *ša* *ul-tu* U<sub>4</sub> 1-[KAM *a-di*] 2. U<sub>4</sub> 10-KAM (*ša* ITI APIN) IGI ‘GAŠAN *ša* UNUG<sup>ki</sup> “20 *mašīḫus* (of dates) from the 1st [until] the 10th day (of the month Araḫsamnu) before the Lady-of-Uruk;” NCBT 910: 1. 1 (PI) 2 BĀN *as-né-e* 2. *ša* 8 U<sub>4</sub> IGI ‘GAŠAN *ša* UNUG<sup>ki</sup> 3. ‘*ri-mut*-‘<sup>lū</sup>EN A ‘NĀ-MU GIŠ “1 *pānu* (and) 2 *sātus* of Telmun dates for 8 days before the Lady-of-Uruk, withdrawn by Rīmūt-Bēl, son of Nabû-iddin;” NCBT 1172: 1 (Telmun dates withdrawn in connection with the *riksu* offerings; § 3.7.7); UCP 9/1, 73: 1. 3 (GUR) 3 PI ZÚ.LUM.MA 2. IGI ‘<sup>lū</sup>15 u ‘*na-na-a* “3 (*kurrus* and) 3 *pānus* of dates before Ištar and Nanaya.”<sup>192</sup>

YOS 6, 222 records that poor quality dates were offered to Ištar by a careless prebendary (§ 3.11.1). PTS 2992 is a promissory note to deliver dates *makkasu* to the Lady-of-Uruk (§ 7.17). Finally UCP 9/2, 16 records a withdrawal of dates for the *guqqû* offerings of the Lady-of-Uruk and Nanaya:

## UCP 9/2, 16

1. 1 <sup>bi</sup>*ma-ši-ḫu* *ša* ZÚ.LUM.MA
2. *gu-uq-qu-ú* *ša* ITI AB U<sub>4</sub> 16-KAM
3. IGI ‘GAŠAN *ša* UNUG<sup>ki</sup> u ‘*na-na-a*
4. ‘NĀ-MU-GIŠ GIŠ

1. 1 *mašīḫu* of dates
2. (for) the *guqqû* offerings of the 16th day of the month Ṭebētu,
3. before the Lady-of-Uruk and Nanaya,
4. withdrawn by Nabû-šumu-līšir.

<sup>192</sup> According to line 6 of that text, these dates may have been allotted for the confection of the *mersu* cake.

## 3.7.3. Barley

According to Group 2 (Type A) of *SWU* texts a daily amount of 1 *kurru*, 4 *pānus*, and 3 *sātus* of barley was allotted to the brewers for the offerings of Ištar. Nanaya received an equal amount, while only 63 % and 88 % of these amounts were allotted for Bēltu-ša-Rēš and Ušur-amāssu. Group 3 (Type A), recording the quantities allotted to the bakers, gives different amounts and proportions: 2 *kurrus*, 3 *pānus*, and 4 *sātus* to Ištar, and 94 %, 54 %, and 43 % of this amount to Nanaya, Bēltu-ša-Rēš, and Ušur-amāssu, respectively. In Group 5 the amounts are as follows: 5 2/3 *mašīhus* for Ištar, and 100 %, 62 %, and 62 % of this amount to the other three goddesses. Finally PTS 2097 gives the following amounts, presumably for both brewers and bakers: 10 *mašīhus* for Ištar, and 93 %, 53 %, and 48 % of this quantity for the other three goddesses (§ 2.3.2).

A few other texts mention disbursements of barley to various prebendaries for the offerings of Ištar; NCBT 849: 3. ŠE.BAR šá ITI GU<sub>4</sub> 'a-na lú<sup>u</sup> BAPPIR SUM-na-at 4. 1 GUR ITI GU<sub>4</sub> IGI d15 'DÜ-a "Barley allotted for the month Ayaru to the brewers; 1 *kurru* for the month Ayaru before Ištar, Ibnâ;" YBC 7422 records allotments of barley to the brewers over three months (VIII to X) for the offering days before Ištar, Nanaya, and Ušur-amāssu, in the 8th year of Merodach-Baladan II: e.g. 1. Š[E.BAR mi-in-du šá lúBAP]PIR.MEŠ šá ITI APIN MU.NE "Ba[rley mindu] allotted to the [bre]wers for the month Arašsamnu, itemized;" 7. PAP 29 (GUR) 2 (PI) 3 BÂN ŠE.'BAR mi-in-du šá lúBAPPIR.MEŠ šá ITI APIN "Total: 29 *kurrus*, 2 *pānus*, and 3 *sātus* of barley *mindu* allotted to the brewers for the month Arašsamnu;" Ištar is mentioned on lines 2, 8, and 14 (dGAŠAN-ia); YBC 11901 records allotments of barley to the brewers and bakers for two months: 2. ŠE.BAR šá ITI DU<sub>6</sub> u ITI APIN a-na lúBAPPIR.MEŠ u lúMUḤALDIM.MEŠ 'SUM-na-at' "Barley allotted for the months Tašrītu and Arašsamnu to the brewers and the bakers;" Ištar is mentioned on lines 7, 11, and 15 (dGAŠAN šá UNUG<sup>ki</sup>). Other texts are:

## NBC 4798

14. [o o o]+1 GUR 2 BÂN ŠE.BAR  
15. [gu-u]q-qu-ú šá ITI 'KIN u ITI' DU<sub>6</sub>

16. 5 (GUR) 3 (PI) 2 BÂN 'IGI dGAŠAN-ia'

14. [o o o]+1 *kurru* (and) 2 *sātus* of barley,  
15. [the gu]qqū offerings of the months Ulūlu and Tašrītu

16. 5 (*kurrus*), 3 *pānus*, (and) 2 *sātus* before Bēltiya.

## NCBT 1176

1. 12 GÍN KÙ.BABBAR a-na ŠE.BAR  
2. ina U<sub>4</sub>.ME-šú šá ITI SIG<sub>4</sub>  
3. IGI dGAŠAN šá UNUG<sup>ki</sup>  
4. lúEN-ka-šir A lúLÚ-dIDIM GIŠ

- 12 shekels of silver for barley,
- from his offering days of the month Simānu
- before the Lady-of-Uruk,
- withdrawn by Bēl-kāšir, son of Amēl-Ea.

## UCP 9/1, 73

9. 3 (GUR) 'ŠE.BAR'  
10. IGI d15 u d<sup>na-na-a</sup>  
  
9. 3 (*kurrus*) of barley  
10. before Ištar and Nanaya.

## 3.7.4. Emmer

According to Group 1 of *SWU* texts the bakers received a daily allowance of 2 *pānus* and 2 *qūs* of emmer in connection with their prebendary duties before Ištar. They received 100 %, 76 %, and 76 % of that amount for Nanaya, Bēltu-ša-Rēš, and Ušur-amāssu. The quantities given in PTS 2097 are 1 5/6 *mašīhus* for Ištar, and 73 %, 73 %, and 68 % of that amount for the other three goddesses (§ 2.3.2).

## 3.7.5. Flour

Offerings of flour before Ištar are mentioned in YBC 11311: 1. re-e-ḫi šá ZÍD.D[A o o o] 2. šá IGI dGAŠAN šá UNUG<sup>ki</sup> d<sup>na-na-a</sup> 3. u dGAŠAN šá SAG "remainder of the flou[r o o o] which is (offered) before the Lady-of-Uruk, [Nanaya], and Bēltu-ša-Rēš;" and 7. 3 (PI) 2 BÂN IGI dGAŠAN šá UNUG<sup>ki</sup> "3 *pānus* (and) 2 *sātus* before the Lady-of-Uruk." The text does not specify whether this flour was allocated for the performance of ritual acts or for the preparation of food for the sacred meals.

## 3.7.6. Sesame

An allocation of sesame for Ištar as regular offering is recorded in BIN 1, 152: 15. [o] 2 BÂN 4 SĪLA ŠE.GIŠ. lú'gi-nu-ú šá ITI NE IGI d15 16. lúIR-dNĀ u lúMU-DU A lúŠEŠ\*.ME-e-a "[o] 2 *pānus* (and) 4 *sātus* of sesame for the regular offerings of the month Abu before Ištar, Arad-Nabû and Šum-ukīn, sons of Aḫḫē'a."

## 3.7.7. Sweets and Cakes

NBC 4731 records an allocation of fresh barley to make bread for Ištar and Gula: 1. 'x BÂN' 2 SĪLA ŠE.BAR šá NINDA.ḪÁ eš-šú 2. IGI dGAŠAN šá 'UNUG<sup>ki</sup> lúIGI d[gu]-la 3. lúsi-lim-dEN [u lú]IR-'ia' [o]'x' "x *sātus* (and) 2 *qūs* of fresh barley for bread before the Lady-of-Uruk and Gula, Silim-Bēl and Ardiya." YBC 9155 informs us that *takkasū* confections were offered to Ištar for the two meals of the morning (§ 3.11.1). YOS 6, 170 lists allocations of ingredients to prepare *mersu* cakes for Ištar, Nanaya, and Bēltu-ša-Rēš: 10. [o o o o o] 'x' a-na mi-ir-su a-na 12 ḡi'sel-le-e' 11. [šá dGAŠAN šá UNUG<sup>ki</sup> d<sup>na-na-a</sup> u dGAŠAN [šá SAG] "[o o o o o] (to prepare) *mersu*

cakes for 12 offering baskets [for the Lady-of-Uruk], Nanaya, and Bēltu-[ša-Rēš].” NCBT 1172 lists various ingredients in connection with the *riksu* offering of Ištar and Ninurta. Since all these ingredients are known from other sources to have entered in the confection of the *mersu* cake, it is possible that the preparation of this delicacy is involved here.<sup>193</sup>

## NCBT 1172

1. 3 BÂN *as-né-e*
2. 1 BÂN 3 SĪLA <sup>giš</sup>GEŠTIN.ĤĀD.‘A’
3. ù <sup>giš</sup>PĒŠ.ĤĀD.A
4. 1 SĪLA LĀL
5. 1 SĪLA *hi-me-ti*
6. *a-na ri-ik-si šá* U<sub>4</sub> 15-KAM
7. *a-na* <sup>d</sup>GAŠAN *šá* UNUG<sup>ki</sup>
8. ù U<sub>4</sub> 24-KAM *a-na* <sup>d</sup>MAŠ
9. <sup>d</sup>U.GUR-PAP A *‘a-qar-a* GIŠ

3 *sātus* of Telmun dates, 1 *sūtu* and 3 *qūs* of raisins and dried figs, 1 *qū* of honey, 1 *qū* of butter, (all) for the *riksu* offering of the 15th day for the Lady-of-Uruk, and of the 24th day for Ninurta, withdrawn by Nergal-nāšir, son of Aqarā.

## 3.7.8. Fruit

YOS 3, 62 mentions a shipment of 500 pomegranates for the regular offerings of the Lady-of-Uruk: 5. *a-mur* 500 <sup>giš</sup>NU.ÚR.MA 6. *a-na gi-né-e šá* <sup>d</sup>GAŠAN *šá* UNUG<sup>ki</sup> 7. (erasure?) *a-na* EN-ia 8. *ul-te-bi-la* “Now, I have sent 500 hundred pomegranates to my lord for the regular offerings of the Lady-of-Uruk” (§ 6.2). Other texts mentioning offerings of pomegranates to Ištar are TCL 9, 114 and YOS 6, 222 (§ 3.11.1). Two late scholarly texts from Uruk describe the pomegranate tree as sacred to the goddess (*ikkibu*); LKU 45, rev. 11. <sup>giš</sup>NU.ÚR.MA <sup>d</sup>GAŠAN “the pomegranate tree, (a sacred thing) of Bēltu (i.e. Ištar);” and SpTU 1, 54, rev. 1. [o o <sup>giš</sup>]NU.ÚR.MA NÍG.GIG <sup>d</sup>15 “[o o] the pomegranate [tre]e, a sacred thing of Ištar.” This may explain why pomegranates are attested as offerings in the Eanna archive only in connection with the goddess Ištar.

## 3.7.9. Milk

Offerings of milk to Ištar are mentioned in YOS 7, 79, which records the attribution of the prebend of “dairyman” (*mār-rē’ūt šizbi*) connected with the offerings of milk for the sacred meal of the Lady-of-Uruk. The main operative section of this text reads as follows:<sup>194</sup>

## YOS 7, 79

1. 8 ITI.MEŠ GIŠ.ŠUB.BA DUMU-<sup>lū</sup>SIPA-ú-tu *ši-zib šá* <sup>d</sup>30-DÙ A-šú *šá*
2. <sup>d</sup>UTU-SIG<sub>5</sub>-iq A <sup>lū</sup>SIPA GU<sub>4</sub> *šá a-na* NÍG.GA LUGAL *ma-nu-ú*
3. <sup>lū</sup>NĀ-DU-IBILA <sup>lū</sup>ŠĀ.TAM É.AN.NA DUMU-šú *šá ‘na-di-nu*
4. A *‘da-bi-bi u* <sup>lū</sup>NĀ-ŠEŠ-MU LÚ SAG LUGAL EN *pi-qit-tu<sub>4</sub>* É.AN.NA
5. *a-na* <sup>lū</sup>NĀ-BA-šá A-šú *šá ‘lib-ni-<sup>d</sup>15 A <sup>lū</sup>SIPA GU<sub>4</sub> *u* <sup>lū</sup>ki-di-nu*
6. *u* NÍG.DU-nu DUMU.MEŠ *šá* <sup>lū</sup>NĀ-na-šir A <sup>lū</sup>SIPA GU<sub>4</sub> *a-na* *ša-ba-tu*
7. *šá* *ši-zib a-na ra-sin-ú-tu id-di-nu šá* MU.AN.NA 2-ta ÁB.GAL.MEŠ
8. ù TUR.MEŠ-šī-na *a-na* <sup>lū</sup>NĀ-BA-šá <sup>lū</sup>ki-di-nu *u* NÍG.DU-nu
9. *ul-tu* NÍG.GA É.AN.NA *i-nam-di-nu-ma* *ši-zib a-na nap-tan-nu*
10. *šá* <sup>d</sup>GAŠAN *šá* UNUG<sup>ki</sup> *i-šab-ba-tu pu-ut* *ša-ba-tu šá* *ši-zib a-na nap-tan-nu*
11. *šá* <sup>d</sup>GAŠAN *šá* UNUG<sup>ki</sup> <sup>lū</sup>NĀ-BA-šá <sup>lū</sup>ki-di-nu *u* NÍG.DU-nu *na-šu-ú*
12. 1 <sup>lū</sup>PA.KAB.DU TA NÍG.GA *a-na* <sup>lū</sup>NĀ-BA-šá <sup>lū</sup>ki-di-nu *u* NÍG.DU-nu *i-nam-din-nu-ma*
13. ÁB.GAL.MEŠ *i-re-‘i* 2 ITI ù 20 *u<sub>4</sub>-mu* <sup>lū</sup>NĀ-BA-šá 2 ITI ù
14. 20 *u<sub>4</sub>-mu* <sup>lū</sup>ki-di-nu 2 ITI ù 20 *u<sub>4</sub>-mu* NÍG.DU-nu *ina* ITI.MEŠ *a<sub>4</sub>*
15. 8 *šul-lul-ta-a-ta* *ši-zib a-na nap-tan-nu šá* <sup>d</sup>GAŠAN *šá* UNUG<sup>ki</sup> *i-šab-ba-tu*

Nabû-mukīn-apli, the *šatammu* of Eanna, son of Nādinu, descendant of Dābibī, and Nabû-aḥ-iddin, a royal servant, the *bēl piqitti* of Eanna, gave to Nabû-iqīša, son of Ibni-Ištar, descendant of the ox keeper, and (to) Kidinnu and Kudurrānu, sons of Nabû-nāšir, descendant of the ox keeper, 8 months of the prebend of dairyman which belongs to Šin-ibni, son of Šamaš-mudammīq, descendant of the ox keeper, (and) which is ascribed to the royal estate, in order to draw milk for soaking. They (the administrators) will give 2 cows and their calves from the estates of the Eanna temple to Nabû-iqīša, Kidinnu, and Kudurrānu, and they will draw milk for the sacred meal of the Lady-of-Uruk. Nabû-iqīša, Kidinnu, and Kudurrānu bear responsibility for drawing milk for the sacred meal of the Lady-of-Uruk. They (the administrators) will give one oblate from the (temple’s) estates to Nabû-iqīša, Kidinnu, and Kudurrānu, and he will pasture the cows. During those (8) months, (namely), Nabû-iqīša for 2 months and 20 days, Kidinnu for 2 months and 20 days, and Kudurrānu for 2 months and 20 days, each will draw milk (for) 2 2/3 (months) for the sacred meal of the Lady-of-Uruk.

The milk may have been used in connection with the *rasinnūtu* prebend, which involved the soaking of flour in milk to prepare dough.<sup>195</sup>

## 3.7.10. Fish

VS 20, 87 lists the days, for an entire month, during which the fishermen must perform their service obligation before the Lady-of-Uruk. This service includes providing fish for the sacred meal of the goddess: rev. 8’. *pu-ut nu-ú-nu a-na nap-ta-nu* 9’. ù *bu-un-nu-ú šá* *šu-us-sul-lu* 10’. *šá* <sup>d</sup>GAŠAN *šá* UNUG<sup>ki</sup> *na-šu-ú* “They are responsible for (providing) fish for the sacred meal of the Lady-of-Uruk and for carefully preparing the fish-box.” In the letter BIN 1, 30 the *šangū* of Ur is quoted expressing concern that the fishermen of the Lady-of-Uruk will not catch for the regular offerings of their goddess a quantity

<sup>193</sup> On the ingredients for the *mersu* see BOTTERO 1995, pp. 22–23.

<sup>194</sup> Edition and discussion by SAN NICOLÒ 1934, pp. 186–190.

<sup>195</sup> See on this BOTTERO 1995, pp. 65 and 214.

of fish equal to that of the regular offerings of Sîn of Ur: 18. *nu-ú-nu* 19. *a-na gi-né-e šá* <sup>d</sup>GAŠAN *šá* <sup>1</sup>UNUG<sup>ki</sup> 20. *lib-bu-ú* <sup>lú</sup>ŠU<sup>1</sup>.KU<sub>6</sub>.MEŠ 21. *šá* <sup>d</sup>30 *la i-bar-ru-u*’ “(Woe on them if) they do not catch fish for the offerings of the Lady-of-Uruk in the same proportion as the fishermen of Sîn” (§ 7.27).

In TCL 13, 163 “the fishermen of the inner city” (5. <sup>lú</sup>ŠU.ĤA.MEŠ 6. *šá bi-rit* URU) are summoned to swear an oath that they will pay the tithe on the fish they catch in the watercourses which flow through the city, and provide accordingly for the offerings of Ištar:

16. *i-na* <sup>d</sup>EN <sup>d</sup>NA *u* <sup>d</sup>GAŠAN *šá* UNUG<sup>ki</sup> *it-te-mu-ú ki-i a-di*
17. *nu-ú-nu ma-la ni-bar-ri* 10-ú *nu-ú-nu a-na* ŠÁ.DU<sub>11</sub>
18. *šá* <sup>d</sup>GAŠAN *šá* UNUG<sup>ki</sup> *ni-nam-di-in ki-i nu-ú-nu ib-tar-ru-ma*
19. 10-ú *a-na nap-ta-nu šá* <sup>d</sup>GAŠAN *šá* UNUG<sup>ki</sup> *la it-tan-nu-u*
20. *hi-tu šá* DINGIR.MEŠ *u* LUGAL *i-šad-dad-u*

They swore by Bēl, Nabû, and the Lady-of-Uruk as follows: “We will pay the tithe in fish for the regular offerings of the Lady-of-Uruk on all the fish we catch.” If they catch fish but fail to pay the tithe for the sacred meal of the Lady-of-Uruk, they will bear the punishment of the gods and the king.

In the following text one Bēl-ahhē-erība enters a binding agreement to provide fish for the sacred meal of the Lady-of-Uruk:

## PTS 3191

1. 90 KU<sub>6</sub> *nap-ta-nu šá* <sup>d</sup>GAŠAN *šá* UNUG<sup>ki</sup>
2. *u* <sup>d</sup>na-na-a *ina muḥ-ḥi* <sup>1</sup>dEN-ŠEŠ.ME-SU
3. A-šú *šá* <sup>1</sup>dAMAR.UD-NUMUN-DÚ A <sup>1</sup>ba-bu-tu
4. TA U<sub>4</sub> 24-KAM *šá* ITI GAN
5. *a-di lib-bi* ITI ŠE
6. KU<sub>6</sub> a<sub>4</sub> 90 *i-gam-mar-ma*
7. *a-na* ŠÁ.DU<sub>11</sub> *šá* <sup>d</sup>GAŠAN *šá* UNUG<sup>ki</sup>
8. *i-nam-din*

90 fish for the sacred meal of the Lady-of-Uruk and Nanaya are owed by Bēl-ahhē-erība, son of Marduk-zēr-ibni, descendant of Babūtu. From the 24th day of the month Kislīmu until the month Addaru he will provide these 90 fish for the regular offerings of the Lady-of-Uruk.

Offerings of fish seem to have been a very exclusive privilege since they are mentioned only in connection with Ištar, and once with Nanaya. YOS 6, 148 records the indictment of an oblate of Nergal who was accused of having illegally fished in the sacred ponds of the Lady-of-Uruk:<sup>196</sup>

<sup>196</sup> SAN NICOLÒ 1932, pp. 328–329 (transliteration and German translation); DANDAMAEV 1984, p. 540 (English translation and brief commentary).

## YOS 6, 148

1. *ina u<sub>4</sub>-mu* <sup>lú</sup>mu-kin-nu *lu-ú* <sup>lú</sup>ba-ti-qu
2. *it-tal-kam-ma* <sup>1</sup>dU.GUR-nu-ri-i’
3. <sup>lú</sup>šir-ki *šá* <sup>d</sup>U.GUR <sup>lú</sup>urumi-šir-a-a
4. *uk-tin-nu šá* KU<sub>6</sub>.ĤÁ *ina* GARIM.MEŠ *šá* <sup>d</sup>GAŠAN *šá* UNUG<sup>ki</sup>
5. *šá* UGU ÍD LUGAL *a-na ši-gil-ti i-ba-a-ri*
6. <sup>gi</sup>šhi-le-pu <sup>gi</sup>šar-ba-a-ti GI.MEŠ
7. *ù* <sup>gi</sup>šhu-ša-bi *a-na ši-gil-ti*
8. *ul-tu* A.ŠÁ.MEŠ <sup>gi</sup>šTIR *u* GARIM\*
9. *šá* <sup>d</sup>GAŠAN *šá* UNUG<sup>ki</sup> *iš-šu-ú*
10. 1 EN 30 *a-na* <sup>d</sup>GAŠAN *šá* UNUG<sup>ki</sup>
11. *i-nam-din*

On the day when a witness or an accuser comes up and testifies that Nergal-nūri, an oblate of Nergal (and) an Egyptian, fished illegally in the ponds of the Lady-of-Uruk near the royal canal (and) illegally took away willow wood, poplar wood, reeds, and twigs from the fields, forest, and pond of the Lady-of-Uruk, he will make restitution thirtyfold to the Lady-of-Uruk.

YOS 6, 122, dated the same day, is identical with this document except that the accused man is a certain Lūšummu, a man from Yašūbu. Possibly the two poachers were accomplices caught together *in flagrante delicto*.

## 3.7.11. Meat

According to the offerings lists of Group A, oxen, sheep, lambs, turtledoves, ducks, and geese were sacrificed to the goddess Ištar-of-Uruk and the symbol of Bēl. The basic allowance for the *ginū* offerings of the goddess seems to have been two of each animal on any particular day, except for oxen which apparently never exceeded one. Offerings of sacrificial animals to Ištar are also probably recorded in the offering list *SWU* 162: 1’, belonging to Group B of offering lists. The Nabû-apla-iddina tablet details how the meat of the daily sacrifices of sheep to Ištar and Nanaya was redistributed to the king and the personnel of the temple.<sup>197</sup> According to the provisions of this text two sheep were sacrificed daily, probably one for each goddess. The offering lists of Group A also specify that Ištar and Nanaya were entitled to a regular sacrifice of one sheep each, but there is evidence that this entitlement was increased to two sheep during the reign of Nebuchadnezzar II when these offerings became also directed to the symbols of Bēl and Nabû (§ 2.1.3), now consistently associated with the two goddesses in the offering lists. *TEBR* 58: 36’–55’ mentions allocations of sheep and oxen for the regular offerings (*ginū*) of Ištar over a few years. YBC 9356 mentions the ritual selection of a sacrificial duck for Ištar: 1. [1 U]Z.TUR<sup>mušen</sup> *a-na* 2. <sup>d</sup>GAŠAN *šá* UNUG<sup>ki</sup> *pa-ras* “1 duck selected for the Lady-of-Uruk.” Offerings of ducks to Ištar are also mentioned in PTS 2185, which records a theft of ducks from the *bīt-akīti*: 1. [1SU]M.NA-ŠEŠ A-šú

<sup>197</sup> McEwan 1983, new copy and edition of OECT 1, pls. 20–21 (Ash. 1922.256). The first line reads as follows: 1. [1up-pi] *gi-né-e* <sup>d</sup>INNIN UNUG<sup>ki</sup> *u* <sup>d</sup>na-na-a *šá* u<sub>4</sub>-mu MU.NI “[Tablet of] the regular daily offerings of Ištar-of-Uruk and Nanaya, itemized.” The letter YOS 3, 194 also mentions several cuts of meat, probably from the offerings of sacrificial sheep to Ištar and Nanaya.



šá<sup>1</sup> SU.UM-<sup>2</sup> NÀ U<sub>4</sub> 4-KAM šá ITI ŠE a-na mu-ši 2. [UZ].TUR<sup>mušen</sup> šá nap-ta-nu šá<sup>3</sup> GAŠAN šá UNUG<sup>ki</sup> šá a-na É a-ki-tu<sub>4</sub> 3. [na-š]u-ú ina sa-ar-ti iš-ri-ik-ma “Nādin-aḫi, son of Iddin-Nabû,<sup>198</sup> on the 4th day of the month Addaru, during the night, stole a duck from the sacred meal of the Lady-of-Uruk which is taken to the *bīt-akīti*.”<sup>199</sup>

A few legal documents from the archive record the obligations contracted by various employees and dependents of the temple to provide sacrificial animals for the regular offerings of Ištar. Other texts record failure to do so, which usually entailed punishment by royal authorities. TCL 13, 182, in which the *ferme générale* is granted to Bēl-gimilanni, an oblate of Ištar who also held the charge of *ša muḫḫi quppi* of the Eanna temple, details one of his duties as follows: 14. MU.AN.NA IGI-ti 10 GU<sub>4</sub>.ME KÙ.ME a-na SÁ.DU<sub>11</sub> šá<sup>4</sup> GAŠAN šá UNUG<sup>ki</sup> a-na É ú-ru-ú 15. a-na-ad-di-in “I will provide in the first year 10 (ritually) pure oxen to the stable(s) for the regular offerings of the Lady-of-Uruk.” NCBT 648 contains the following oath sworn by a *rab būli ša šēni* of the Lady-of-Uruk (1. <sup>10</sup>GAL bu-lum ša še-e-nu):

## NCBT 648

6. it-te-me ki-i a-di-i U<sub>4</sub> 25-KAM šá ITI BĀRA
7. [1? M]E 50 UDU.NÍTA.ME a-na SÁ.DU<sub>11</sub> šá<sup>4</sup> GAŠAN šá UNUG<sup>ki</sup>
8. [ul-t]u qa-bé-e šá<sup>10</sup> NA.GADA.ME šá i-na IGI-ia ab-ba-kam-ma
9. [a-nam]-di-ni pu-ut SÁ.DU<sub>11</sub> šá<sup>4</sup> GAŠAN šá UNUG<sup>ki</sup> na-ši
10. [ki-i l]a ‘it’-ta-ab-kam-ma la it-tan-nu
11. [hi-tu šá<sup>1</sup>]gu-bar-ru <sup>10</sup>NA.ME TIN.TIR<sup>ki</sup> ú e-bir ÍD
12. i-šad-da-ad

He swore as follows: “On the 25th day of the month Nisannu I will bring from the fold of the herdsmen the 150(?) male sheep which are owed by me and will present them for the regular offerings of the Lady-of-Uruk.” He is responsible for the regular offerings of the Lady-of-Uruk. If he does not bring and present (the sheep), he will bear the punishment of Gubaru, governor of Babylon and Transeuphratene.

YOS 7, 163 is a promissory note in which one Arrabu, a *nāqīdu ša šēnī* (1. <sup>10</sup>NA.GADA šá še-e-nu), assumes responsibility to deliver lambs for the regular offerings of the Lady-of-Uruk:

## YOS 7, 163

7. [x+]6 UDU ka-lum šá i-na še-e-nu šá<sup>4</sup> GAŠAN šá UNUG<sup>ki</sup>
8. [ana U]GU gi-iz-zi ú-šu-ú ul-tu
9. U<sub>4</sub> 14-KAM šá ITI KIN MU 4-KAM ‘ár-ra-bi
10. ib-ba-kam-ma a-na SÁ.DU<sub>11</sub> šá<sup>4</sup> GAŠAN šá UNUG<sup>ki</sup>
11. ‘i’-nam-din pu-ut baṭ-lu šá UDU.NÍTA.ME SÁ.DU<sub>11</sub>
12. ‘ár-rab na-ši

<sup>198</sup> In the noun <sup>1</sup>SU.UM-<sup>2</sup>NÀ the compound SU.UM is probably a phonetic spelling of the logogram SUM = *nadānu* “to give.”

<sup>199</sup> A trial concerning the theft of two ducks belonging to Ištar-of-Uruk and Nanaya is also recorded in a text published by FIGULLA 1951.

Upon the 14th day of the month Ulūlu he will bring [x+] 6 male lambs from the flocks of the Lady-of-Uruk [which] went out for the shearing and present them for the regular offerings of the Lady-of-Uruk. Arrabu bears responsibility for any cultic interruption resulting from the failure to bring the sheep.

Finally TCL 13, 162 records the obligation contracted by one Zēriya, the chief herdsman of the temple, to provide for the offerings of Ištar a large number of lambs which make up the arrears owed by him and his team for the entire year:

## TCL 13, 162

1. a-di U<sub>4</sub> 1-KAM šá ITI ŠE MU 3-KAM
2. ‘ka-am-bu-zi-ia LUGAL TIN.TIR<sup>ki</sup> LUGAL KUR.KUR
3. ‘ze-ri-ia DUMU-šú šá<sup>10</sup> na-na-a-APIN-eš<sup>10</sup> GAL bu-ú-lu
4. 355 UDU ka-lum šá! MU.AN.NA
5. i-na re-ḫi-šú ú re-e-ḫi šá<sup>10</sup> NA.GADA.ME
6. ‘ERÍN.ME ŠU.MIN-šú ib-ba-kam-ma a-na SÁ.DU<sub>11</sub>
7. šá<sup>4</sup> GAŠAN šá UNUG<sup>ki</sup> šá ul-tu U<sub>4</sub> 1-KAM
8. šá ITI ZÍZ i-nam-din ki-i la i-tab-kam-ma
9. la it-tan-nu ḫi-tu šá LUGAL
10. i-šad-da-ad

Before the 1st day of the month Addaru in the 3rd year of Cambyses, king of Babylon, king of the lands, Zēriya, son of Nanaya-ēreš, the chief herdsman, shall bring 355 lambs for the whole year from the remainder owed by him and from the remainder owed by the herdsmen, his workers, and give them for the regular offerings of the Lady-of-Uruk starting on the 1st day of the month Šabāṭu. If he does not bring and give (the lambs), he will bear the penalty of the king.

3.7.12. *Varia*

AUWE 5, 74: 7’ (fragment; quantity of unknown commodity before the Lady-of-Uruk).  
AUWE 5, 77: 3 (fragment; allotments of unknown commodity for *guqqū* offerings before the La[dy of Uruk]).

AUWE 5, 78: 2’–7’ (fragment; allotments of unknown commodity for 6 offering months, VIII to I, before Ištar).

AUWE 5, 79: 4’–9’ (fragment; allotments of unknown commodity for 6 offering months, XI to IV, before Ištar).

AUWE 5, 80: 1’–6’ (fragment; allotments of unknown commodity before the Lady-of-Uruk).

AUWE 5, 81: *passim* (allotments of unknown commodity before the Lady-of-Uruk, some presented in *dannu* vats).

AUWE 8, 89: 7–8 (inheritance tablet; mentions offering days before the Lady-of-Uruk).  
GCC 2, 359: 4–8 (list of offerings days of PN before Ištar).<sup>200</sup>

<sup>200</sup> Dougherty’s copy begins with ‘ŠE.BAR’ on line 1, but collation shows that it must be read U<sub>4</sub>\*.[ME] ‘šá\*’ <sup>10</sup>NA-SUR-ZI.MEŠ.



of that prebend before the Lady-of-Uruk, Nanaya, and Bēltu-ša-Rēš: 2. <sup>l</sup>GAL-DÜ-ú-tu IGI <sup>d</sup>GAŠAN šá UNUG<sup>ki</sup> <sup>d</sup>na-na-a 3. <sup>l</sup>ú <sup>d</sup>GAŠAN šá SAG “the *rab-banūtu* before the Lady-of-Uruk, Nanaya, and Bēltu-ša-Rēš.” It is also the object of a sale in *SpTU* IV 222: 1. [GIŠ.Š]UB <sup>l</sup>GAL-DÜ-ú-tu IGI <sup>d</sup>GAŠAN šá UNUG<sup>ki</sup> “[the pre]bend of *rab-banūtu* before the Lady-of-Uruk.” The *sarrārūtu* prebend is mentioned in the letter NBC 5037: 10. GIŠ.ŠUB.BA <sup>l</sup>sa-ra-<sup>r</sup>ru-tú<sup>r</sup> [o o] 11. šá <sup>d</sup>GAŠAN šá UNUG<sup>ki</sup> “the prebend of *sarrārūtu* [o o] of the Lady-of-Uruk,” but the meaning of this word is unclear.<sup>204</sup> The *sirāšūtu* before Ištar is mentioned in YOS 6, 241: 3; YOS 17, 126: 11; and YOS 17, 360: IV, 17. A sale of that prebend is preserved in NU 14: 1. <sup>l</sup>BAPPIR-ú-tu <sup>pa-ni</sup> <sup>d</sup>GAŠAN-ia “the brewer’s prebend before Bēltiya.” The *nuḫatimmūtu* before Ištar is mentioned in YOS 6, 241: 8; YOS 17, 126: 15; and YOS 17, 360: V, 45–46. Various transactions on the *nuḫatimmūtu* prebend before Ištar are preserved in the private archives studied by Kessler (AUWE 8, 14, 16, 33, 42, 54, 59 and 82J). Two sales of the *nuḫatimmūtu* prebend before Ištar are preserved in the archive of Nabû-ušallim; NU 5: 1. <sup>l</sup>MUḪALDIM-ú-tu 2. ITI GU<sub>4</sub> <sup>pa-ni</sup> <sup>d</sup>GAŠAN-ia “the baker’s prebend in the month Ayaru before Bēltiya,” and NU 6: 1. <sup>l</sup>MUḪALDIM-ú-tu 2. ITI BĀRA <sup>pa-an</sup> <sup>d</sup>INNIN UNUG<sup>ki</sup> “the baker’s prebend in the month Nisannu before Ištar-of-Uruk.” The prebend of dairyman is the object of the transaction YOS 7, 79 (§ 3.7.9).

YOS 6, 241 is an interesting example of a text detailing the duties of prebendaries.<sup>205</sup>

#### YOS 6, 241

1. *ul-tu* U<sub>4</sub> 1-KAM *a-di* U<sub>4</sub> 5-KAM
2. šá ITI DIRI ŠE.KIN.KUD *man-zal-tu<sub>4</sub>*
3. <sup>l</sup>BAPPIR-ú-tu IGI <sup>d</sup>GAŠAN šá UNUG<sup>ki</sup>
4. <sup>d</sup>na-na-a <sup>ú</sup> <sup>d</sup>GAŠAN šá SAG
5. <sup>l</sup>DI.KUD-ŠEŠ.ME-MU <sup>l</sup>UGULA šá <sup>l</sup>BAPPIR.ME *iz\*-za\*-az\*-zu\**
6. *ul-tu* U<sub>4</sub> 1-KAM *a-di* U<sub>4</sub> 5-KAM
7. šá ITI DIRI ŠE.KIN.KUD *man-zal-tu<sub>4</sub>*
8. <sup>l</sup>MUḪALDIM-ú-tu IGI <sup>d</sup>GAŠAN šá UNUG<sup>ki</sup>
9. <sup>d</sup>na-na-a <sup>u</sup> <sup>d</sup>GAŠAN šá SAG
10. <sup>l</sup>la-ba-ši-<sup>d</sup>AMAR.UD A-šú šá <sup>l</sup>IR<sup>1</sup>-<sup>d</sup>EN
11. <sup>l</sup>li-ši-ru A-šú šá <sup>l</sup>NĀ-SUR-ZI.ME
12. <sup>u</sup> <sup>l</sup>mu-še-zib-<sup>d</sup>AMAR.UD A-šú šá <sup>l</sup>kab-ti-ia
13. *iz-zi-iz-zu pu-ut ba-aṭ-lu*
14. *tu-ub šá KAŠ.ḪÁ u bu-un-nu-ú*
15. šá *tak-ka-su-ú na-šu-ú*

From the 1st to the 5th days of the intercalary month of Addaru, Madānu-aḫḫē-iddin, the overseer of the brewers, will perform the duties of the brewer’s prebend before the Lady-of-Uruk, Nanaya, and Bēltu-ša-Rēš, (and) from the 1st day to the 5th day of the intercalary month of Addaru, Lābāši-Marduk, son of Arad-Bēl, Līširu, son of Nabû-ēṭir-naṣṣāti, and Mušēzib-Marduk, son of Kabtiya, will perform the duties of the baker’s prebend before the Lady-of-Uruk, Nanaya, and Bēltu-ša-Rēš. They bear responsibility for cultic interruptions, the quality of the beer, and the excellence of the *takkasū* confections.

<sup>204</sup> Hardly to be connected with the root SRR “to be false, to cheat.” The word is otherwise unknown.

<sup>205</sup> Previous discussions: SAN NICOLÒ 1934, pp. 183–185 (T, Tr); KÜMMEL 1979, pp. 149–150 (T, Tr).

#### 3.10. Personnel

A number of professional titles, as well as terms denoting social status, are connected with Ištar. In the cultic realm we encounter the *ērib-bīti* of Ištar in *SpTU* IV, 221: 32. <sup>l</sup>UMBISAG <sup>l</sup>NĀ-BA-šá A-šú! šá <sup>l</sup>NUMUN-DU <sup>l</sup>KU<sub>4</sub>-É <sup>d</sup>INNIN UNUG<sup>ki</sup> “the scribe is Nabû-iqīša, son of Zēr-ukīn, an *ērib-bīti* of Ištar-of-Uruk,” Spar 3: 20. <sup>l</sup>KU<sub>4</sub>-É.ME <sup>d</sup>INNIN UNUG<sup>ki</sup>; NU 29: 9–10. PN <sup>l</sup>KU<sub>4</sub>-É šá <sup>d</sup>iš-tar; and TCL 13, 182: 31–32. PNs <sup>l</sup>KU<sub>4</sub>-É <sup>d</sup>INNIN UNUG<sup>ki</sup>. Other titles include cultic singer (*kalū*) of Ištar: THUREAU-DANGIN 1919, p. 126, col. III, 9. <sup>l</sup>GALA <sup>d</sup>INNIN UNUG<sup>ki</sup> “(Ibni-Ištar), cultic singer of Ištar-of-Uruk,” a title which he holds simultaneously with those of *ērib-bīti* of Nanaya, pontiff (*šangū*) of Ušur-amāssu, and scribe of Eanna; AnOr 9, 3: 63. PN <sup>l</sup>GALA <sup>d</sup>INNIN UNUG<sup>ki</sup>, a Sîn-lēqi-unninni scribe, also pontiff (*šangū*) of Nusku and scribe of Eanna; FRAME 1995, B.3.1.1 (colophon of copy of inscription of Simbar-Šipak): tablet written by Marduk-šarrani, a Sîn-lēqi-unninni scribe, a cultic singer (*kalū*) of Ištar-of-Uruk and Nanaya, and an *ērib-bīti* of Kanisurra, from an original belonging to Rīmūt-Nabû, also a Sîn-lēqi-unninni scribe, a cultic singer (*kalū*) of Ištar-of-Uruk and Nanaya, and an *ērib-bīti* of Kanisurra; FRAME 1995, B.6.15.2001 (colophon): 21. GIŠ <sup>l</sup>NĀ-na-’-id 22. DUMU <sup>l</sup>nad-na-a 23. <sup>l</sup>GALA 24. <sup>d</sup>INNIN UNUG<sup>ki</sup> “written by Nabû-na’id, son of Nadnā, the cultic singer of Ištar-of-Uruk,” and YOS 7, 71, which gives the names of the *kalamaḫū* and four *kalūs* of Ištar:

12. <sup>l</sup>UTU-tab-ni-ŪRI <sup>l</sup>GALA.MAḪ (A-šú šá)
13. <sup>l</sup>AMAR.UD-DUB-NUMUN DUMU <sup>l</sup>30-le-eq-un-nin-ni
14. <sup>l</sup>ši-rik-ti DUMU-šú šá <sup>l</sup>MU-GI.NA DUMU <sup>l</sup>SUM.NA-<sup>d</sup>KUR.GAL
15. <sup>l</sup>NĀ-NUMUN-SI.SÁ DUMU-šú šá <sup>l</sup>NĀ-DU-IBILA DUMU <sup>l</sup>30-le-eq-un-nin-ni
16. <sup>l</sup>IR-<sup>d</sup>NUSKU DUMU-šú šá <sup>l</sup>UTU-MU-MU DUMU <sup>l</sup>30-le-eq<sup>1</sup>-un-nin-ni
17. <sup>l</sup>GALA.ME šá <sup>d</sup>GAŠAN šá UNUG<sup>ki</sup>

12. Šamaš-tabni-ušur, the chief cultic singer, (son of)
13. Marduk-šāpik-zēri, descendant of Sîn-lēqi-unninni;
14. Širikti, son of Šum-ukīn, descendant of Iddin-Amurru;
15. Nabû-zēr-ušallim, son of Nabû-mukīn-apli, descendant of Sîn-lēqi-unninni;
16. Arad-Nusku, son of Šamaš-šum-iddin, descendant of Sîn-lēqi-unninni;
17. the cultic singers of the Lady-of-Uruk.

Most *kalūs* of Uruk were descendants of Sîn-lēqi-unninni in the Neo-Babylonian period, a phenomenon also observed during the Seleucid period.<sup>206</sup> The bakers (*nuḫatimmū*) of Ištar are mentioned in TCL 13, 221: 20. <sup>l</sup>MUḪALDIM.ME šá <sup>d</sup>GAŠAN šá UNUG<sup>ki</sup>. A brewer (*sirāšū*) occurs in AnOr 8, 44: 9. PN <sup>l</sup>BAPPIR EN <sup>u<sub>4</sub>-mu</sup> IGI <sup>d</sup>GAŠAN šá UNUG<sup>ki</sup> “PN, the brewer, owner of offering days before the Lady-of-Uruk,” and the overseer of the brewers (*šāpīr sirāšē*) in ARNAUD 1973, p. 147: 2. PN <sup>l</sup>UGULA BAPPIR.MEŠ šá <sup>d</sup>INNIN UNUG<sup>ki</sup> “PN, the overseer of the brewers of Ištar-of-Uruk.” The collective term *kiništulkinaltu* “priesthood (of lower rank)” occurs in TCL 13, 163: 3. <sup>l</sup>ki-na-al-ti šá <sup>d</sup>GAŠAN šá UNUG<sup>ki</sup>.

<sup>206</sup> Discussion of the *kalūs* of Uruk as descendants of Sîn-lēqi-unninni in BEAULIEU 2000a.

In the noncultic realm we encounter the following terms: *bēl piqitti* “commissioner” (TCL 12, 106: 5. <sup>lū</sup>EN *pi-qit-tu* <sup>šá</sup> dGAŠAN <sup>šá</sup> UNUG<sup>ki</sup>), *errēšu* “tenant farmer” (e.g. AnOr 8, 39: 5. <sup>lū</sup>ENGAR <sup>šá</sup> dGAŠAN UNUG<sup>ki</sup>; BIN 1, 157, list of PNs: 47. PAP 46 <sup>lū</sup>ENGAR.MEŠ <sup>šá</sup> dGAŠAN <sup>šá</sup> UNUG<sup>ki</sup>), *gugallu* “canal inspector” (Stigers 15: 8. <sup>lū</sup>GÚ.GAL 9. <sup>šá</sup> ana IGI <sup>šá</sup> dGAŠAN <sup>šá</sup> UNUG<sup>ki</sup>), *nāqidu* “herdsman” (e.g. TCL 13, 134: 1. PN <sup>lū</sup>NA.GADA 2. <sup>šá</sup> dGAŠAN <sup>šá</sup> UNUG<sup>ki</sup>; TCL 13, 147: 3. PN <sup>lū</sup>na-qí-du 4. <sup>šá</sup> dGAŠAN <sup>šá</sup> UNUG<sup>ki</sup>), *rab būli* “overseer of the herds” (AnOr 8, 41: 14. PN <sup>lū</sup>GAL *bu-lum*<sup>meš</sup> 15. <sup>šá</sup> dGAŠAN <sup>šá</sup> UNUG<sup>ki</sup>; AnOr 8, 43: 14. PN <sup>lū</sup>GAL *bu-lum*<sup>meš</sup> 15. <sup>šá</sup> dGAŠAN <sup>šá</sup> UNUG<sup>ki</sup>), *rab errēši* “overseer of the tenant farmers” (TCL 12, 73: 17. PN <sup>lū</sup>GAL ENGAR.MEŠ <sup>šá</sup> dGAŠAN <sup>šá</sup> UNUG<sup>ki</sup>), *rab karāni* “wine master” (Stigers 15: 15. PN 16. <sup>lū</sup>GAL *ka-ra-nu* <sup>šá</sup> dGAŠAN <sup>šá</sup> UNUG<sup>ki</sup>), *rē’u* “shepherd” (YBC 7414, list of PNs: 12. PAP 10 <sup>lū</sup>EN EN.NUN.ME <sup>šá</sup> <sup>lū</sup>SIPA.MEŠ <sup>šá</sup> dGAŠAN <sup>šá</sup> UNUG<sup>ki</sup>), *ša muḫḫi sūti* “agricultural manager and field rent collector” (passim),<sup>207</sup> *širku* and *širkatu* “male and female oblate” (passim), *zakītu* “female oblate” (passim).<sup>208</sup>

### 3.11. Ceremonies

#### 3.11.1. Sacred Meal

VS 20, 87, TCL 13, 163, and PTS 3191 contain provisions for providing fish for the sacred meal of Ištar (§ 3.7.10). According to TCL 9, 114, a letter sent to the *šatammu* of Eanna, a large quantity of pomegranates was shipped for the sacred meals of Ištar and Nanaya: 7. *a-mur* 200 <sup>giš</sup>lu-ri-in-du 6. *ina* ŠU.MIN <sup>lū</sup>MAŠ-ga-mil 9. *[a]-na nap-ta-nu* 10. *a-na* dGAŠAN <sup>šá</sup> UNUG<sup>ki</sup> 11. *ù* <sup>lū</sup>na-na-a 12. *a-na* EN-iá 13. *[nu-ul-t]e-bi-la* “Now, we have shipped to my lord, through the intermediary of Ninurta-gamil, 200 pomegranates for the sacred meal of the Lady-of-Uruk and Nanaya.” YOS 7, 79 makes provisions for milk offerings for the *naptanu* of the Lady-of-Uruk (§ 3.7.9). YOS 6, 239 is a protocol assigning prebendaries for the sacred meal (1. *nap-ta-nu*) of various deities, including Ištar (6. *a-na* dGAŠAN <sup>šá</sup> UNUG<sup>ki</sup>). YOS 17, 166 lists allotments of dates for the second meals (*tardennu*) of Ištar-of-Uruk and other deities (§ 3.7.2). YOS 7, 89 mentions the *naptanu* of Ištar in the *bīl-akīti* (§ 3.8), and according to PTS 2185 ducks were presented to Ištar during that ceremony (§ 3.7.11). TCL 13, 221 is a protocol detailing the duties of the bakers, cooks, and food preparers for the sacred meal of Ištar, Nanaya, Bēltu-ša-Rēš, and Ušur-amāssu:<sup>209</sup>

#### TCL 13, 221

14. PAP 19 <sup>lū</sup>MUḪALDIM.ME <sup>lū</sup>e-pi-ia <sup>ù</sup> <sup>lū</sup>e-hi-ia <sup>šá</sup> nap-ta-nu  
15. *i-na* É *ka-an-na-nu* <sup>šá</sup> dGAŠAN <sup>šá</sup> UNUG<sup>ki</sup> <sup>lū</sup>na-na-a dGAŠAN <sup>šá</sup> SAG  
16. *ù* ÛRI-a-mat-su *ip-pu-ú* *pu-ut* *a-pu-ú* <sup>šá</sup> nap-ta-nu

<sup>207</sup> On this title see CAD S, pp. 426–427, s.v. *sūtu* A in *ša muḫḫi sūti*, quoting several occurrences of the title “field rent collector of the Lady-of-Uruk/Ištar-of-Uruk.”

<sup>208</sup> References to oblates of Ištar-of-Uruk are collected in DOUGHERTY 1923, pp. 78–81, in CAD Š/III, pp. 106–110, s.v. *širku* A, and CAD Z, p. 25, s.v. *zakītu* 2’.

<sup>209</sup> Detailed discussion of this text by KESSLER 1991, pp. 95–98.

17. *ù* *bu-un* <sup>šá</sup> tak-ka-su-ú *na-šu-ú* *ki-i* *baṭ-lu* *il-ta-’kan*<sup>1</sup>  
18. *ù* *nap-ta-nu* *bi-i-šú* *i-te-pu-ú* *mul-le-e*  
19. *ki-i* <sup>šá</sup> <sup>lū</sup>TIL.LA.GÍD.DA.ME <sup>šá</sup> É.AN.NA *še-bu-ú* *un-dal-lu-ú*

Total: 19 bakers, cooks, and food preparers who will cook the sacred meal in the *kannānu* room of the Lady-of-Uruk, Nanaya, Bēltu-ša-Rēš, and Ušur-amāssu. They bear responsibility for the cooking of the meal and the quality of the *takkasū* confections. If they provoke a cultic interruption or cook a foul meal, they will pay a compensation to be determined by the administrators of Eanna.

YBC 9155 is a protocol in which a prebendary is said to have failed to provide for the two morning meals of Ištar. The declaration before the assembly is recorded as follows:

15. U<sub>4</sub> 11-KAM U<sub>4</sub> 12-KAM <sup>šá</sup> ITI KIN *man-zal-ti*  
16. <sup>lū</sup>MUḪALDIM-ú-tu *ina* *muḫ-ḫi* <sup>lū</sup>EN-šú-nu A-šú <sup>šá</sup>  
17. <sup>lū</sup>NÀ-ŠEŠ.MEŠ-MU A <sup>lū</sup>e-gi-bi *al-la*  
18. *ina* *muḫ-ḫi* *ra-bi-i* <sup>šá</sup> *še-e-ri* 3 BÂN  
19. *u* *ina* *muḫ-ḫi* *tar-den-nu* <sup>šá</sup> *še-e-ri* 1 BÂN  
20. *tak-ka-su-ú* *a-na* dGAŠAN <sup>šá</sup> UNUG<sup>ki</sup>  
21. *ul* *iq-ru-ub*

On the 11th and the 12th days of the month Ulūlu, only 3 *sātus* of *takkasū* confections for the main meal of the morning (and) 1 *sūtu* of *takkasū* confections for the second meal of the morning were offered to the Lady-of-Uruk in connection with the duty of the baker’s prebend which is the responsibility of Bēlšunu, son of Nabû-aḫḫē-iddin, descendant of Egibi.

Texts recording the assignment of prebendaries to cultic duties usually contain clauses asserting their accountability for the quality of the offerings presented for the sacred meals of the gods (e.g. TCL 13, 221; AnOr 8, 6; YOS 6, 241). YOS 7, 90 details the fishermen’s responsibilities, specifying that failure to present good quality fish will entail divine and royal punishment: 14. *ki-i* KU<sub>6</sub>.HÁ *ina* *su-us-su-’ul-lu*<sup>1</sup> 15. *in-da-tu-ú* *ù* KU<sub>6</sub>.HÁ *bi-i-šú* *ina* *man-za-al-ti-šú-nu* *uq-tar-ri-bi* 16. *ḫi-tu* <sup>šá</sup> DINGIR *ù* LUGAL *i-šad-da-du* “If fish is missing from the fish-box or they offer foul fish during their turn of duty, they will bear the punishment of the god and the king.” VS 20, 87, discussed earlier (§ 3.7.10), specifies that the fishermen are responsible for the quality of the fish brought for the sacred meals, and that one Bēlšunu bears responsibility for the entire group: rev. 11’. <sup>lū</sup>EN-šú-nu A-šú <sup>šá</sup> <sup>lū</sup>NÀ-MU-DÙ *pu-ut-su-nu* 12’. *na-ši* *ki-i* *mim-ma* *ḫi-tu* *ina* *lib-bi* 13’. *it-tab-šu-ú* *[ḫ]i-tu* <sup>šá</sup> DINGIR *u* LUGAL *i-šad-da-ad* “Bēlšunu, son of Nabû-šum-ibni, bears responsibility for them. If any cultic mistake occurs in relation to this, he will bear the punishment of the god and the king.” YOS 6, 222 is the only surviving record of an actual failure to present fit offerings, and of the consequences for the careless prebendary, who is held in prison while the *corpus delicti* is officially sealed by the temple authorities:<sup>210</sup>

<sup>210</sup> Previous treatment by COCQUERILLAT 1973, pp. 113–114 (partial text edition and French translation).

## YOS 6, 222

1. U<sub>4</sub> 4-KAM šá ITI DU<sub>6</sub> MU 12-KAM ḏNÀ-NÍ.TUK LUGAL TIN.TIR<sup>ki</sup>
2. ḏGAL-DÜ-ú-tu IGI ḏGAŠAN šá UNUG<sup>ki</sup> ḏna-na-a
3. ḏ ḏGAŠAN šá SAG šá ḏa-nù-MU-SI.SÁ A-šú
4. šá ḏNÀ-A-MU ZÚ.LUM.MA ḏ lu-ri-in-du
5. a-na nap-ta-nu šá ḏGAŠAN šá UNUG<sup>ki</sup> ḏ-še-lam-ma
6. ku-um bé-'e-e-šú a-na ḏGAŠAN šá UNUG<sup>ki</sup> la iq-ru-bu
7. baṭ-lu iš-ku-nu-ma ḏNUMUN-ia ḏŠA.TAM É.AN.NA
8. A-šú šá ḏib-na-a A ḏe-gi-bi ḏ ḏUMBISAG.MEŠ šá É.AN.NA
9. ZÚ.LUM.MA ḏ lu-ri-in-du ul-tu É.AN.NA
10. a-na ḏGAŠAN šá UNUG<sup>ki</sup> ḏ-qar-ri-bu ḏa-nù-MU-SI.SÁ
11. se-me-re-e ina É.AN.NA id-di ḏ ZÚ.LUM.MA
12. ḏ lu-ri-in-du šá a-na nap-ta-nu
13. ḏ-še-lam-ma ku-um bé-'e-e-šú la iq-ru-'bu'
14. ina É.AN.NA ik-nu-uk

On the 4th day of the month Tašrītu, (in) the 12th year of Nabonidus, king of Babylon, (concerning) the (duties of the) *rab-banūtu* prebend before the Lady-of-Uruk, Nanaya, and Bēltu-ša-Rēš, (which is held) by Anu-zēru-līšir, son of Nabū-aplu-iddin, (who) brought dates and pomegranates for the sacred meal of the Lady-of-Uruk, but they were not offered to the Lady-of-Uruk because of their poor quality, and (who thus) provoked a (cultic) interruption, and (then) Zēriya, the *šalammu* of Eanna, son of Ibnā, descendant of Egibi, and the scribes of Eanna, offered to the Lady-of-Uruk dates and pomegranates from (the reserves of) Eanna: he (Zēriya) cast Anu-zēru-līšir (in) fetters in Eanna, and as for the dates and pomegranates which he (Anu-zēru-līšir) had brought and were not offered because of their poor quality, he sealed (and consigned them) in Eanna.

## 3.11.2. Clothing Ceremony

The clothing ceremony of Ištar is mentioned in four texts. PTS 2783 informs us that three sacrificial sheep were ritually selected for the clothing ceremonies of Ištar, Nanaya, and Bēltu-ša-Rēš on the 6th day of Kislīmu:<sup>211</sup> 6. 3 (UDU.NÍTA) a-na ḏGAL-DÜ-ú-tu IGI ḏGAŠAN šá UNUG<sup>ki</sup> 8. ḏna-na-a 9. [ḏ] ḏGAŠAN šá SAG<sup>1212</sup> 10. ITI GAN U<sub>4</sub> 6-KAM 11. KUD-as “3 (sheep) selected on the 6th day of the month Kislīmu for the clothing ceremony of the Lady-of-Uruk, Nanaya, [and] Bēltu-ša-Rēš.” NBC 4769 informs us that four libation bowls (*maqqû*) of sesame oil were allocated for the clothing ceremony of Ištar and Nanaya: 5. 4 U<sub>4</sub> 6-KAM šá ITI APIN a-na ḏGAL-DÜ-ú-tu IGI ḏGAŠAN šá UNUG<sup>ki</sup> 6. u ḏna-na-a “4 (*maqqûs* of sesame oil) on the 6th day of Araḥsamnu for the clothing ceremony of the Lady-of-Uruk and Nanaya.” YBC 9510 mentions allocations of materials for the clothing of Ištar in connection with the clothing ceremony: 5. a-na lu-bu-uš-ti 6. šá ITI GU<sub>4</sub> U<sub>4</sub> 14-KAM “for the clothing ceremony of the 14th day of Ayaru.” PTS 3257 records the receipt of materials, fabrics, and garments by a weaver for Ištar, Nanaya, and Dumuzi in connection with the clothing ceremony: 11. a-na

<sup>211</sup> The heading of the text reads: 1. KUD-as šá ITI GAN U<sub>4</sub> 3-KAM 2. U<sub>4</sub> 6-KAM “ritual selection of the month Kislīmu, 3rd and 6th days.”

<sup>212</sup> The scribe inadvertently wrote ḏGAŠAN šá UNUG<sup>ki</sup>, while he obviously meant ḏGAŠAN šá SAG.

ḏGAL-DÜ-ú-tu IGI ḏGAŠAN šá UNUG<sup>ki</sup> 8. ḏna-na-a 9. [ḏ] ḏGAŠAN šá SAG<sup>1212</sup> 10. ITI GAN U<sub>4</sub> 6-KAM 11. KUD-as “3 (sheep) selected on the 6th day of the month Kislīmu for the clothing ceremony of the Lady-of-Uruk, Nanaya, [and] Bēltu-ša-Rēš.” The dates of the clothing ceremony of Ištar and other deities, as well as correlations with texts recording the allocation of garments, are discussed in chapter 1 (§ 1.7.1, § 1.7.2, and § 1.12.1).

## 3.11.3. Varia

Ištar appears a few times in the ritual *LKU* 51 in which she participates in a number of ceremonies taking place in the Eanna temple, notably the *kinūnu* ritual of the month Kislīmu (Appendix 2). As discussed earlier texts recording operations on jewelry in the shape of door-locking mechanisms allude to a ritual involving the goddess which took place during the first part of the month Addaru (§ 3.5.4).

## 3.12. Toponyms

The goddess Ištar appears under her various names in some toponyms of the region of Uruk. She appears under the name Innin in the watercourse named Nār Innin (ÍD ḏin-nin, ÍD ḏinnin-na: RGTC 8, pp. 372–373, and add YOS 19, 87: 13), under the name Ištar in the watercourse named Nār Ištar (ÍD ḏ15, YOS 7, 148: 21),<sup>213</sup> under the name Bēltiya in the city named Al Bēltiya (RGTC 8, p. 74, s.v. Bēltija), under the appellation Bēltu in the locality named Bīt-Bēlti (RGTC 8, p. 84, s.v. Bīt Bēltu), and finally under the name Bēltu-ša-Uruk in the city named Alu ša Bēltu-ša-Uruk (YOS 6, 67: 5. URU šá ḏGAŠAN šá UNUG<sup>ki</sup>) and in the toponyms belonging to the domain (*šīḫu*) of the Lady-of-Uruk (*CAD* Š/II, pp. 418–419, s.v. *šīḫu* A).

<sup>213</sup> The Seleucid references to a ÍD ḏINNIN, collected by Zadok under the heading Nār-Innin (RGTC 8, p. 373), are perhaps to the Nār-Ištar. There is also a possibility that the Nār-Innin and the Nār-Ištar are one and the same watercourse.

## 4. THE COMPANIONS OF IŠTAR

This chapter is devoted to the four goddesses who occupy the ranks immediately below Ištar-of-Uruk in Group A of offering lists: Nanaya, Bēltu-ša-Rēš, Ušur-amāssu, and Urkayītu. They formed with Ištar a pentad which stood at the center of the religious life of Uruk. Because of the strong syncretistic proclivities of that period, especially among the theologically minded scholars, it is probable that each of these goddesses was to some degree viewed as a manifestation of Ištar. This is particularly true of Urkayītu, the “Urukean Goddess,” who is equated in god lists with Ištar-of-Uruk, the *numen loci* of Uruk, and mystically embodied the spirit of the city. All the companions of Ištar resided in various chapels of the Eanna temple.

### 4.1. The Goddesses of Uruk

Some texts mention a group of goddesses collectively named the “Ladies” (<sup>d</sup>GAŠAN.MEŠ/ME = *bēlētu*), who are referred to as “the Goddesses” throughout this study. Their identity is problematic. Since the few texts which mention them list mostly combinations of jewelry and clothing which is generally typical of the attire of Ištar, Nanaya, Bēltu-ša-Rēš, Ušur-amāssu, and Urkayītu, it is possible that the designation <sup>d</sup>*bēlētu* refers to the pentad formed by these goddesses. This, however, would seem to be ruled out by the fact that the Goddesses occur in some texts side by side with Ištar and other deities of that pentad. Another possibility is that <sup>d</sup>*bēlētu* is a collective term for the minor female deities worshiped in the Eanna temple, such as Aḫlamayītu, Anunītu, Bēlet-balāṭi, Kurunnītu, Kanisurra, and a few others. The question cannot be resolved at present.<sup>1</sup>

#### 4.1.1. Crown

##### NBC 4503

1. 16 *a-a-ri* IGI KÙ.GI šá <sup>d</sup>GAŠAN.ME
2. ù 4 *ši-sà-a-ti-šú-nu*
3. *ina lib-bi* 8 *sa-an-ḫa-a-nu* šá *pa-li-l[e-e]*
4. *ma-ṭu-ú*
5. 3 *a-a-ri* KÙ.GI šá (<šá>) *ku-lu-lu*
6. šá <sup>d</sup>GAŠAN.MEŠ *ina lib-bi* 10 *sa-an-ḫa-a-nu*
7. šá *pa-li-le-e* ù 9 <sup>gi</sup>BÁN.ME
8. šá *ši-pi-ti* *ma-ṭu-ú*

<sup>1</sup> Another possibility is that <sup>d</sup>GAŠAN.MEŠ is a group of nameless goddesses, such as is perhaps mentioned in the ritual BM 32516+BM 41239, obv. 3. <sup>d</sup>9-<sup>d</sup>INNIN.MEŠ “the Nine Goddesses/Ladies,” published by GEORGE 2000, pp. 293, and commentary on this line on p. 296.

#### 4. The Companions of Ištar

16 frontal rosettes of gold belonging to the Goddesses together with their 4 joints(?), from which are missing 8 safety(?) catches; 3 golden rosettes for a crown belonging to the Goddesses, from which are missing 10 safety(?) catches and 9 *sūtus* as suture.

##### TCL 12, 39

4. 81 NA<sub>4</sub> KÙ.GI 50<sup>na4</sup> GUG 50<sup>na4</sup> ZA.[GÌN]
5. 2 *a-a-ri pa-ni šá* dGAŠAN.MEŠ

81 gold beads, 50 beads of carnelian, 50 beads of lapis lazuli, (for) 2 frontal rosettes belonging to the Goddesses.

##### 4.1.2. Clothing

##### GCCI 2, 121

5. 2 1/3 MA.NA <sup>úg</sup>*mi-iš-ši* BABBAR-ú *šá* <sup>úg</sup>MÁŠ.ME
6. 15 GÍN 6 <sup>úg</sup>NÍG.ÍB.LÁ.ME
7. 1/3 MA.NA <sup>úg</sup>*mi-iš-ši* *šá* <sup>úg</sup>HÉ.ME.DA *šá in-za-ḥu-re-e-tú*
8. 2 <sup>úg</sup>*par-ši-gu*<sup>mc</sup>
9. PAP *šá* dGAŠAN.ME

2 1/3 minas of white woven cloth for 2 *šibtu* garments, 15 shekels (of the same for) 6 sashes, 1/3 mina of woven cloth of red-colored wool (dyed) with *inzaḥurētu* (for) 2 turbans. Total, belonging to the Goddesses.

##### GCCI 2, 365

4. 15 GÍN KI.MIN 6 <sup>úg</sup>NÍG.ÍB.LÁ
5. *šá* dGAŠAN.MEŠ

15 shekels (of white woven cloth)<sup>2</sup> for 6 sashes belonging to the Goddesses.

##### PTS 2094<sup>3</sup>

col. II, rev.

23. 2 <sup>ga</sup>*šal-ḥ[u]*
24. 2 <sup>úg</sup>GÚ.É <sup>úg</sup>HÉ.ME.DA<sup>1</sup>
25. 4 <sup>úg</sup>MÁŠ.ME
26. 2 <sup>úg</sup>*ḥul-la-nu*
27. 2 <sup>úg</sup>*ḥu-bar*<sup>mc</sup>
28. PAP <sup>úg</sup>*mi-iš-šu* *šá* dGAŠAN.ME

<sup>2</sup> GCCI 2, 365: 1. <sup>úg</sup>*mi-iš-šu* 'BABBAR\*-ú\*' "white woven cloth."

<sup>3</sup> The heading of this text reads: 1. <sup>úg</sup>*mi-iš-šu* 'te'-nu-ú *šá a-na* <sup>úg</sup>NÍG.ÍB.LÁ.M' *šá* ITI GAN 2. *a-na* IDÚ-ú<sup>15</sup> AZLAG *na-ad-nu* "Spare woven cloth allotted to Ibni-Ištar, a cleaner, for the clothing ceremony of the month Kislimu."

#### 4.1. The Goddesses of Uruk

2 *šalḥu* cloths, 2 outer garments of red-colored wool, 4 *šibtu* garments, 2 wraps, 2 *lubāru* garments. Total of the garments of the Goddesses.

##### PTS 2282

10. 2 MA.NA 2/3 GÍN *mi-iš-šu* BABBAR-ú *šá* <sup>úg</sup>MÁŠ *šá* dGAŠAN.ME

2 2/3 minas of white woven cloth for the *šibtu* garments of the Goddesses.

##### Totten 32

6. 15 GÍN (*mi-iš-ši* BABBAR-ú) 6 <sup>úg</sup>ÚR.MEŠ *šá* dGAŠAN.MEŠ ...
13. 1/2 MA.NA KI.MIN (*mi-iš-ši* *šá* <sup>úg</sup>HÉ.ME.DA *šá in-za-ḥu-re-e-tú*) (2) *par-ši-gu*
14. *šá* dGAŠAN.MEŠ

15 shekels (of white woven cloth) for 6 *sūnu* garments belonging to the Goddesses ... 1/2 mina of red-colored woven cloth dyed with *inzaḥurētu* (for) (2) turbans belonging to the Goddesses.

##### 4.1.3. Offerings, Prebends, and Personnel

NCBT 489 mentions Rīmūt, the chief cultic singer (*galmāḥu*) of the Goddesses. The only other known holder of this title in the Eanna archive is Šamaš-tabni-ušur, descendant of Sîn-lēqi-unninni, who appears in YOS 7, 71: 12. <sup>ld</sup>UTU-*tab-ni-ūri* <sup>ld</sup>GALA.MAḤ (DUMU-*šú šá*) 13. <sup>ld</sup>AMAR.UD-DUB-NUMUN DUMU <sup>ld</sup>30-*le-eq-un-nin-ni* "Šamaš-tabni-ušur, the chief cultic singer, (son of) Marduk-šāpik-zēri, descendant of Sîn-lēqi-unninni." Since almost all the *kalūs* of Uruk in the first millennium belonged to the clan of the Sîn-lēqi-unninnis, it is probable that Rīmūt was also a member of that clan. The *kalūs* of Uruk were attached to the cult of Ištar during the Neo-Babylonian period, and to those of Anu and Antu during the Seleucid period.<sup>4</sup> NCBT 489 is the first evidence that the *kalūtu* was also linked to the cult of other goddesses of Uruk.

##### NCBT 489

13. 2 BÁN (ŠE.BAR) <sup>ri</sup>*mu*[*t*] <sup>ld</sup>*gal-maḥ*
14. *šá* dGAŠAN.ME <sup>ld</sup>[*ga*]*l-maḥ-ú-tu*
15. <sup>ú</sup> *šul-lum* É

2 *sātus* (of barley for) Rīmūt, the chief cultic singer of the Goddesses, (for) the prebend of chief cultic singer and the *šullum bīti* ceremony.

<sup>4</sup> On the *kalūs* of Uruk in the first millennium B.C., see BEAULIEU 2000a, pp. 5–16.

## 4.2. Nanaya

Nanaya is attested in Mesopotamia since the time of the 3rd dynasty of Ur.<sup>5</sup> The earliest mention of the goddess in scholarly texts is found in the Weidner god list, probably composed towards the end of the 3rd millennium. Nanaya occupies the 20th position in most manuscripts of the Weidner list: <sup>d</sup>na-na-a-a | [<sup>d</sup>na-n]a-a.<sup>6</sup> No satisfactory etymology of her name has yet been proposed. An ancient explanation is preserved in a late commentary to the Weidner list, BM 62741: 13. [<sup>d</sup>n]a.na.a: NA: na-bu-ú: A: ši-i 'šap'-lu-ú "Nanaya (can be analyzed as) NA 'to call,' and A, feminine, suffix."<sup>7</sup> This is an artificial Sumerian etymology of the name of the goddess, typical of late Babylonian hermeneutics, and with the apparent purpose of providing a philological etiology of the close relation between Nabû and Nanaya. Unless one sees Nanaya as a hypocoristic form of Inanna, the name appears to be neither Sumerian nor Akkadian. The correct form is probably Nanaya rather than Nanâ, as indicated by the occurrence of the spelling <sup>d</sup>na-na-a-a in the Weidner list and in several Old Babylonian documents.<sup>8</sup> This spelling is also attested as late as the Seleuco-Parthian period, appearing quite frequently in the astronomical diaries.<sup>9</sup> This pronunciation is confirmed by the usual Greek transcription of the name as Ναναια.

The importance of Nanaya in the pantheon of Uruk derived from her position as daughter of An, and also as daughter of Inanna, with whom she became syncretized at a very early date. A hymn with prayer for king Išbi-Erra portrays the goddess as a creature of Inanna, endowed with the same attributes, and to whom Inanna has delegated her powers: 2. <sup>d</sup>na-na-a me-te-é-an-ka in-nin-ra túm-ma 3. nu-u<sub>8</sub>-gig-ge nin-kur-kur-ra zi-dè-éš-šè pà-da "Nanaya, ornament of Eanna, brought into being for Innin, selected as queen of the lands by the hierodule (i.e. Inanna)."<sup>10</sup> A hymn honoring Samsu-iluna portrays her as the daughter of Anu, who exalted her above all goddesses: 17. i-ku-ul-la-tu i-la-tim 'ru!'-bu-um [an]-nu-um 18. a-li-du-uš ú-ul-li 're'-e-šu-uš "Prince Anu, her begetter, exalted her among all goddesses."<sup>11</sup> In that quality she becomes identical with Inanna and is even praised in her martial aspect as Irninna: 26. <sup>d</sup>ir-ni-na ga-aš-ša-tum 'ga-še'-er-ti i-gi-gi "fierce Irninna, most valiant of the Igigis." In an Old Babylonian inscription of the Larsa dynasty she is called dumu-zi-le-an-gal-la "the pleasing daughter of great An."<sup>12</sup> Her position as daughter of Anu is also proclaimed in first millennium sources,

<sup>5</sup> General studies on Nanaya: EDZARD 1965, p. 108; EDZARD 1979; MATSUSHIMA 1980, an important study of the history of the syncretism between the goddesses Tašmētu and Nanaya and their relationship to Nabû; HEIMPEL 1982, pp. 65–67; WESTENHOLZ 1997, the most comprehensive study to date, with exhaustive references to primary sources; and STOL 1998.

<sup>6</sup> WEIDNER 1924, p. 11. A late, one-column manuscript of this god list has recently been published by von Weier as *SpTU* III, 108.

<sup>7</sup> This passage is quoted CAD Š/I, p. 477, s.v. *šaplû* 2., and is briefly discussed by BLACK 1991, p. 80.

<sup>8</sup> See BIGGS 1967, p. 20, and WESTENHOLZ 1997, p. 58. The Aramaic spellings ננא and ננ are also invoked to support the pronunciation Nanaya, but this evidence is less conclusive. It should be noted, as observed by Westenholz, that the form Nava is also used in Greek transcriptions.

<sup>9</sup> For the spelling <sup>d</sup>na-na-a-a in the astronomical diaries, see SACHS, HUNGER 1988–1996, vol. III, pp. 214–215, line 29; pp. 216–217, line 31; and pp. 218–219, *passim*.

<sup>10</sup> HALLO 1966, p. 243.

<sup>11</sup> Copy: VS 10, 215. Edition: VON SODEN 1938, pp. 32–33. Translations with notes and commentary by SEUX 1976, pp. 42–45, and FOSTER 1993, pp. 69–71.

<sup>12</sup> FRAYNE 1990, E4.2.14.3, line 4.

## 4.2. Nanaya

such as the kudurru of Nabû-šuma-iškun: 7. bu-kúr-ti <sup>d</sup>a-nu reš-ti-ti "eldest daughter of Anu,"<sup>13</sup> and an inscription of Esarhaddon from Uruk: 2. bu-kúr-ti <sup>d</sup>a-nim šit-ra-aḥ-ti "splendid daughter of Anu."<sup>14</sup> In a recently published inscription of king Lipit-Ištar, Nanaya is hailed as: 2. dumu-ki-ág-dinanna "the beloved daughter of Inanna," and as resident of the temple Emeurur in Isin.<sup>15</sup> Emeurur was also the name of her temple in Uruk in Old Babylonian times, as well as the name of the temple of Ištar at Larsa during the same period.<sup>16</sup> This new information is quite crucial in appraising the nature of Nanaya and her position in the pantheon. It indicates that the goddess probably emerged from within the theological tradition which regarded Inanna as the wife or mistress of An. It also explains why the attributes of Inanna and Nanaya are so often identical, to the point where Nanaya sometimes appears to be a mere manifestation of Inanna. As the daughter of Inanna, Nanaya simply tended to assimilate the personality of her mother and take her position in the pantheon, a pattern which knows other illustrations in the history of Mesopotamian religion, particularly between father and son. Thus the evidence seems to indicate that Nanaya was thought to be a form of Inanna.<sup>17</sup>

The connection between Nanaya and Uruk is already fully apparent in archival texts from the time of the 3rd dynasty of Ur, which mention offerings to her in connection with various religious festivals in Uruk.<sup>18</sup> Old Babylonian texts excavated in the palace of Sîn-kāšid at Uruk confirm this connection.<sup>19</sup> A year name of king Irdanene reads: mu alam-kù-gi An-ām ad-da-na é <sup>d</sup>na-na-a-šè/ra i-ni-in-ku<sub>4</sub>-re-en "Year (Irdanene) brought a golden statue of Anam his father into the temple of Nanaya," and one of Sîn-erībam reads: mu alan kù-gi <sup>d</sup>EN.ZU-e-ri-ba-am lugal <sup>d</sup>na-na-a-ra mu-na-an-dím "Year Sîn-erībam the king made a golden statue of Nanaya."<sup>20</sup> Archival texts mention a *šangû* priest of Nanaya named Iddin-Nanaya, disbursements for furnishings and ornaments for the temple of Nanaya, and offerings for the goddess.<sup>21</sup> The most extensive text is the unpublished cylinder W 20475 which lists the jewelry of Nanaya, consisting mainly of rings, bracelets, earrings, and necklaces of gold and silver with beads of precious stones. The text, which originally contained more than a thousand lines, will be published by Kessler.<sup>22</sup> According to a building inscription of Sîn-gāmil the name of her sanctuary at Uruk was Emeurur "the temple which gathers the me's."<sup>23</sup> In a Sumerian hymn found

<sup>13</sup> VS 1, 36: col. I, 7.

<sup>14</sup> FRAME 1995, B.6.31.17.

<sup>15</sup> PETTINATO 1998, pp. 274–275.

<sup>16</sup> GEORGE 1993, nos. 792–793.

<sup>17</sup> One further hint at the character of Nanaya as a manifestation of Ištar is her astral aspect, discussed by WESTENHOLZ 1997, pp. 68 and 70; and by HEIMPEL 1982, pp. 65–67.

<sup>18</sup> SALLABERGER 1993, vol. 1, pp. 218–221; and vol. 2, tables 68–73.

<sup>19</sup> On the cult of Nanaya at Uruk during the Old Babylonian period see RICHTER 1999, pp. 255–259.

<sup>20</sup> FALKENSTEIN 1963, pp. 8–9.

<sup>21</sup> SANATI-MÜLLER 1990, p. 191, no. 135: 7. 1/3 ma-na l-din-<sup>d</sup>na-na-a sanga <sup>d</sup>na-na-a 8. 1/3 ma-na dumu-me-eš Ur-<sup>d</sup>šu-bu-la šeš-a-ni 9. mu mul-'zabar' ša <sup>d</sup>ig é-<sup>d</sup>na-na-a 10. ú-ḥa-am-mi-šú "1/3 mina (of silver), Iddin-Nanaya, the *šangû* of Nanaya, 1/3 mina (of silver), the sons of Ur-Šubula, his brother, when they stripped the bronze star of the door of the temple of Nanaya;" p. 202, no. 142: 9. 4 (gur) a-na ma-ak-ki-im 10. ú-pi-ri-ik-ki-im 11. ša é-<sup>d</sup>na-na-a "4 kurrus (of bitumen) for the *makkum* and the lion-symbol of the temple of Nanaya." It must be emphasized that both star and lion are well-known symbols of Inanna, pointing to the syncretism between the two goddesses. For offerings to Nanaya during the Old Babylonian period see the texts quoted in § 3.1.3.

<sup>22</sup> This is mentioned by WESTENHOLZ 1997, p. 67.

<sup>23</sup> FRAYNE 1990, E4.4.3.1: 1. <sup>d</sup>na-na-a 2. [d]umu-ki-'ág'-[a]n-n[a] 3. [n]in-a-ni-ir 4. [<sup>d</sup>EN.Z]U-ga-mi-il 5.



at Uruk king Anam also claims to have restored that sanctuary, which was probably a cella in the Eanna temple.<sup>24</sup> An inscription of Sîn-kāšid commemorates the rebuilding of another sanctuary of Nanaya named Ešahulla.<sup>25</sup> This temple was later rebuilt by Kudur-Mabuk and Rīm-Sîn I.<sup>26</sup> In the late periods the sanctuary of Nanaya at Uruk was named Eḫilianna, a part of the Eanna compound. One of the most notable texts found in the palace of Sîn-kāšid is an oracle in which the goddess Nanaya is quite clearly associated with the advent, and possibly even the enthronement of the king.<sup>27</sup>

The close relation between Nanaya and kingship is portrayed in some literary compositions of the Old Babylonian period. As just seen, two hymns to Nanaya from that period contain subscriptions in honor of the reigning king, one in Sumerian for Išbi-Erra of Isin, the other in Akkadian for Samsuiluna of Babylon. There is also an Akkadian love song involving Nanaya and Ištar with invocation to Nanaya and Hammurabi of Babylon,<sup>28</sup> and an Akkadian love dialogue belonging to a ritual for the sacred marriage between Nanaya and Rīm-Sîn of Larsa.<sup>29</sup> Finally there are love lyrics depicting the courtship between Nanaya and the god Muati with subscription in favor of king Abiešuh of Babylon.<sup>30</sup> This text clearly anticipates the Divine Love Lyrics of the first millennium which celebrate the union of Marduk with Ištar-of-Babylon and Zarpanītu, and that of Nabû with his wife Tašmētu, syncretized with Nanaya. The role played by Nanaya in the sacred marriage with the king also finds a reflection in later, non-cuneiform sources. An Aramaic text in Demotic script found in Egypt and discussed by Steiner a few years ago makes a clear allusion to a sacred marriage ritual between Nanaya and the king. The ritual originates from Rash (Rašu) across the Tigris northwest of Elam, and was transplanted to Palestine and later Egypt by exiles from that region.<sup>31</sup>

In her role as goddess of love, the quality which is most consistently ascribed to Nanaya is expressed by the Sumerian word *ḫi-li*, Akkadian *kuzbu*, "charm, luxuriance, voluptuousness, sensuality."<sup>32</sup> This is reflected in the name of her cella in the Eanna temple in the late periods, the Eḫilianna, "House of the Luxuriance of Heaven,"<sup>33</sup> and in

[n]ita-kal[a]-ga 6. [lu]gal-unu<sup>ki</sup>-ga 7. [lu]gal-am-[na]-nu-um 8. [dumu dEN].ZU-i-ri-ba-am 9. [é]-me-ur<sub>4</sub>-ur<sub>4</sub> 10. [é]-la-la-ka-ni 11. [mu]-na-dù (remainder damaged) "For Nanaya, beloved daughter of An, his lady, Sîn-gāmil, the mighty man, king of Uruk, king of the Amnanum, [son of] Sîn-irībam, built Emeurur, her sanctuary of delight." On this temple see GEORGE 1993, no. 793.

<sup>24</sup> Inventory number W 20477, published by FALKENSTEIN 1963, pp. 80–82, and pl. 13 (photo).

<sup>25</sup> FRAYNE 1990, E4.4.1.6: 1. *na-na-a* 2. *nin-ḫi-li-sù* 3. *nin-a-ni-ir* 4. *dEN.ZU-kā-ši-id* 5. *nita-kala-ga* 6. *lugal-unu<sup>ki</sup>-ga* 7. *ib* 8. *é-[ša]-ḫul-la-ka-na* 9. *mu-na-dù* "For the goddess Nanaya, lady adorned with charm, his lady, Sîn-kāšid, mighty man, king of Uruk, built for her an *oval* in her E[ša]hulla."

<sup>26</sup> On this temple see GEORGE 1993, no. 1018. WESTENHOLZ 1997, p. 70, notes that year 34 of Hammurabi of Babylon commemorates the rebuilding of the temple Eturkalamma for An, Inanna, and Nanaya. She assumes that this temple was located in Uruk, but it should probably be identified as the well-known temple of Ištar-of-Babylon in Babylon, for which see GEORGE 1993, no. 1117.

<sup>27</sup> Copy by VAN DIJK 1962, pl. 28, W 19900.1. Translation by BIGGS 1969, p. 604.

<sup>28</sup> HELD 1961. Previously published by VON SODEN 1950. Translation by FOSTER 1993, pp. 92–95.

<sup>29</sup> Copy published by Van Dijk as YOS 11, 24; partial translation by FOSTER 1993, pp. 98–99. There is another translation in HECKER, RÖMER 1989, pp. 747–750.

<sup>30</sup> LAMBERT 1966. Translation by FOSTER 1993, pp. 96–97.

<sup>31</sup> See STEINER 1991.

<sup>32</sup> On *ḫi-li*=*kuzbu* see CASSIN 1968, chapter 7.

<sup>33</sup> GEORGE 1993, no. 459, and also nos. 460 and 464 for other sacred locations of Nanaya at Uruk formed with the word *ḫi-li*.

the personal names Nanaya-kuzbu and Nanaya-kuzub-mātim.<sup>34</sup> In a *Šaziga* incantation Nanaya is hailed as *bēlet kuzbi* "mistress of voluptuousness."<sup>35</sup> In an inscription of Rīm-Sîn of Larsa she is praised as: 2. *nin ḫi-li še-er-ka-an-di* "the lady adorned with voluptuousness."<sup>36</sup> Her voluptuousness is further proclaimed in the hymn in her honor with prayer for king Išbi-Erra: 1. [n]in-me!-nun-na u<sub>4</sub>-gin<sub>7</sub> dalla-è ḫi-li-zi-da ul-še pà-da "Lady of the 'princely' attributes, emerging brightly like daylight, eternally summoned in true voluptuousness;"<sup>37</sup> and in the hymn in her and king Samsuiluna's honor: 5. [uḫ]-ta-an-na-mu e-lu-uš-ša 6. [na]-na-bu ma-aš-ra-ḫu du-šu-pu ku-úz-bu "abundance, glory, sweetness, and voluptuousness are blooming upon her."<sup>38</sup> An inscription of Sîn-kāšid hails her as: 2. *nin ḫi-li-sù* "lady adorned with voluptuousness,"<sup>39</sup> and in an inscription of Sumuel of Larsa she is extolled as: 2. *nin ḫi-li-a šu-du<sub>7</sub>* "the lady with perfect voluptuousness."<sup>40</sup> In fact, as pointed out by J. Westenholz, her *ḫi-li* is mentioned in almost every royal dedication to her.<sup>41</sup> This quality was not the exclusive apanage of Nanaya, however, as it was shared by several other gods, male and female.<sup>42</sup>

After the abandonment of Uruk and other southern sites under Samsuiluna the cults of An, Inanna, and Nanaya migrated to Kish.<sup>43</sup> Glassner has suggested that Nanaya was abducted from there during an Elamite raid against northern Babylonia led by Kutur-Nahhunte I, a contemporary of Samsuiluna. This raid might be alluded to in a fragment of a Babylonian Chronicle from the library of Assurbanipal, who claims in his annals to have returned Nanaya from Elam to Uruk after a captivity of 1,635 years.<sup>44</sup> It seems, however, that the cult of Nanaya had already been reestablished at Uruk by the Kassite king Nazi-Maruttaš who, according to an inscription of Esarhaddon, built for her the sanctuary Eḫilianna. Nanaya appears in the curse formula of a Middle Babylonian kudurru found at Larsa in which she bears the title of "queen of Uruk and Eanna" (*šarrat Uruk u Eanna*), the earliest evidence for the attribution of this epithet to her.<sup>45</sup>

By the end of Kassite rule Nanaya's position in the theological system of Babylonia had undergone substantial modifications, mainly regarding her association with the god Nabû and his wife Tašmētu. The triad composed of Nabû, Nanaya, and Tašmētu is first mentioned in a kudurru from the reign of Merodach-Baladan I (1171–1159 B.C.): col.

<sup>34</sup> The name Nanaya-kuzbu appears in a Neo-Babylonian text from Larsa, YOS 19, 7: 3. *na-na-a-ḫi-li*. It is possibly a short form of the name Nanaya-kuzub-mātim, for which see STOL 1998, p. 147a. CAD K, p. 614, s.v. *kuzbu*, and TALLQVIST 1905, p. 319 list other theophoric names with the element *kuzbu*, including Nabû-kuzub-ilī, Šamaš-kuzub-mātim, and Aya-kuzub-mātim.

<sup>35</sup> BIGGS 1967, p. 31, line 22. *na-na-a be-let ḫi-li* "Nanaya, goddess of sexual attractiveness."

<sup>36</sup> FRAYNE 1990, E4.2.14.3.

<sup>37</sup> HALLO 1966, p. 243.

<sup>38</sup> VON SODEN 1938, pp. 32–33. Translations by FOSTER 1993, pp. 69–71, and SEUX 1976, pp. 42–45.

<sup>39</sup> FRAYNE 1990, E4.4.1.6.

<sup>40</sup> FRAYNE 1990, E4.2.7.2.

<sup>41</sup> WESTENHOLZ 1997, p. 68.

<sup>42</sup> CAD K, pp. 614–615, s.v. *kuzbu*, where the word is mentioned in connection with Tašmētu, Ištar, Nisaba, Aya, Gilgameš, Šamaš, and Nabû.

<sup>43</sup> YOS 13, pp. 11–13; CHARPIN 1986, pp. 403–415; PIENKA 1998, pp. 179–187 and 375–388.

<sup>44</sup> GLASSNER 1993b. The number of years assigned to Nanaya's captivity is evidently exaggerated, but similar chronological statements in first millennium texts tend to overestimate the time distance to the early periods, sometimes by a few centuries.

<sup>45</sup> ARNAUD 1972, p. 173, line 70. *na-na-a GAŠAN* 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎶 𐎶 𐎶.AN.NA. The logogram GAŠAN can be read *bēlu* or *šarratu*. In light of the later evidence that Nanaya was the "queen," and Ištar the "lady" of Uruk, I posit that GAŠAN here must be read *šarratu*.

III, 22. <sup>d</sup>NA <sup>d</sup>na-na-<sup>r</sup>a' 23. <sup>ù</sup> <sup>d</sup>taš-me-tu<sub>4</sub> 24. EN.MEŠ <sup>š</sup>ip-<sup>ti</sup> u EŠ.BAR "Nabû, Nanaya, and Tašmētu, the lords of judgment and decision."<sup>46</sup> In the early periods the spouse of Nanaya was the little-known god Muati, who appears as her partner in the love lyrics in honor of king Abiešuḫ. In the Old Babylonian period Nabû was already the spouse of the goddess Tašmētu. During Kassite times it appears that Nabû absorbed the figure of Muati completely, whose name simply became one of his names, usually written <sup>d</sup>PA in first millennium texts. Nanaya thus became the wife of Nabû (<sup>ḫ</sup>a'irat Nabû) alongside Tašmētu, with whom she was syncretized. When Nabû became the chief god of Borsippa at the end of the second millennium,<sup>47</sup> Tašmētu/Nanaya became the chief goddess of that city, and by virtue of the exaltation of Nabû from the rank of vizier to that of son of Marduk she became the "daughter-in-law of Esagil" (*kallat Esagil*) and the "beloved of Marduk" (*narāmti Marduk*).<sup>48</sup> Both Nanaya and Tašmētu bore the epithet of *kallatu* because of their status as daughters-in-law of Marduk.<sup>49</sup> The triad composed of Nabû, Nanaya, and Tašmētu became a mirror reflection of the Babylonian triad composed of Marduk, Zarpanītu, and Ištar-of-Babylon.<sup>50</sup> Several late texts shed light on the marriage ritual between Nabû and Tašmētu, one of them being very close in tone to the Divine Love Lyrics between Marduk and Ištar-of-Babylon.<sup>51</sup> In one ritual which obviously relates to this theogamy Nanaya takes the place of the goddess Tašmētu. While the ritual probably originates from Babylon or Borsippa, it contains clear indications of an Uruk connection. Nabû, in his temple Ezida, assumes the persona of the god Anu; the garden in which part of the ritual takes place is called the garden of Anu; and Emeurur, the sanctuary of Nanaya in Borsippa, is glossed as Eanna.<sup>52</sup>

The syncretism between Inanna/Ištar and Nanaya was a basic tenet of Babylonian theology from very early times. There are very few hymns to Nanaya from the late

<sup>46</sup> PAGE 1967, p. 66.

<sup>47</sup> According to the prologue of the Code of Hammurabi, the chief god of Borsippa in the Old Babylonian period was Tutu, who later became identified with Marduk. See ROTH 1995, p. 78, iii 7–16. For the rise of Nabû in the latter part of the second millennium see POMPONIO 1978, pp. 47–75, and POMPONIO 1998, pp. 18–19.

<sup>48</sup> See LIVINGSTONE 1989, no. 4 (Nanaya Hymn of Sargon II): obv. col. II, 2'. *kal-lat* É.SAG.ÍL 'x É x x' [o o o] 3'. *ḫi-rat* <sup>d</sup>mu-<sup>u</sup>s-a-ti *na-ram-ti* <sup>d</sup>EN 'ADÍ'-[šú] "the daughter-in-law of Esagil, [o o o], the spouse of Muati, the beloved of Bēl [his] father"; VS I, 36, col. I, 5. *ḫi-rat* <sup>d</sup>PA "spouse of Nabû;" and the same epithets applied to Tašmētu in KING 1896, no. 33 (a *š*u'illa): obv. 6. *ḫi-rat*! *šar-ḫi* <sup>d</sup>PA-a-ti *a-pil* <sup>d</sup>TU.TU 7. 'kal-lat! É.SAG.ÍL "spouse of the glorious Muati, heir of Tutu, the daughter-in-law of Esagil." In CTN IV, 168, which includes three *š*u'illas to Tašmētu and one to Nanaya, both goddesses are spouses of Nabû: col. II, 42. *ḫi-rat* <sup>d</sup>NA (Tašmētu); col. III, 28. *ana* <sup>d</sup>NA *ḫa-i-ri-ki* (Tašmētu); col. IV, 22. *ana* <sup>d</sup>NA' *ḫa-me-ri-ki*; and col. IV 49. *a-na* <sup>d</sup>NA *ḫa-i-ri-ki* (Nanaya); Tašmētu is the "daughter-in-law of Esagil." col. II, 41. *kal-lat* É.SAG.ÍL; and Nanaya is the "beloved of Nabû:" col. IV. 35. [*na*]-*ram-ti* *be-li* <sup>d</sup>NA.

<sup>49</sup> On Nanaya and Tašmētu as daughters-in-law (*kallatu*), see the references collected in CAD K, p. 82, s.v. *kallatu*.

<sup>50</sup> On the rise of the triad Nabû-Nanaya-Tašmētu see LAMBERT 1966, pp. 42–45, and MATSUSHIMA 1980.

<sup>51</sup> Edition and discussion of these texts by MATSUSHIMA 1987.

<sup>52</sup> This ritual was published by Reisner as SBH, no. VIII, pp. 145–146. It comes from Babylon and is of Seleuco-Parthian date. Edition by MATSUSHIMA 1987, pp. 158–161. It is not certain that the ritual took place in Borsippa. Two of the temples mentioned in it (Ezida of Nabû, Euršaba of Ištar/Nanaya) were also the names of cellas consecrated to the same deities in the Esagil temple in Babylon (GEORGE 1993, nos. 1195–1196 and 1236–1237), and the third one, Emeurur, is known as the temple of Nanaya in Babylon (GEORGE 1993, no. 794), while no temple or chapel of the same name is known to have existed in Borsippa. The creation myth preserved in CT 13, pl. 35–38, ends with an incantation which reflects similar theology: pl. 38, 13. *é-zi-da ki-tuš-maḫ-an-na-<sup>d</sup>inanna ša-ki-ág-me-en* 14. É.MIN *šub-tu<sub>4</sub> šir-tu<sub>4</sub> na-ram lib-bi* <sup>d</sup>a-nu u <sup>d</sup>iš-tar *at-ta* "Ezida, you are the lofty dwelling, beloved of Anu and Ištar."

periods which do not contain at least some trace of it. The composition with the strongest syncretistic leanings is a bilingual hymn edited by Reiner which presents various local goddesses as manifestations of Nanaya. Several of these deities are forms of Ištar, including Šarrat-Nippuri (strophe 6) and Anunītu of Agade (strophe 12). The introductory strophe proclaims the identity of Ištar with Nanaya in unequivocal terms: like Ištar she is "the wise daughter of Sîn" (2. *ma-rat* <sup>d</sup>30 *te-li-tu*) and "the beloved sister of Šamaš" (2. *a-ḫat* <sup>d</sup>UTU *maš-ši-tu*); the goddess claims to be "mistress in Borsippa" (2. *ina bār-sipki* *ḫa-am-ma-ku*), "a hierodule in Uruk" (3. *ina* UNUG<sup>ki</sup> *ḫa-ri-ma-ku*) and "bearded in Babylon" (4. *ina* KÁ.DINGIR.MEŠ *zi-iq-na zaq-[na-ku]*), all epithets normally applying to Ištar.<sup>53</sup> Nanaya is again called the daughter of Sîn in the 'Nanaya Hymn of Sargon II:' col. II, rev. 17'. *nu-ḫi ma-rat* <sup>d</sup>30 *ri-mi-i šub-tuk-ki* "Calm down, daughter of Sîn, settle in your abode!"<sup>54</sup> The 'Hymn to the City of Arbela' also proposes a syncretism between Ištar-of-Arbela and Nanaya: 20. <sup>d</sup>15 *ina lib-bi uš-bat* <sup>d</sup>na-na-a DUMU.MÍ <sup>d</sup>30 [o o o] "Ištar dwells there, Nanaya, the daughter of Sîn [o o o],"<sup>55</sup> while the 'Nanaya Hymn of Assurbanipal' seems to equate her with Urkittu (i.e. Urkayītu).<sup>56</sup> The syncretism is illustrated in several hymnal and liturgical compositions preserved in late copies,<sup>57</sup> and seems to have provided the theological background to a Neo-Assyrian psalm in praise of Uruk.<sup>58</sup>

At Uruk during the first millennium Nanaya was second only to Ištar in the local divine hierarchy. Nanaya was the queen of Uruk (*šarrat Uruk*) and Ištar was the lady of Uruk (*bēltu ša Uruk*). The epithet *šarrat Uruk* is known from three sources only, and always as a title of Nanaya: twice in the inscriptions of Esarhaddon found at Uruk, and once in a Middle Babylonian kudurru found at Larsa.<sup>59</sup> In many respects Ištar and Nanaya were virtually equal. Nanaya is almost always mentioned alongside Ištar in such expressions as *makkūr Bēlti-ša-Uruk u Nanaya* "property of the Lady-of-Uruk and Nanaya," which appears in countless legal documents, and *Bēltu-ša-Uruk u Nanaya šulumka liqbū* "May the Lady-of-Uruk and Nanaya pronounce your well-being," the most frequently used salutation formula in the official correspondence of the Eanna temple. The quantities of offerings lavished on the goddess almost equaled those presented to Ištar, and her jewelry, attire, and cultic paraphernalia seem to have been just as sumptuous.

Nanaya was carried off with many other gods of Uruk when Sennacherib sacked the city in the fall of 693 B.C.<sup>60</sup> She returned to her abode under Esarhaddon, who claims to have restored Eḫilianna, her cella in the Eanna temple complex, which had also been

<sup>53</sup> REINER 1974, p. 224, strophe I.

<sup>54</sup> LIVINGSTONE 1989, no. 4.

<sup>55</sup> Ibid., no. 8.

<sup>56</sup> Ibid., no. 5, 8. [*ga*] *bl-bi*! KUR.KUR *u-na-<sup>u</sup>-ul-du* *ur-kt-tu* "All the lands are praising Urkittu [o o o]." It is not entirely certain from the context that this is an epithet of Nanaya.

<sup>57</sup> VOLK 1989, p. 135, T20: 11, and notes on p. 154; COHEN 1988, p. 574: c+338 (*balag* of Inanna); COHEN 1981, p. 66, no. 32: 8 (*eršemma* of Inanna); SJÖBERG 1977, pp. 16–27, edits five nearly identical Sumerian songs addressed to the goddess Nanaya.

<sup>58</sup> GEORGE 1987, also edited by LIVINGSTONE 1989, no. 9.

<sup>59</sup> FRAME 1995, B6.31.17: 5. *šar-rat* UNUG<sup>ki</sup>; and B6.31.18: 1. *a-na* <sup>d</sup>na-na-a *šar-rat* UNUG<sup>ki</sup>. Nanaya appears as GAŠAN of Uruk in the curse formula of a Middle Babylonian kudurru found at Larsa: ARNAUD 1972, p. 173, line 70. <sup>d</sup>na-na-a GAŠAN <sup>u</sup>UNUG<sup>ki</sup> u É.AN.NA. In view of the fact that Nanaya is known in the first millennium as the queen of Uruk, GAŠAN must probably here be read *šarratu*.

<sup>60</sup> OIP 2, p. 87, line 31.

restored by Eriša-Marduk in the previous century and much earlier by the Kassite king Nazi-Maruttaš. The opening lines of one of the two building inscriptions of Esarhaddon composed for this occasion praise the goddess with her characteristic epithets and extol her as the consort of Muzibšâ, a name of Nabû. Her position as daughter of Anu is reiterated, as well as her special relationship to the king:<sup>61</sup>

1. *a-na 4na-na-a pu-su-um-ti i-la-a-ti šá HI.LI u ul-ši za- 'na-tu lu-le-e ma-la-tu*
2. *bu-kûr-ti 4a-nim šit-ra-aḫ-ti šá ina nap-ḫar be-le-e-ti šur-ba-a-tu e-nu-us-sa*
3. *ḫi-rat 4mu-zib-sa-a ti-iz-qar-ti sek-ra-ti na- 'it-ti na-ram-ti NUN-ú-ti-šú*
4. *il-tu<sub>4</sub> re-me-ni-tu<sub>4</sub> a-li-kát re-ši LUGAL pa-li-ḫi-šá mu-šal-bi-rat pa-le-e-šú*
5. *a-ši-bat É.HI.LI.AN.NA šá qé-reb É.AN.NA šar-rat UNUG<sup>ki</sup> GAŠAN GAL-tu<sub>4</sub> GAŠAN-šú*

For Nanaya, the veiled one of the goddesses, who is adorned with voluptuousness and joy and is full of glamour, splendid daughter of Anu, whose lordship is supreme among all ladies, eminent spouse of Muzibšâ, praised *sekretu*, beloved of his majesty, compassionate goddess, who goes to the help of the king who reveres her, who prolongs his reign, who dwells in Ehilianna, which is inside Eanna, the queen of Uruk, the great lady, his lady.

The matter of Nanaya's return is further complicated, however, by the fact that Assurbanipal also claims that he brought Nanaya back to Uruk from Elam where she had allegedly dwelt in captivity for 1,635 years. We do not know if the statue of Nanaya then residing in the Eanna temple was replaced with this long absent image, or if Assurbanipal's claim is merely rhetorical. The episode of Nanaya's return is related in Prisms A, F, and T, Prism F containing the most elaborate account:<sup>62</sup>

#### V R 6, col. VI.

107. *4na-na-a ša 1 lim 6 ME 30.ÀM 5 MU.AN.NA.MEŠ*
108. *ta-as-bu-šú tal-li-ku tu-ši-bu*
109. *qé-reb kurNIM.MA<sup>ki</sup> a-šar la si-ma-te-e-šá*
110. *ù ina U<sub>4</sub>.ME-šú-ma ší-i ù DINGIR.MEŠ AD.MEŠ-šá*
111. *tab-bu-u šu-mi a-na be-lut KUR.KUR*
112. *ta-a-a-rat DINGIR-ti-šá tu-šad-gi-la pa-nu-u-a*
113. *um-ma 1AN.ŠAR-DÛ-A ul-tú qé-reb kurNIM.MA<sup>ki</sup>*
114. *lem-né-ti ú-še-ša-an-ni-ma*
115. *ú-še-rab-an-ni qé-reb É.AN.NA*
116. *a-mat qí-bit DINGIR-ti-šú-nu*
117. *ša ul-tú U<sub>4</sub>.MEŠ SUD.MEŠ iq-bu-u*
118. *e-nin-na ú-kal-li-mu UN.MEŠ EGIR.MEŠ*
119. *ŠU.MIN DINGIR-ti-šá GAL-ti at-mu-uḫ-ma*
120. *ḫar-ra-nu i-šer-tú šá ul-lu-uš lib-bi*
121. *ta-aš-ba-ta a-na É.AN.NA*

<sup>61</sup> FRAME 1995, B.6.31.17. In the same inscription the god Nabû appears under his normal name in the prayer in which Nanaya is entreated to intercede on the king's behalf: 17. 4NA ḫa-a-a-i-ri-ki "Nabû your husband."

<sup>62</sup> See the recent edition of the Prisms in BORGER 1996, pp. 57–58 (transliteration) and p. 242 (translation). Discussion by NISSINEN 1998, pp. 40–41.

122. *ina ITI GAN U<sub>4</sub> 1-KAM ina qé-reb UNUG<sup>ki</sup> ú-še-reb-ši-ma*
123. *ina É.HI.LI.AN.NA šá ta-ram-mu*
124. *ú-šar-me-ši BĀRA da-ra-a-ti*

(As for) Nanaya—who had become angry 1,635 years ago, had gone away (and) settled down in Elam in a place not befitting her, and who, in those days, (in agreement) with the gods her fathers, had (already) called me to the lordship of the lands—she entrusted me with the return of her godhead (saying): "Assurbanipal will bring me out of the evil land of Elam and cause me to enter Eanna." (This) utterance of their divine command, which they had spoken in distant days, they now revealed to the latter generations. I led her great godhead in procession, and in joy she took the straight road to Eanna. In the month Kislimu, on the first day, I made her enter Uruk and caused her to establish residence in Ehilianna, which she loves, the eternal sanctuary.

During the Neo-Babylonian period the symbol of Nabû was introduced in the Eanna temple and associated with Nanaya. Nanaya was worshiped at Uruk until the Hellenistic period. To judge from the patterns of name giving in Seleucid Uruk, she was still an extremely, if not increasingly popular goddess in that period,<sup>63</sup> in spite of the fact that she appears to have been demoted to a lower status in the official pantheon of the city as a result of the theological reform of the 5th and 4th centuries.<sup>64</sup> Nanaya even survived the demise of Mesopotamian civilization. She appears in Mandaic incantation bowls,<sup>65</sup> in Parthian Assur,<sup>66</sup> and eventually traveled as far east as Bactria, where she is mentioned in a inscription recently discovered in Afghanistan at Rabatak in which the Kushan ruler Kanashka, echoing distant Mesopotamian predecessors, claims that he received kingship from Nanaya and "all the gods."<sup>67</sup>

#### 4.2.1. Paraphernalia

A delivery of gold for the balustrade (*tallu*) of the cultic socle (*šubtu*) of Nanaya is mentioned in conjunction with that of Ištar in GCCI 2, 49: 8–9 (§ 3.4). The cultic socle of Nanaya also occurs in NCBT 321: 1. 3 1/2 MA.NA 8 GÍN KÛ.GI *ina bat-qa* 2. 2-<sup>1</sup>ta<sup>1</sup> ta-rik-ti 3. šá pu-ut-ta-tu<sub>4</sub> el-<sup>1</sup>lit<sup>1</sup>-tu<sub>4</sub> 4. šá gisDAG šá 4na-na-a "3 1/2 minas and 8 shekels of gold from the repair (allowance) of 2 *tariktus* belonging to the upper front portion of the cultic socle of Nanaya."

The tent (*zaratu*) of Nanaya occurs in three texts; PTS 3092: 8. <sup>1</sup>gza-rat 9. šá 4na-na-a; PTS 3243: 2. <sup>1</sup>gza-rat 3. šá 4na-na-a; and YBC 9582: 1. 1/2 GUN 6 MA.NA 10 GÍN

<sup>63</sup> Nanaya is mentioned a few times in the "Fête d'Ištar," indicating that she still belonged to the circle of that goddess in the Hellenistic period: LACKENBACHER 1977, p. 40, obv. 21' and 24', p. 41, obv. 34', p. 45, rev. 8', and p. 46, rev. 35'. She also appears a few times in the rituals for the Rēš, the temple of Anu and Antu: THIUREAU-DANGIN 1921, AO 6451, p. 63, obv. 30, 50, and p. 64, rev. 1.

<sup>64</sup> See BEAULIEU 1992a, p. 56, where she occupies the 12th rank in the local divine hierarchy during the Seleucid period.

<sup>65</sup> See MÜLLER-KESSLER, KESSLER 1999, pp. 75–77.

<sup>66</sup> Discussion in TUBACH 1986, pp. 277–279.

<sup>67</sup> SIMMS-WILLIAMS, CRIBB 1995–1996, pp. 77–78: "Kanishka the Kushan, the righteous, the just, the autocrat, the god worthy of worship, who has obtained the kingship from Nanaya (written vava) and from all the gods."

2. *mi-iḥ-šu ana* <sup>u</sup>g<sup>id</sup>-lu-ú 3. *ša KÁ za-ra-ti* 4. [*ša*] <sup>u</sup>na-na-a “1/2 talent, 6 minas, (and) 10 shekels of woven cloth for the door curtain at the entrance of the tent of Nanaya.” It is also mentioned in connection with Nanaya and the clothing ceremony of the 8th day of the month Tašritu in YOS 17, 305: 8. 16 5/6 MA.NA <sup>na</sup>gab-bu-ú a-na <sup>slg</sup>\*ta-bar 9. *bab-ba-nu-tu ša* <sup>u</sup>g<sup>za</sup>-<sup>r</sup>at\*<sup>1</sup> [*ina*] IGI <sup>1</sup>BA-*ša-a* <sup>lu</sup>UŠ.BAR “16 5/6 minas of alum for fine red-colored wool for the tent, at the disposal of Iqīšā, the weaver.” In the Eanna archive the tent is attested only in connection with Nanaya.<sup>68</sup> The door curtain (*gidlū*), which is mentioned in YBC 9582, occurs in two more texts; NBC 8350: 1. 30 MA.NA <sup>gada</sup>ḫal-[*šu*] 2. a-na <sup>gada</sup>g<sup>id</sup>-da-lu-[*ú*] 3. *ša pa-ni* <sup>u</sup>na-na-<sup>r</sup>a<sup>1</sup> [o o] “30 minas of combed flax for the door curtain which is in front of Nanaya;” and YBC 3715 (§ 3.4). Another curtain frequently used in rituals, the dividing curtain (*šiddu*), occurs in GCCI 2, 381: 1. 1/2 MA.NA 1 GÍN <sup>slg</sup>ZA.GÍN 2. 2\* MA.NA 1/3 5' GÍN <sup>gada</sup>ḫal-*šu* 3. a-na <sup>gada</sup>\*šid-du *ša* <sup>u</sup>na-na-a “1/2 mina (and) 1 shekel of blue-colored wool (and?) 2 minas (and) 25 shekels of combed flax for the dividing curtain of Nanaya.”<sup>69</sup>

Some vessels and implements used for the cult of Ištar and Nanaya are mentioned in various texts (§ 3.4): the vat (*dannu*) (AUWE 5, 81: obv. 6'–8'); the kettle (*taphu*) and pot stand (*kankannu*) (NBC 4904: 4–6); the *kallu* bowl and *šappu* container (NBC 4894: 77); and the water-basin (*mê-qātī*) together with the towel (*kitinnū*) (YOS 3, 194: 16). The grate (*kišukku*) occurs in NCBT 324: 2. *ki-šuk-ku* KÙ.GI 3. *ša* IGI <sup>u</sup>na-na-a “the golden grate in front of Nanaya.”

Two texts mention the offering table (*paššūru*), written with the signs URUxGU (ŠAKIR) and URUxGA (ŠĀKIR) and preceded by the determinative GIŠ. It occurs in VS 20, 2: 1. 2 1/2 GÍN KÙ.GI 2. a-na *bat-qa* 3. [*ša*] <sup>giš</sup>URUxGA *ša* <sup>u</sup>na-na-a “2 1/2 shekels of gold to repair the offering table of Nanaya,” and in the following text:

## GCC I, 370

1. 1/3 1 GÍN 3 *ri-bat* KÙ.GI 2 *me-e*
2. *ša* <sup>giš</sup>URUxGU\* *ša* <sup>u</sup>na-na-a
3. 3 GÍN 4-*tú* KÙ.GI *te-šir-lu*<sub>4</sub>
4. *ša ta-ri-in-du* *ša* <sup>u</sup>GAŠAN *ša* UNUG<sup>ki</sup>
5. 'PAP' 1/3 5 GÍN KÙ.GI a-na
6. *bat-qa* *ša* *me-e* *ša* <sup>giš</sup>URUxGU\*

1/3 (mina and) 1 3/4 shekels of gold (for) two water stream-shaped ornaments belonging to the offering table of Nanaya; 3 1/4 shekels, supplementary delivery obtained from the donations<sup>70</sup> to the Lady-of-Uruk. Total: 1/3 (mina and) 5 shekels of gold to repair the water stream-shaped ornaments of the offering table.

<sup>68</sup> The tent is also mentioned in the ritual LKU 51: 26 (Appendix 2), although not specifically in connection with any goddess. A tent for the god Šamaš of Larsa is mentioned in the letter W18904a, published by GEHLKEN 1995, text no. 5: 10. <sup>gada</sup>ḫal-*za-ra-tu*<sub>4</sub> a-na 11. <sup>u</sup>UTU *inal* ŠU.MIN-šú 12. EN-*u-a* (<>) 13. *lu-še-bu-lu-ú-ni* “May my lord send here through him a tent for Šamaš.”

<sup>69</sup> It is uncertain whether the two deliveries were separate, or were both intended for the *šiddu* curtain.

<sup>70</sup> See AHW, p. 1329b, s.v. *tarīmtu*, who proposes the translation “Geschenkggegenstand.” The word probably refers to gold offerings and donations presented to the temple.

## 4.2.2. Ornaments

## 4.2.2.1. Tiara

The tiara of Nanaya occurs in GCCI 2, 51: 1. 55 GÍN 2-*ta* ŠU.MIN.ME KÙ\*.GI\* 2. 5 *gáp-pu* KÙ.GI 3. 63 BAR\*.ME\* KÙ\*.GI\* *ša*\* AGA\* KÙ.GI 4. *ša* <sup>u</sup>na-na-a “55 2/3 shekels of gold (for) 5 quills of gold and 63 pieces of gold plating for the golden tiara of Nanaya.” The mention of quills (*gappu*) indicates that the tiara of Nanaya was, like that of Ištar, a feathered headdress, of which several representations have survived. On the kudurru of the Kassite king Meli-Šipak the goddess Nanaya is depicted with a feathered tiara.<sup>71</sup>

## 4.2.2.2. Crown

The crown of Nanaya is mentioned in PTS 2813: 1. 130 <sup>na</sup>GUG 2. a-na (<šá>) *ku-lu-lu* *ša* <sup>u</sup>na-na-a “130 beads of carnelian for the crown of Nanaya;” and PTS 2438: 6. *ù šá!*<sup>72</sup> *sa-an-ḫa* 7. *ša ku-lu-lu* 8. *ša* <sup>u</sup>na-na-a “(gold to repair the sun-disk ornament of the Lady-of-Uruk) and a suspension ring for the crown of Nanaya.”

## 4.2.2.3. Breast Ornaments

Several breast ornaments of Nanaya are mentioned in the archive. They were mostly made of gold, and some bore elaborate designs. The texts tell us of the “breast ornament” and the “golden breast ornament” (*irtu* and *irat ḫurāši*), the “breast ornament of pure gold” (*irat ḫurāši ebbi*), the “breast ornament located between the hands” and the “golden breast ornament located between the hands” (*irtu ša birīt qātī* and *irat ḫurāši ša birīt qātī*, possibly the same object), the “breastplate with a representation of a sphinx” and the “golden breastplate with a representation of a sphinx” (*irtu ša apsasi* and *irat ḫurāši ša apsasi*, two distinct pieces mentioned in the same text), and the “small golden breastplate with a representation of a rising snake” (*irat ḫurāši šeḫertu ša šēri tēbi*). VS 20, 127 mentions a “crescent-shaped breastplate” (*irtu ša uskāri*)<sup>73</sup> as the common property of Ištar, Nanaya, and Bēltu-ša-Rēš, and NBC 4577 the “golden breastplate with a representation of a lion” (*irat ḫurāši ša nēši*) as a property of the Lady-of-Uruk and Nanaya (§ 3.5.3). The texts are as follows:

## YBC 4174

16. 1 GABA *ša bi-rit* ŠU.MIN.ME 10 *sa-ma-ḫal-šú* GI
17. 2-*ti* GABA KÙ.GI TUR-*tú* *ša* MUŠ *ti-bi*
18. 18 *sa-ma-ḫal-šú* GI *ina* DUR GADA *ṣab-ta-at*
19. 3-*ti* GABA KÙ.GI *ša ap-sa-si-i* 25

<sup>71</sup> WESTENHOLZ 1997, p. 71, and p. 81, fig. 1 (drawing); and SEIDL 1989, pl. 11a, no. 23 (photo).

<sup>72</sup> The sign looks like the numeral 4, hence it could mean “to repair four rings/catches,” but *sanḫu* is in the singular.

<sup>73</sup> A Parthian period representation of Nanaya from Assur shows her wearing crescent-shaped ornaments on her breast (drawing in WESTENHOLZ 1997, p. 81, fig. 2).

20. *sa-ma-ḫal-šú GI ina gu-ḫal-ša KÙ.GI*
21. *'4'-ti GABA šá ap-sa-si-i 20 sa-ma-ḫal-šú GI*
22. *ina DUR GADA.ḪÁ šab-ta-at ...*
34. *PAP šu-kut-ti [šá ḏna-na-a]*

A breast ornament located between the hands, (with) its 10 attachments in good condition; a 2nd breast ornament, a small (breastplate) of gold with a representation of a rising snake, (with) its 18 attachments in good condition, held on a linen string; a 3rd breast ornament, (a breastplate) of gold with a representation of a sphinx, (with) its 25 attachments in good condition, (held) on a gold wire; a 4th breast ornament, (a breastplate) with a representation of a sphinx, (with) its 20 attachments in good condition, held on a linen string ... Total of the jewelry [belonging to Nanaya].

## NBC 4510

1. [o o] MA.NA KÙ.GI GABA KÙ.GI.MEŠ DADAG.MEŠ
2. [a-a]-ri KÙ.GI.MEŠ ù ten-ši-ia KÙ.GI.MEŠ
3. [ul]-tu muḫ-ḫi ḏna-na-a ú-ri-du-nu

[o o] minas of gold, (weight of) the breast ornaments of pure gold, [the roset]tes of gold, and the *tenšûs* of gold removed from Nanaya.

A few texts list small pieces of jewelry as well as attachments and catches belonging to the breast ornaments of Nanaya. In most cases the breast ornaments described in these texts appear to be elaborate necklaces.

## BIN 1, 132

1. *52 man-da-a-ta KÙ.GI šá na<sup>4</sup>KIŠIB.MEŠ*
2. *26 ḫar-ḫar-ri ù NUMUN ÚKUŠ\* KÙ.GI*
3. *'26\*' sa-an-ḫa-an KÙ.GI šá na<sup>4</sup>KIŠIB.ME*
4. *1 sa-an-ḫa KÙ.GI GAL-u šá sa-ma-ḫal*
5. *2 'sa-an-ḫa-an-nu'<sup>me</sup> KÙ.GI*
6. *šá pi-in-ga-nu*
7. *PAP 1/2 MA.NA 1 GÍN KÙ.GI ḫa-a-ḫu*
8. *dul-lu ép-šu šá GABA\**
9. *šá ḏna-na-a*

52 gold mountings for cylinder-seal-shaped beads, 26 gold chains and melon-seed-shaped gold beads, 26 suspension rings for cylinder-seal-shaped beads, 1 large gold suspension ring with an attachment, 2 suspensions rings of gold for knobs. Total: 1/2 mina and 1 shekel of gold, delivered, finished work for the breast ornament of Nanaya.

## GCC1 2, 25

1. *1/2 MA.NA 8 GÍN mi-'si\* UD\*.KA\*.BAR\*'*
2. *a-na up-pe-e-ti šá na<sup>4</sup>KIŠIB\*.ME*
3. *šá GABA\* šá ḏna-na-a*

1/2 mina and 8 shekels of refined copper for the *uppētu* of the cylinder-seal-shaped beads belonging to the breast ornament of Nanaya.

## PTS 3136

1. *63 na<sup>4</sup>IGI.MIN na<sup>4</sup>BABBAR.DIL*
2. *67 na<sup>4</sup>KIŠIB(DUB).ME a-na er-rim-mat*
3. *61 na<sup>4</sup>dub-kāt 38 na<sup>4</sup>GUG.ME*
4. *19 na<sup>4</sup>KIŠIB.ME a-na GURUN.ME*
5. *PAP a-na GABA.ME šá ḏna-na-a*

63 eye-stones of banded agate, 67 cylinder-seal-shaped beads for egg-shaped ornaments, 61 *dubkātu* beads, 38 beads of carnelian, 19 cylinder-seal-shaped beads for fruit-shaped ornaments; total (of the jewelry) for the breast ornaments of Nanaya.

## TCL 12, 79

1. *[1/2] MA.NA 8 GÍN bit-qa KÙ.GI ana gu-ḫal-ša*
2. *ù sa-an-ḫa-ni-šú šá GABA! šá ḏna-na-a*
3. *8 kur-ša-né-e ù sa-an-ḫa-ni-šú-nu*
4. *šá na<sup>4</sup>BIR.MEŠ šá 'GABA!' šá ḏna-na-a*

[1/2] mina and 8 1/8 shekels of gold for the wire and its suspension rings belonging to the breast ornament! of Nanaya; 8 links and their suspension rings for the kidney-shaped beads belonging to the breast ornament! of Nanaya.

## YBC 3455

1. *51 GÍN 2 gi-re-e*
2. *ma-ḫu KÙ.GI gu-ḫal-šu KÙ.GI*
3. *šá GABA KÙ.GI šá ḏna-na-a*

51 minus 1/24 shekels of gold for the gold wire belonging to the breast ornament of Nanaya.

## GCC1 2, 52

1. *2 MA.NA 5 GÍN KÙ.GI 'SA<sub>5</sub> 1-et GABA' KÙ.GI*
2. *42 BAR.ME KÙ.GI šá GABA KÙ.GI šá ḏna-na-a*

2 minas and 5 shekels of red gold (for) one golden breast ornament, (and) 42 pieces of gold plating for the golden breast ornament of Nanaya.

## GCC1 2, 141

1. *1/3 3 GÍN 4-tú KÙ.GI*
2. *na-al-tar ú-rat\* KÁ*
3. *šá GABA KÙ.GI šá ḏna-na-a*

1/3 (mina and) 3 1/4 shekels of gold *naltar* for the *ur(a)tu* of the opening of the golden breast ornament of Nanaya.

## GCC1 2, 214

1. 1/3 7 1/2 GÍN *gi-ru-ú* KÙ.GI
2. *iš-kar a-na ú-rak* KÁ
3. *ša* GABA<sup>1</sup> *ša* <sup>4</sup>*na-na-a* ù
4. *ša* <sup>4</sup>URI-*a-mat-su*

1/3 (mina and) 7 1/2 (and) 1/24 shekels of gold, supply for the rod of the opening of the breast ornament of Nanaya and Ušur-amāssu.

## YOS 6, 29

1. 1/2 GÍN *hal-lu-ru* LÁ KÙ.GI
2. 2 *har-har-ri*
3. 7 *ti-tur-re-e-tu*<sub>4</sub>
4. *a-na bat-qa* *ša* GABA KÙ.GI
5. *ša* <sup>4</sup>*na-na-a*

1/2 shekel minus 1/40 shekel of gold (for) 2 chains (and) 7 crosspieces to repair the golden breast ornament of Nanaya.

## NCBT 333

4. (gold) *a-na* GABA KÙ.GI
5. [*ša* <sup>4</sup>*n*]*a-na-a*

Gold for the golden breast ornament [of N]anaya.

## 4.2.2.4. Jewelry

Several inventories detail the jewelry of the goddess Nanaya. The most important one is NBC 4894, which lists the jewelry belonging in common to Ištar and Nanaya (§ 3.5.4). This large inventory includes 52 necklaces as well as a number of individual items ranging from seals and figurines to mirrors and cosmetic jars. Individual items of jewelry belonging in common to the Lady-of-Uruk, Nanaya, and Bēltu-ša-Rēš are mentioned in the fragmentary inventories VS 20, 127: 4. 2 *a-a-ri pa-ni* KÙ.GI “2 frontal rosettes of gold;” and VS 20, 127: 5. 2 *du-d[i-it-tu]* “2 fi[bulas].” Other inventories detailing the jewelry of Nanaya are as follow:

## YOS 6, 216

6. 1 GÚ 71 <sup>na4</sup>*nu-úr-mu-ú* BABBAR.DIL
7. *man-di-tu*<sub>4</sub> KÙ.GI 71 *kur-šu-ú* KÙ.GI
8. *ina* DUR GADA.ĤÁ *ša-bit*
9. 2-ú GÚ <sup>58</sup> <sup>na4</sup>*nu-úr-mu-ú* BABBAR.DIL
10. *man-di-tu*<sub>4</sub> KÙ.GI 118 *kur-šu-ú* KÙ.GI

11. *ina* 2 *pi-in-gu ina gu-ḫal-ša* KÙ.GI *ša-bit*
12. PAP *ša* <sup>4</sup>*na-na-a*

1 necklace (made of) 71 pomegranate-shaped beads of banded agate (with) gold mountings (and) 71 gold links, held on a linen string. A 2nd necklace (made of) 58 pomegranate-shaped beads of banded agate (with) gold mountings (and) 118 gold links, held by 2 end pieces on a gold wire. Total (of the jewelry) belonging to Nanaya.

## PTS 2175

8. 1 *ar-za-la* KÙ.GI
9. *ša* *ḫu-du-uš-šu*
10. *ša* GÚ KÙ.GI *nu-úr-mu-ú* <sup>na4</sup>BABBAR.DIL
11. *ša* <sup>4</sup>*na-na-a*

1 *arzallu* jewel of gold for restoring the necklace of gold (and) pomegranate-shaped beads of banded agate belonging to Nanaya.

## YOS 17, 246

1. *šu-qul-ti a-ri-ti*
2. *ša* <sup>4</sup>*na-na-a* ITI NE U<sub>4</sub> 1-KAM
3. MU 8-KAM <sup>4</sup>NA-NÍG.DU-PAP LUGAL E<sup>ki</sup>
4. 1 GÚ *ša* *iš-ta'-ḫu* KÙ.GI
5. 1 GÚ *ša* *pa-úr-ri'* KÙ.GI
6. 2 'ĤAR' KÙ.GI NA<sub>4</sub>
7. 2 *a-a-ri* SU.ME KÙ.GI
8. 1 GÚ *ša* *bu-sa-né-e* KÙ.GI'
9. 1 'šá\* *ku\*-lu-lu* KÙ.GI
10. 2 *ša* *ku-ma-'re'-e* *ša* 4-ú [*šab-tú*]
11. 1 GÚ *ša* 'ku'-*tal-lu*<sub>4</sub> KÙ.GI
12. 1 GÚ *ša* *bi-na-a-ta* KÙ.G[I]
13. [o G]Ú *ša* *dub\*-qa-a-ta* KÙ.G[I]
14. [o G]Ú *ša* *raq-qa-a-ta* KÙ.G[I]
15. [o G]Ú 'šá' *nu-úr* KÙ.GI
16. 4 *nu-úr* *ša* *ku-si\*-ti*
17. 1 *ša* *ku\*-ma-re-e* AŠ\*
18. PAP *šu-qul-ti* *ša* <sup>4</sup>*na-na-a*
19. ITI NE U<sub>4</sub> 1-KAM MU 8-KAM

Removed jewelry(!) belonging to Nanaya, month Abu, 1st day, 8th year of Nebuchadnezzar, king of Babylon. 1 gold necklace with whip-shaped counterpoise, 1 gold necklace with *pa'urru*, 2 bracelets of gold (and) stones, 2 rosettes SU.ME of gold, 1 gold necklace with *busanū*, 1 gold (necklace) with (miniature) crown, 2 (necklaces) with frame [attached] in 4 places, 1 gold necklace with counterpoise, 1 necklace of fish-roe-shaped beads of gold, [1] gold [neck]lace of *dubkātu* beads, [1] gold [neck]lace of *raqqatus*, [1] gold [neck]lace of pomegranate-shaped beads, 4 (necklaces with) pomegranate-shaped beads for the *kusītu* garment, 1 (necklace) with individual frame(s). Total of the jewelry(!) of Nanaya. Month Abu, the 1st day, the 8th year.

This text presents several difficulties, notably the occurrence of obscure words and the elliptical character of some of the descriptions. The word *šuqultu* “weight” on lines 1 and 18 must be a mistake for *šukuttu* “jewelry.”<sup>74</sup> The date of the text coincides with the clothing ceremony of the first day of the month Abu (§ 1.6).

## GCC I 2, 45

1. [o] '5/6\*<sup>1</sup> MA.NA <sup>na4</sup>*lak-kàs šá* <sup>na4</sup>GUG
2. 'a-na GURUN\*.ME\*<sup>1</sup> šá NU.ÚR.MA KÙ.GI
3. 'šá GÚ\* šá\*<sup>1</sup> <sup>na4</sup>*na-na-a*

[o o and] 5/6 minas of chips of carnelian for fashioning the fruit-shaped ornaments<sup>75</sup> made of pomegranate-shaped beads belonging to the necklace of Nanaya.

## NCBT 956

1. 2 GÍN *šal-šú* 1 GÍN KÙ.GI 55 <sup>gi8</sup>BÁN.MEŠ
2. šá GÚ šá IGI ŠU.MIN.MEŠ šá <sup>na4</sup>*na-na-a* ...
4. 1 *kur-šu-ú šá* GÚ <sup>na4</sup>*nu-úr-mu-ú*
5. <sup>na4</sup>BABBAR.DIL šá <sup>na4</sup>*na-na-a*

2 1/3 shekels of gold (for) 55 *sūtus* belonging to the necklace in front of the hands of Nanaya ... 1 link for the necklace (made of) pomegranate-shaped beads of banded agate belonging to Nanaya.

## YBC 4174

14. 2 *taš-kis* KÙ.GI 2 *a-a-ri* IGI šá 4-ú
15. 2 *du-di-it-ti* KÙ.GI 1 *un-qu* KÙ.GI ...
23. 4 AŠ.ME šá *zi-i-mu*
24. 1 GÚ KÙ.GI šá ZIZNA 65 *bi-ni-tú ina lib-bi*
25. 13 *ib-bi-tú* 3 šá *tam-le-e* 1 šá <sup>na4</sup>BABBAR.DIL
26. 1 <sup>na4</sup>*šá-an-dup-pu šá* <sup>na4</sup>AŠ.GI 2 <sup>na4</sup>KIŠIB BABBAR.DIL *ina DUR GADA*
27. 2-ú GÚ 41 *nu-úr-mu-ú* <sup>na4</sup>BABBAR.DIL *man-di-tú* KÙ.GI
28. *ina gu-ḫal-ša* KÙ.GI *ša-bit*
29. 3-šú GÚ 176 <sup>na4</sup>KIŠIB <sup>na4</sup>BABBAR.DIL šá *man-di-tú* 2 *kur-šu-ú* KÙ.GI
30. *ina lib-bi* 1 <sup>na4</sup>KIŠIB *ù 1-et man-di-it-su ina É pa-pa-ḫu*
31. 2 *du-di-it 'šá'* [o o o o]-'e'
32. *la 'a'-[šu-ú o o o o]*
33. 4-ú GÚ 19 [o o o o *gu-ḫa*]-*šu* KÙ.GI *šab-ta*
34. PAP *šu-kut-ti* [šá <sup>na4</sup>*na-na-a*]

<sup>74</sup> The scribe may have been thinking about the weighing of these necklaces after their removal. Weighing jewelry and precious objects was a standard procedure that was necessary to control their content in gold and silver and make sure that they had not been tampered with or altered by dishonest craftsmen.

<sup>75</sup> CAD N/II, pp. 345–347, s.v. *nurmi*: “x minas of chips of carnelian for making (*ana epēši*) the golden pomegranate for the necklace of Nanaya.” The two preserved signs are not compatible with *ana epēši*, however, nor with *ana batqi*, while GURUN\*.ME\* seems quite clear.

2 *tarkīsu* ornaments of gold; 2 frontal rosettes (attached in) 4 places;<sup>76</sup> 2 gold fibulas; 1 gold finger-ring ... 4 sun-disks as garment decoration; 1 gold necklace of fish-rope-shaped beads (comprising) 65 beads, (which also) includes 13 *ibbitus*, 3 (of them) with inlays, 1 (of them made) of banded agate, 1 *sanduppu* ornament of turquoise, (and) 2 cylinders of banded agate, (all held) on a linen string; a 2nd necklace (composed of) 41 pomegranate-shaped beads of banded agate (with) gold mountings, held on a gold wire; a 3rd necklace (composed of) 176 cylinder-seal-shaped beads of banded agate with mountings (and) 2 links of gold, one of the cylinder-seal-shaped beads and its mounting are in the inner cella; 2 fibulas with [o o o o] a *lā-ā[šú o o o]*; a 4th necklace (composed of) 19 [o o o o o] held on a gold [wir]e. Total of the jewelry [of Nanaya].

The following texts list various pieces of jewelry belonging to the chest of the goddess Nanaya. <sup>77</sup>

## PTS 3238

1. [o o o o o o o o o o] *na-du-ú*
2. [o o o o o o o o o o] *man-di-ti* KÙ.GI
3. [o o o o o o o o o o] 'KÙ'.GI
4. [o o o o o o o o o o] šá 'man-di-ti' KÙ.GI
5. [o o o o o o o o o o] 1 'na4BABBAR.DIL x x'
6. [o o o o o o o o o o] šá <sup>na4</sup>x x'-lu? <sup>na4</sup>BABBAR.DIL
7. [o o o o o o o o o o] 'x' <sup>na4</sup>BABBAR.DIL šá *man-di-ti* KÙ.GI
8. [o o o o o o o o o o]-*a-ta*
9. [o o o o o o o o o o] <sup>na4</sup>*muš-šá-ru*
10. [o o o o o o o o o o] *d?-ru* KÙ.GI
11. [o] *mut-ta-bil-ti* šá <sup>na4</sup>*za-ku-ku-ú*
12. PAP *er-bi* šá 'kaš-šá-a' DUMU.MÍ LUGAL
13. *a-na pi-šá-an-nu šá* <sup>na4</sup>*na-na-a na-din*
14. ITI ŠU U<sub>4</sub> 15-KAM MU 15-KAM

1. [o o o o o o o o o o] cast (?),
2. [o o o o o o o o o o] with] gold mountings,
3. [o o o o o o o o o o] of gold,
4. [o o o o o o o o o o] with gold mountings,
5. [o o o o o o o o o o] 1 bead of banded agate 'x x'
6. [o o o o o o o o o o] of 'x x x' stone and banded agate,
7. [o o o o o o o o o o] 'x' of banded agate with gold mountings,
8. [o o o o o o o o o o] 'x x'
9. [o o o o o o o o o o] of *muššaru* stone,
10. [o o o o o o o o o o] 'x' of gold,
11. [o] *muttabiltu* of glass.
12. Total of the income of Kaššaya, the king's daughter,
13. allotted for the chest of Nanaya.
14. Month Duzû, 15th day, 15th year.

<sup>76</sup> On a drawing from the Parthian period found at Assur Nanaya is depicted wearing a frontal rosette on her crown (WESTENHOLZ 1997, p. 81, fig. 2).

<sup>77</sup> See BEAULIEU 1998a, pp. 182–188 for a discussion of the word *pišannu* and the publication (handcopy, transliteration, translation, commentary) of PTS 3238.

## PTS 2264

1. 46 1/2 GÍN KÙ.GI *el-'li x x GI'*
2. *šá pi-šá-nu šá d<sup>na</sup>-na-a*
3. 26 *kur-ša-né-e* KÙ.GI.MEŠ
4. 2 *pi-in-ga-nu* 'KÙ.GI'
5. 12 *in-bé-e* KÙ.GI
6. 12 *har-har* KÙ.GI
7. 4 *šu-bu-ru-da-nu* KÙ.GI
8. 16 *sa-an-ḥa-nu* KÙ.GI

46 1/2 shekels of pure gold 'x x x' of the chest of Nanaya, (weight of) 26 links of gold, 2 gold knobs, 12 fruit-shaped ornaments of gold, 12 gold chains, 4 *šuburūdus* of gold, (and) 16 suspension rings of gold.

## BIN 2, 126

1. 1/2 MA.NA 7 GÍN 3 *ri-bat* 2 *gi-'re-e* KÙ'.GI
2. 2 *ḤAR* KÙ.GI.ME
3. 2 *qu-da-še-e*
4. 3 *an-ša-ba-a-ta*
5. *šá TA* *ḡ<sup>is</sup>pi-šá-an-ni*
6. [*šá*] *d<sup>na</sup>-na-a*
7. *ú-ri-du-nu*

1/2 mina (and) 7 3/4 (and) 1/12 shekels of gold (for) 2 gold bracelets, 2 rings, (and) 3 earrings, removed from the *pišannu* of Nanaya.

In the 7th century the Assyrian imperial authorities sponsored repair work on the cult statues of Uruk as part of their effort to reverse the repressive measures of Sennacherib. This is the context of the letter PARPOLA 1993, 349, in which the scholar Mār-Ištar writes to the king of Assyria, presumably Esarhaddon, about the state of the restoration work on the images of Nanaya, Ušur-amāssu, Kurunnītu, Anunītu, and ḡIGI.DU. The following passages are concerned with Nanaya: 12. [*šá-kut-tú ša d<sup>n</sup>a-na-a*] 13. *ma-aṭ-ṭi-ia-at* "[the decoration of the goddess N]anaya is defective;" and 26. *šá-kut-tú ša d<sup>na</sup>-na-a né-e-pa-áš* "we shall make the decoration of Nanaya."

Several Neo-Babylonian archival texts refer to the cleaning and repair of the jewelry of Nanaya, such as GCCI 1, 141: 1. 1 *ŠILA šam-ni a-na* 2. *ku-up-pu-ru šá šu-kut-ti* 3. *šá d<sup>na</sup>-na-a* "1 *qū* of oil to clean the jewelry of Nanaya;" and GCCI 1, 251: (gold) 3. *a-na bat-qa* 4. *šá šu-kut-ti šá d<sup>GAŠAN</sup> šá UNUG<sup>ki</sup>* 5. *u d<sup>na</sup>-na-a* "gold to repair the jewelry of the Lady-of-Uruk and Nanaya." The following are excerpts from texts which record various transactions involving the repair and fashioning of the jewelry of Nanaya; JURSA 1997, pp. 108–109, no. 14: 4. '16 *ḡ<sup>is</sup>BÁN KÙ.GI.ME šá a-a-ri KÁ!* KÙ.GI 5. [*šá d<sup>n</sup>a-na-a*] "16 *sūlus* of gold for the golden rosette with opening(?) [belonging to N]anaya;" NBC 4577: 18. 2 *gú-ḥaš* KÙ.GI *šá TA* *na<sup>4</sup>KIŠIB.MEŠ paṭ-ru ina ḡ<sup>is</sup>šad-du šá šu-kut-tu<sub>4</sub>* 19. *šá d<sup>na</sup>-na-a* "2 gold wires detached from the

cylinder-seal-shaped beads (and put) in the jewelry container of Nanaya;"<sup>78</sup> NCBT 589: 5. 1 1/2 MA.NA KÙ.GI *gú-ḥal-šu* 6. *šá d<sup>na</sup>-na-a* "1 1/2 minas of (red)<sup>79</sup> gold (for a) wire for Nanaya;" NCBT 1018: 1. [o] *la a-šu-ú* KÙ.GI 2. 'šá' *d<sup>na</sup>-na-a* ... 6. 'ú' *un-qu šá d<sup>na</sup>-na-a* "[o for] the *lā-āšū* of gold belonging to Nanaya ... and the finger-ring of Nanaya."

More elaborate notations occur in the following texts:

## NCBT 410

4. PAP '3' MA.NA 1/3 4 GÍN KÙ.GI
5. *a-na AŠ.ME* KÙ.GI.MEŠ
6. 11 GÍN KÙ.GI SA<sub>5</sub>
7. 'a'-na *ḥu-bu-'šalšá'-nu* ...
9. PAP.PAP 3 '1/2 MA.NA' 5 GÍN KÙ.GI
10. 'a'-na *bat-qa* 'šá šu'-kut-ti 'KÙ.GI'
11. [*šá*] 'd<sup>na</sup>-na-a'

Total: 3 minas and 24 shekels of gold for the golden sun-disk ornaments; 11 shekels of red gold for the *ḥubuš/šus* ... Grand total: 3 1/2 minas (and) 5 shekels of gold to repair the golden jewelry of Nanaya.

## YBC 7383

14. [o o o b] *it-qa* KÙ.GI TA KÙ.GI *qí-'il'-pi 'ù' bat-qa*
15. [*a-na*] DÜ-šú *šá du-di-it-ti šá ka-su-'si šá' d<sup>na</sup>-na-a* ...
20. PAP 1 MA.NA 10 GÍN 4-tú *a-na bat-qa š[á na<sup>4</sup>šu]-kut-tu<sub>4</sub> šá d<sup>na</sup>-na-[a]*
21. PAP-ma 2 1/3 MA.NA 9 GÍN *bit-qa* KÙ.GI *a-na bat-qa*
22. *šá na<sup>4</sup>šu-kut-tu<sub>4</sub> šá d<sup>GAŠAN</sup> šá UNUG<sup>ki</sup> u d<sup>na</sup>-na-'a'*

[o o o and 1]/8 shekels of gold, from the gold (allotted) for plating and repairing, [for] a falcon-shaped fibula<sup>80</sup> for Nanaya ... Total: 1 mina (and) 10 1/4 shekels (of gold) to repair the jewelry of Nanaya. Grand total: 2 1/3 minas (and) 9 1/8 shekels of gold to repair the jewelry of the Lady-of-Uruk and Nanaya.

## PTS 3136

8. 1 *na<sup>4</sup>dub-ki-'ti'* GAL-ti
9. *a-na ḤAR* KÙ.GI *šá d<sup>na</sup>-na-a*

1 large *dubkitu* bead for the gold bracelet of Nanaya.

<sup>78</sup> Published by SACK 1979, pp. 42–43, with several mistakes.

<sup>79</sup> Red gold is involved according to the first entry and the total.

<sup>80</sup> See CURTIS 1994, p. 58, for Neo-Assyrian period fibulas with one arm in the shape of the demon Pazuzu and the other in the shape of a perched bird of prey, possibly a falcon. KLEIN 1983, pp. 282–283, provides illustrations of toggle-pins with heads in the form of a vase and of a caprine head.



## VS 20, 19

1. 60<sup>na4</sup>IGI.MIN.MEŠ<sup>r<sup>na4</sup></sup>NÍR.MUŠ.GÍR
2. 9<sup>na4</sup>UGU.AŠ.GÌ.GÌ
3. a-na HAR KÙ.GI.MEŠ šá<sup>na-na-a</sup>

60 eye-stones of *muššaru* stone (and) 9 beads of turquoise for the gold bracelets of Nanaya.

Three texts mention pieces of jewelry in the shape of door-locking mechanisms. These ornaments were probably used in a ritual performed at the beginning of the month Addaru and involving Ištar, Nanaya, and other deities (§3.5.4). Textual references for Nanaya are as follows; AnOr 9, 6: 3. 2 *pi-in-gu* KÙ.GI 4 *har-gul-lum* KÙ.BABBAR 4. 12 *sa-an-ḥa* KÙ.BABBAR.ME šá<sup>na-na-a</sup> “2 knobs of gold, 4 locks of silver, 12 rings of silver, (all) belonging to Nanaya;” NCBT 357: 6. 2 *pi-in-ga* KÙ.BABBAR 7. 4 *har-gul-lum* KÙ.BABBAR 8. 12<sup>r</sup>*ḥa-an-du-uḥ-ḥu* KÙ.BABBAR<sup>r</sup> 9. šá<sup>na-na-a</sup> “2 knobs of silver, 4 locks of silver, 12 *handūḥus* of silver, (all) belonging to Nanaya;” and Stigers 19: 5. 5 *pi-in-gu* KÙ.BABBAR 6. 2 *har-gul-lum* KÙ.BABBAR 7. 12 *ḥa-an-duḥ* KÙ.BABBAR 8. šá<sup>na-na-a</sup> “5 knobs of silver, 2 locks of silver, 12 *handūḥus* of silver, (all) belonging to Nanaya.”

## 4.2.3. Clothing

Some texts record disbursements of textiles, thread, and various fabrics for the sacred wardrobe of Nanaya, mentioning the following pieces: *adīlu* “tassel(?)”, *eru* “headband,” *guḥalšu* “scarf,” *ḥullānu* “wrap,” *ḥuṣannu* “sash,” the *kusītu* garment, *lubāru kulūlu* “head scarf,” *naḥlaptu* “outer garment,” the *naṣbatu* garment (for the *bīt-ḥilši* of Nabû and Nanaya), *paršīgu* “turban,” *ṣabû* “dyed garment,” the *šibtu* garment, the *šalḥu* cloth, and possibly the *mušīptu* garment. The *kusītu*, and perhaps also the *mušīptu*, were decorated with gold sequins of various shapes.

## 4.2.3.1. Garments

YOS 6, 71+72 is a deposition before the temple assembly concerning two *kusītu* garments which were periodically loaned from Nanaya of Ezida, presumably the form of Nanaya worshiped in Borsippa, to Ištar and Nanaya of Uruk (20. <sup>uḡ</sup>BAR.DUL<sub>8</sub>.MEŠ<sup>ši-na 2-ta</sup>). YOS 17, 246 possibly mentions pomegranate-shaped beads belonging to her *kusītu* garment, provided that we understand *nu-úr* as a spelling for *nurmu* (16. 4 *nu-úr* šá<sup>ku-si\*-ti</sup>). NCBT 200: 1–4 mentions woven garments (<sup>uḡ</sup>*mi-ih-ṣu*) belonging to Ištar, Nanaya, and other goddesses (§3.6.1). Other texts are as follows:

## YOS 7, 183

9. 6\* MA.NA <sup>uḡ</sup>*mi-ih-ṣi* BABBAR-ú 1 <sup>uḡ</sup>MÁŠ
10. 6 MA.NA <sup>uḡ</sup>*mi-ih-ṣi* šá<sup>sg</sup>HÉ.ME.DA <sup>sg</sup>HAB 1 <sup>uḡ</sup>*ṣa-bu-ú*
11. 1 5/6 MA.NA <sup>uḡ</sup>*mi-ih-ṣi* BABBAR-ú 10 <sup>uḡ</sup>NÍG.ÍB.LÁ.ME
12. 4 MA 50 GÍN <sup>uḡ</sup>*mi-ih-ṣi* šá<sup>sg</sup>ZA.GÍN.KUR.RA 1 <sup>uḡ</sup>*lu-bar ku-lu-lu* 1 <sup>uḡ</sup>*e-ri*

13. 4 <sup>uḡ</sup>*par-ši-gu<sup>me</sup>* 1 *gu-ḥal-ša* šá MUD
14. PAP šá<sup>na-na-a</sup>

6 minas of white woven cloth (for) 1 *šibtu* garment, 6 minas of woven cloth of red-colored wool (dyed) with *ḥaṭḥūru* (for) 1 dyed garment, 1 5/6 minas of white woven cloth (for) 10 sashes, 4 minas (and) 50 shekels of woven cloth of blue-colored wool (for) 1 head scarf and 1 headband, 4 turbans, 1 scarf of dark-colored fabric. Total (of the clothing) of Nanaya.

## YOS 17, 301

6. 12 MA.NA <sup>uḡ</sup>*mi-ih-ṣu* BABBAR-ú 2 <sup>uḡ</sup>MÁŠ.ME
7. 1 2/3 MA.NA KI.MIN 10 <sup>uḡ</sup>NÍG.ÍB.LÁ.ME
8. PAP šá<sup>na-na-a</sup>

12 minas of white woven cloth (for) 2 *šibtu* garments, 1 2/3 minas of the same (for) 10 sashes. Total (of the clothing) of Nanaya.

## YOS 17, 305

1. 10 MA.NA <sup>sg</sup>ZA.GÍN.KUR.RA a-na
2. <sup>uḡ</sup>GÚ.É šá<sup>na-na-a</sup>

10 minas of blue-colored wool for the outer garment of Nanaya.

## YOS 19, 270

6. 12 MA.NA <sup>uḡ</sup>*mi-ih-ṣi* BABBAR-ú 2 <sup>uḡ</sup>MÁŠ šá<sup>na-na-a</sup>
7. 1 5/6 MA.NA KI.MIN 10 <sup>uḡ</sup>NÍG.ÍB.LÁ.MEŠ
8. [P]AP šá<sup>na-na-a</sup>

12 minas of white woven cloth (for) 2 *šibtu* garments of Nanaya, 1 5/6 minas of the same (for) 10 sashes. Total (of the clothing) of Nanaya.

## YOS 19, 271

7. 12 MA.NA <sup>uḡ</sup>*mi-ih-ṣu* BABBAR-ú 2 <sup>uḡ</sup>MÁŠ.ME
8. šá<sup>na-na-a</sup>
9. 1 5/6 MA.NA 10 <sup>uḡ</sup>NÍG.ÍB.LÁ.MEŠ
10. PAP <sup>uḡ</sup>*mi-ih-ṣu* šá<sup>na-na-a</sup>

12 minas of white woven cloth (for) 2 *šibtu* garments for Nanaya, 1 5/6 minas (of the same for) 10 sashes. Total of the woven cloth belonging to Nanaya.

PTS 2094<sup>81</sup>

col. I, obv.

9. 2 gadašal-*hu*
10. 9 túGÚ.Ē s<sub>g</sub>ZA.GÌN.KUR.RA
11. 2 túGKI.MIN s<sub>g</sub>HÉ.ME.DA
12. 1 túGMAŠ
13. 1 túgša-bu-ú
14. 1 túghul-la-nu
15. 1 túga-di-lu
15. 1 túgBAR.DUL<sub>g</sub>
16. PAP túgmi-iš-su šá d<sub>na</sub>-na-a

2 *šalhu* cloths, 9 outer garments of blue-colored wool, 2 of the same of red-colored wool, 1 *šibtu* garment, 1 dyed garment, 1 wrap, 1 tassel(?), 1 *kusītu* garment. Total (of the) woven cloth belonging to Nanaya.

PTS 3257<sup>82</sup>

1. [o o M]A.NA túgmi-iš-su BABBAR-ú 1 TÚG.ĪÁ<sup>83</sup>
2. [o] r<sub>u</sub>MAŠ šá dGAŠAN šá UNUG<sub>ki</sub> 2 túGMAŠ šá d<sub>na</sub>-na-a

[o o m]inas of white woven cloth (for) 1 *lubāru* garment, [o o] *šibtu* garment belonging to the Lady-of-Uruk, (and) 2 *šibtu* garments belonging to Nanaya.

## PTS 3471

1. 9 1/2 MA.NA 5 GÍN s<sub>g</sub>ZA.GÌN.KUR'.RA
2. a-na túgBAR.DUL<sub>g</sub> šá dGAŠAN šá UNUG<sub>ki</sub>
3. túGÚ.Ē šá d<sub>na</sub>-na-a
4. túg<sub>lu</sub>-bar ku-lu-lu<sup>me</sup>
5. šá dGAŠAN šá UNUG<sub>ki</sub>
6. u d<sub>na</sub>-na-a

9 1/2 minas (and) 5 shekels of blue-colored wool (for) the *kusītu* garment of the Lady-of-Uruk, the wrap of Nanaya, (and) the head scarves of the Lady-of-Uruk and Nanaya.

## PTS 2881

2. 10 MA.NA 1-et túGÚ.Ē
3. ù 1-en túgša-bu-ú šá d<sub>na</sub>-na-a

<sup>81</sup> The heading of this text reads: 1. túgmi-iš-su 'te'-nu-ú šá a-na túGÚ.Ē.ĪÁ.Ē s<sub>g</sub>ITIGAN 2. a-na 'DÜ-<sup>15</sup> AZLAG na-ad-nu "Spare woven cloth allotted to Ibni-Ištar, a cleaner, for the clothing ceremony of the month Kislimu."

<sup>82</sup> The subscription of the text says: 11. a-na túGÚ.Ē.ĪÁ.Ē s<sub>g</sub>U<sub>4</sub> 1-KAM šá ITI NE, but it is uncertain whether this applies to all the items mentioned in the text or only to the last one.

<sup>83</sup> The signs emended as ĪÁ! are UD.'A', which could also be read BABBAR.'MIN'.

10 minas (of woven cloth of red-colored wool dyed with *hūratu* for) 1 outer garment and 1 dyed garment belonging to Nanaya.<sup>84</sup>

## PTS 3190

1. 6 gadašal-*hu*<sup>me</sup> ...
5. ... a-na te-né-e
6. 'šá' dGAŠAN šá UNUG<sub>ki</sub>
7. d<sub>na</sub>-r<sub>na</sub>-a u<sup>1</sup> dGAŠAN (šá) SAG

6 pieces of *šalhu* fabric ... as spare (clothing) for the Lady-of-Uruk, Nanaya, and Bēltu-ša-Rēš.

## NCBT 377

1. 2 túga-di-ì[l-a-nu]
2. 2-ta túgna-aš-ša-ba-'a-ta'
3. šá s<sub>g</sub>SAG
4. a-na É ĩi-il-š<sub>u</sub>
5. šá dNÀ u d<sub>na</sub>-na-a
6. u É ĩi-il-š<sub>u</sub>
7. šá É dÛRI-INIM-su

2 tassels(?) (and) 2 *našbatu* garments of red purple wool for the *bīt-hilši* of Nabû and Nanaya and the *bīt-hilši* of the temple of Ušur-amāssu.

## 4.2.3.2. Decorated Garments

The *kusītu* garment of Nanaya was decorated with two types of sequins: the rosette (*ayaru*), and the *tenšû* (meaning unknown). According to NBC 4577 Ištar borrowed on one occasion 86 of these rosettes and *tenšûs* for her own clothing (§ 3.6.2). Most of the texts record minimal variations in the number of sequins belonging to the *kusītu* of Nanaya, that is to say, between 700 and 706 of each ornament, for a total of about 1,400. Significantly higher and lower figures are recorded in NCBT 557, which lists 743 rosettes and 743 *tenšûs*; GCCI 2, 133, which lists 561 rosettes and 560 *tenšûs*; and GCCI 2, 367, with only 468 rosettes and 469 *tenšûs*. Since these last two texts are dated to the reign of Kandalānu, it is possible that the number of sequins was increased during the time of the Neo-Babylonian dynasty until it stabilized around 700.<sup>85</sup> Correlations between these texts and the calendar of the clothing ceremony are discussed in chapter 1 (§ 1.7.2). Textual references are as follows:

<sup>84</sup> The total of this text reads: 7. PAP 17 1/2 MA.NA túgmi-iš-su 8. šá s<sub>g</sub>HÉ.ME.DA s<sub>g</sub>ĪAB "17 1/2 minas of woven cloth of red-colored wool dyed with *hūratu*."

<sup>85</sup> It must be pointed out that these two texts do not mention the goddess Nanaya explicitly. On the other hand, they specify that the sequins were weighed together with (or without) a garment called *mušiptu*. Since an identical operation involving the same garment is recorded for the attire of Nanaya in GCCI 2, 69, and considering the fact that rosettes and *tenšûs* are normally not attested in connection with other deities, it is quite probable that GCCI 2, 133, GCCI 2, 367, and NCBT 557 concern the attire of Nanaya, and they are therefore included here.

## AUWE 11, 162

1. '23' MA.NA KÙ.GI [o o o]
2. 703 a-a-ri [KÙ.GI]
3. 703 te-en-ši-[ia KÙ.GI]
4. šá<sup>u</sup>gBAR.DUL<sub>8</sub> šá<sup>u</sup>n[a-na-a]

23 minas of gold [for o o o] 703 [gold] rosettes (and) 703 *tenšûs* [of gold] belonging to the *kusîtu* garment of N[anaya].

## GCC I 2, 69

1. '7' [ME + x] 'a\*-a\*-ri\* KÙ.GI'
2. 'šá?' [o o o o o o]
3. '22\*' MA.NA EN<sup>u</sup>mu-šip-ti
4. KI.LÁ.BI.E.NE.NE
5. šá 'a-na UGU<sup>u</sup>na\*-na\*-a il-lu-ú
6. 172 a-'a-ri KÙ'.GI
7. ù ten-š[e-e] KÙ.GI SA<sub>5</sub>-ú-lú
8. 1 1/2 MA.NA '2\*' [GÍN K]I.LÁ.BI'.E.NE.NE
9. a-na hu-up-'pi'-i šu-ru-du-nu

700 [and x x] gold rosettes belonging(?) [to the o o o o] which went on Nanaya; their weight, together with the *mušîptu* cloth, is 22 minas. 172 gold rosettes and *tenšûs* of red gold taken down for destroying; their weight is 1 1/2 minas.

## GCC I 2, 133

1. 561 a-a-ri
2. 560 te-en-ši-ia
3. PAP 1,121 a-a-ri
4. u te-en-ši-ia
5. 8 5/6 MA.NA 2 GÍN KÙ.GI
6. a-di-i<sup>u</sup>mu-šip-ti KI.LÁ.BI-šú-nu

561 rosettes (and) 560 *tenšûs*. Total: 1,121 rosettes and *tenšûs*; their weight is 8 5/6 minas and 2 shekels of gold, together with the *mušîptu* garment.

## GCC I 2, 367

1. 468 a-a-r[i o o]
2. '469' te-en-š[i-ia KÙ].GI'
3. [PAP] '937' a-a-ri u te-en-ši-ia
4. [o o M]A.NA 13 GÍN KÙ.GI KI.LÁ-'šú'-nu
5. [a]-la<sup>u</sup>mu-šip-ti

468 rosettes [of gold] (and) 469 *tenšûs* [of gold]. [Total]: 937 rosettes and *tenšûs*; their weight is [o o] minas and 13 shekels of gold, [apart] from the *mušîptu* garment.

## NBC 4504

6. 706 a-a-ri KÙ.GI
7. 706 te-en-še-e KÙ.GI
8. PAP 1,412
9. a-a-ri KÙ.GI
10. u te-en-še-e
11. šá<sup>u</sup>gBAR.DUL<sub>8</sub> šá<sup>u</sup>na'-na-a

706 gold rosettes (and) 706 *tenšûs* of gold. Total: 1,412 gold rosettes and *tenšûs* belonging to the *kusîtu* garment of Nanaya.

## NBC 4510

1. [o o] MA.NA KÙ.GI GABA KÙ.GI.MEŠ DADAG.MEŠ
2. [a-a]-ri KÙ.GI.MEŠ ù ten-ši-ia KÙ.GI.MEŠ
3. [u]-tu muh-bi<sup>u</sup>na-na-a ú-ri-du-nu

[o o] minas of gold, (weight of) the breast ornaments of pure gold, [the roset]tes of gold, and the *tenšûs* of gold removed from Nanaya.

## NCBT 557

1. '743' [a-a-ri KÙ.GI]
2. 743 te-en-š[i-ia KÙ.GI]
3. PAP 1,486 a-a-[ri]
4. ù te-en-ši-ia K[Ù.GI]
5. 23 MA.NA 50 GÍN KI.LÁ-šú-nu
6. a-di-i<sup>u</sup>mu-šip-ti

743 [gold rosettes] (and) 743 *tenšûs* [of gold]. Total: 1,486 g[old] rosettes and *tenšûs* of g[old]; their weight is 23 minas and 50 shekels, together with the *mušîptu* garment.

## NCBT 1008

7. '706' a-a-ri KÙ.GI'
8. '706 te-en-ši-ia' [KÙ.GI]
9. PAP '1,412 a-a-ri KÙ'.GI]
10. ù te-'en-si-ia'
11. šá UGU<sup>u</sup>BAR.'DUL<sub>8</sub> šá<sup>u</sup>na-na'-[a]

706 gold rosettes (and) 706 *tenšûs* [of gold]. Total: 1,412 [go]ld rosettes and *tenšûs* belonging to the *kusîtu* garment of Nanaya.

## PTS 2539

7. 706 a-a-ri KÙ.GI
8. 705 te-en-ši-i KÙ.GI
9. P[AP] 1,411 a-a-ri
10. [ù te]-en-'ši'-i KÙ.GI

11. [šá <sup>úg</sup>BA]R.DUL<sub>8</sub> šá <sup>na</sup>na-na-a  
 12. [1 te-en-šu]-ú ina <sup>en</sup>nak-ma-ru

706 gold rosettes (and) 705 *tenšûs* of gold. To[ta]l: 1,411 rosettes [and te]nšûs of gold [belonging to the kus]i<sup>tu</sup> garment of Nanaya; [1 tenš]û is in the storage container.

## PTS 2674

7. 706 a-a-ri KÙ.GI  
 8. 706 e-tin-ši-i KÙ.GI  
 9. PAP 1,412 a-a-ri  
 10. ù e-tin-ši-i ina UGU  
 11. <sup>úg</sup>BAR.DUL<sub>8</sub> šá <sup>na</sup>na-na-a

706 gold rosettes (and) 706 *tenšûs* of gold. Total: 1,412 rosettes and *tenšûs* belonging to the kus<sup>i</sup>tu garment of Nanaya.

## PTS 3067

6. 707 a-a-ri KÙ.[GI]  
 7. 707 te-en-še-[e KÙ.GI]  
 8. PAP 1,414 a-a-ri KÙ.GI  
 9. ù te-en-še-e KÙ.GI  
 10. šá UGU <sup>úg</sup>BAR.DUL<sub>8</sub> šá <sup>na</sup>na-na-a

707 go[ld] rosettes (and) 707 *tenšû*[s of gold]. Total: 1,414 gold rosettes and *tenšûs* of gold belonging to the kus<sup>i</sup>tu garment of Nanaya.

## YBC 3438

7. 706 a-a-ri<sup>1</sup> [o o o o] <sup>1</sup>x<sup>1</sup> lu  
 8. 706 [o o o o o o o o o]  
 9. 'PAP 1,412 šá UGU'  
 10. <sup>úg</sup>BAR.DUL<sub>8</sub> šá <sup>na</sup>na-na-a

706 [gold rosettes] x (and) 706 [*tenšûs* of gold]. Total: 1,412 (gold rosettes and *tenšûs*) belonging to the kus<sup>i</sup>tu garment of Nanaya.

## YBC 3441

1. 1,337 a-a-ri KÙ.GI  
 2. ù te-en-ši-i KÙ.GI  
 3. šá ul-tu UGU <sup>úg</sup>BAR.DUL<sub>8</sub>  
 4. šá <sup>na</sup>na-na-a ú-ri-du-nu

1,337 rosettes and *tenšûs* of gold removed from the kus<sup>i</sup>tu garment of Nanaya.

## YBC 7383

16. [o] MA.NA 4 GÍN bit-qa KÙ.GI a-na e-pe-<sup>r</sup>šú šá x a-a-ri KÙ.GI<sup>r</sup>  
 17. [o] MA.NA 2 GÍN a-na e-pe-šú šá 27 e-<sup>r</sup>tin<sup>1</sup>-ši-ia  
 18. [o] 1/2 MA.NA 6 GÍN bit-qa ul-tu KÙ.GI qí-il-pi šá <sup>4</sup>KI.T[UŠ]  
 19. a-na DÜ-šú šá a-a-ri ù e-tin-ši-<sup>r</sup>ia<sup>1</sup> [šá U]GU <sup>úg</sup>BAR.DUL<sub>8</sub> šá <sup>en</sup>[a-na-a]  
 20. PAP 1 MA.NA 10 GÍN 4-tú a-na bat-qa š[á <sup>na</sup>šú]-kut-tu<sub>4</sub> šá <sup>na</sup>na-na-[a]  
 21. PAP-ma 2 1/3 MA.NA 9 GÍN bit-qa KÙ.GI a-na bat-qa  
 22. šá <sup>na</sup>šú-kut-tu<sub>4</sub> šá <sup>4</sup>GĀŠAN šá UNUG<sup>ki</sup> u <sup>na</sup>na-na-<sup>r</sup>a<sup>1</sup>

[o] mina and 4 1/8 shekels of gold to make 'x' gold rosettes; [o] mina and 2 shekels (of gold) to make 27 *tenšûs*; [o] and 1/2 minas (and) 6 1/8 shekels (of gold obtained) from the gold plating of the Divine Cultic So[cle] to make rosettes and *tenšûs* for the kus<sup>i</sup>tu garment of N[anaya]. Total: 1 mina and 10 1/4 shekels (of gold) for repairing the jewelry of Nanaya. Grand total: 2 1/3 minas and 9 1/8 shekels of gold to repair the jewelry of the Lady-of-Uruk and Nanaya.

## YBC 9240

8. [o o]<sup>r</sup>x<sup>1</sup> a-a-ri KÙ.GI  
 9. [o o]+2 te-en-ši-ia KÙ.GI  
 10. [šá U]GU <sup>úg</sup>BAR.DUL<sub>8</sub> šá  
 11. <sup>na</sup>na-na-a ina IGI <sup>úg</sup>KÙ.DIM.MEŠ  
 12. ina lib-bi 1 a-a-ri KÙ.GI  
 13. 1-en ten-šu-ú KÙ.GI 1 GÍN šal-šú hal-lu-ru  
 14. KI.LÁ.BI-šú-nu ina IGI <sup>úg</sup>KÙ.DIM.ME  
 15. a-na bat-qu

[o o] gold rosettes, [o o and] 2 *tenšûs* of gold [belong]ing to the kus<sup>i</sup>tu garment of Nanaya, at the disposal of the goldsmiths, including 1 gold rosette and 1 *tenšû* of gold at the disposal of the goldsmiths for repair; their weight is 1 1/3 (and) 1/40 shekels.

## YBC 9395

1. 700 a-a-ri KÙ.GI  
 2. 700 te-en-ši-i KÙ.GI  
 3. 'PAP' 23 MA.NA KÙ.GI KI.LÁ.BI  
 4. [1-e]n rik-si šá <sup>úg</sup>BAR.DUL<sub>8</sub>  
 5. 'šá' <sup>na</sup>na-na-a

700 gold rosettes (and) 700 *tenšûs* of gold. Total: 23 minas of gold in weight, (the entire) section of the kus<sup>i</sup>tu garment of Nanaya.

## YBC 9638

5. '1,000 x ME 12 (or 13) a-a-ri KÙ.GI  
 6. ù 'te-en-ši-ia' KÙ.GI<sup>r</sup>  
 7. šá UGU <sup>úg</sup>BAR.DUL<sub>8</sub>  
 8. [šá <sup>na</sup>na-n]a-a

1,000 (and) x hundred and 12 (or 13) gold rosettes and *tenšûs* of gold belonging to the *kusîtu* garment of Nanaya.

## YOS 6, 117

4. 706 *a-a-ri* KÙ.GI
5. 706 *ten-ši-i* KÙ.GI
6. *šá* <sup>10</sup>BAR.DUL<sub>8</sub> *šá* <sup>4</sup>*na-na-a*

706 gold rosettes (and) 706 *tenšûs* of gold belonging to the *kusîtu* garment of Nanaya.

## YOS 17, 248

5. [o].ME *a-a-ri-meš* KÙ.GI
6. '400?' *te-en-še-e-me* KÙ.GI
7. PAP 1,416 *a-a-ri* KÙ.GI<sup>me</sup>
8. 'ù' *te-en-še-e* KÙ.GI
9. [*šá*] <sup>10</sup>BAR.DUL<sub>8</sub> *šá* <sup>4</sup>*na-na-a*

[o o o] hundred gold rosettes (and) '400(?)' *tenšûs* of gold. Total: 1,416 gold rosettes and *tenšûs* of gold belonging to the *kusîtu* garment of Nanaya.<sup>86</sup>

## 4.2.4. Offerings

## 4.2.4.1. Salt

Offerings of salt to Nanaya occur in YBC 9296: 1–3 (withdrawal of 2 talents and 20 minas of salt for the *ginû* of the Lady-of-Uruk, Nanaya, and Bēltu-ša-Rēš); and possibly YOS 19, 192: 1–4 ('2' talents and 'x' minas of salt, from the *ginû* of 'Nanaya(?)' from the month Ayaru onwards, withdrawn by Balātu, son of Nabû-ušallim). Four texts, NCBT 779, PTS 3112, YBC 9452, and YOS 17, 194, mention allocations of salt for "Eanna," which must be understood in this case as a collective designation for Ištar, Nanaya, and Bēltu-ša-Rēš (§ 3.7.1).

## 4.2.4.2. Dates

According to the *SWU* texts belonging to Group 1 (§ 2.3.2), the quantity of dates offered to Nanaya in connection with the bakers' duties on a single day totaled 1 *kurru*, equaling the offerings of Ištar. Bēltu-ša-Rēš and Ušur-amāssu each received 75 % of that amount. In PTS 2097, which records the changes in the offering system ordered by Nabonidus in his first regnal year, the quantity is 3 5/6 *mašihus* for the bakers and the brewers, still equaling the ordinary allowance of Ištar and slightly over that of the other two

goddesses. PTS 2097 also mentions offerings of Telmun dates to Nanaya, who received like Ištar a daily amount of 3 *qûs* by the "great measure" (*ina rabîti*), twice the individual allocations of Bēltu-ša-Rēš and Ušur-amāssu.

Allotments of Telmun dates to the bakers as *maššartu* for the offerings of Nanaya are recorded in YOS 6, 39: 1. ZÚ.LUM.MA NI.TUK<sup>ki</sup> *šá a-na maš-šar-ti šá* ITI AB *a-na* <sup>10</sup>MUḪALDIM.ME 2. SUM.NA (lines 4, 9, 12, 13, 15, 17, 18: various quantities to PNs IGI <sup>4</sup>*na-na-a*); YOS 19, 134: 1. [Z]Ú.LUM.MA NI.TUK<sup>ki</sup> *šá a-na maš-šar-ti šá* ITI ŠE MU 1-KAM <sup>4</sup>NĀ-N[Ī.TUK LUGAL TIN.TIR<sup>ki</sup>] 2. *a-na* <sup>10</sup>MUḪALDIM.MEŠ *na-ad-[nu]* (lines 8–11, 13, 15–17: various quantities to PNs IGI <sup>4</sup>*na-na-a*); YBC 3478: 1. ZÚ.LUM.MA NI.TUK<sup>ki.me</sup> *maš-šar-ti šá* ITI APIN <sup>10</sup>MU.ME 'x x x' ... 3. 2 (PI) 3 BĀN (ZÚ.LUM.MA ITI APIN) IGI <sup>4</sup>*na-na-a* <sup>10</sup>EN-PAP.ME-MU <sup>10</sup>UTU-MU <sup>10</sup>IR-<sup>10</sup>id? "Telmun dates 'x x' (to) the bakers as *maššartu* for the month Araḫsamnu ... 2 *pānus* (and) 3 *sātus* (of dates for the month Araḫsamnu) before Nanaya, Bēl-aḫḫē-iddin, Šamaš-iddin, and Ardiya(?);" YBC 3997: 1. ZÚ.LUM.MA NI.TUK<sup>ki</sup> *šá maš-šar-ti šá* ITI APIN 2. MU 1-KAM <sup>4</sup>U.GUR-LUGAL-ŪRI LUGAL TIN.TIR<sup>ki</sup> *a-na* <sup>10</sup>MUḪALDIM.ME SUM-nu (lines 3, 6, 7, 8, 9, 10, 11, 12: various quantities to PNs IGI <sup>4</sup>*na-na-a*); and PTS 2708: 6. ITI DU<sub>6</sub> IGI <sup>4</sup>*na-na-a* "(*maššartu* delivery of Telmun dates to the bakers for the) month Tašrītu before Nanaya."

Allotments of standard dates as *maššartu*, probably to the bakers, are recorded in YOS 17, 172: 2. ZÚ.LUM.MA *maš-šar-ti šá* ITI APIN ... 5. 15 (<sup>6</sup>*ma-ši-ḫu*) ITI APIN IGI <sup>4</sup>*na-na-a* "Dates, *maššartu* deliveries of the month Araḫsamnu ... 15 (*mašihus*) for the month Araḫsamnu before Nanaya." YOS 17, 166 records allotments of dates to the bakers for the "second meals" of the four main goddesses of Eanna in the month Addaru: 1. ZÚ.LUM.MA *šá a-na tar-den-né-e šá* ITI ŠE *a-na* <sup>10</sup>MUḪALDIM.MEŠ SUM-nu "dates for the second meals of the month Addaru allotted to the bakers," some intended for Nanaya: 3. ITI ŠE IGI <sup>4</sup>*na-na-a* "for the month Addaru before Nanaya;" and the same text records allotments of dates as *maššartu* for the month Nisannu: 7. ZÚ.LUM.MA *maš-šar-ti šá* ITI BĀRA *šá a-na* <sup>10</sup>MUḪALDIM.MEŠ SUM-nu "dates allotted to the bakers as *maššartu* for the month Nisannu;" some for the offerings of Nanaya: 9. [ITI BĀRA IGI] <sup>4</sup>*na-na-a* "[month Nisannu before] Nanaya."

A few more texts record transactions in dates for the offerings of Nanaya; NBC 4502: 4. 5 (<sup>6</sup>*ma-ši-ḫu šá* ZÚ.LUM.MA) *šá* 5 U<sub>4</sub> ITI APIN IGI <sup>4</sup>*na-na-a* 5. *šá* <sup>10</sup>NĀ-MU-DŪ <sup>10</sup>GI-<sup>10</sup>ŠŪ GIŠ ITI DU<sub>6</sub> U<sub>6</sub> 16-KAM "5 (*mašihus* of dates) for 5 days in the month Araḫsamnu before Nanaya, (offering days) of Nabû-šum-ibni, withdrawn by Mušallim-Marduk, month Tašrītu, 16th day;" UCP 9/1, 73: 1. 3 (GUR) 3 PI ZÚ.LUM.MA 2. IGI <sup>4</sup>15 <sup>10</sup>*na-na-a* "3 (*kurru* and) 3 *pānus* of dates before Ištar and Nanaya;"<sup>87</sup> and YOS 17, 173: 1. ZÚ.LUM.MA NI.TUK<sup>ki</sup> *maš-šar-ti šá* ITI KIN ... 6. ITI KIN IGI <sup>4</sup>*na-na-a* "Telmun dates, the *maššartu* deliveries of the month Ulūlu ... month Ulūlu before Nanaya." Finally UCP 9/2, 16 records a withdrawal of dates for the *guqqû* offerings of the Lady-of-Uruk and Nanaya:

<sup>86</sup> In consideration of the total one should expect the two figures on lines 5 and 6 to be around 700. Collation of the tablet has not solved the problem.

<sup>87</sup> According to line 6 of that text these dates may have been allotted for the confection of the *mersu* cake.

## UCP 9/2, 16

1. 1 <sup>gi</sup>ma-ši-<sup>hu</sup> šá ZÚ.LUM.MA
2. gu-<sup>uq</sup>-qu-ú šá ITI AB U<sub>4</sub> 16-KAM
3. IGI <sup>d</sup>GAŠAN šá UNUG<sup>ki</sup> u <sup>d</sup>na-na-a
4. <sup>id</sup>NĀ-MU-GIŠ GIŠ

1. 1 *mašīhu* of dates
2. (for) the *guqqū* offerings of the 16th day of the month Tebētu,
3. before the Lady-of-Uruk and Nanaya,
4. withdrawn by Nabû-šumu-līšir.

## 4.2.4.3. Barley

The *SWU* texts from Groups 2, 3, and 5 give information on the daily quantities of barley allocated for the offerings of Nanaya (§2.3.2). According to Group 2 a total of 1 *kurru*, 2 *pānus*, and 3 *sātus* of barley was allocated daily to the brewers for Nanaya, an amount equal to Ištar's allowance, but larger than those of Bēltu-ša-Rēš and Ušur-amāssu, who received 63% and 88% of that amount, respectively. Group 3 lists deliveries to the bakers, who received a daily amount of 2 *kurru*s, 2 *pānus*, and 5 *sātus* for Nanaya, 94% of what was allocated to Ištar, but roughly twice the respective allowances of Bēltu-ša-Rēš and Ušur-amāssu. The quantities listed in Group 5 are roughly similar; Nanaya received, like Ištar, 5 2/3 *mašīhus*, and the other two goddesses only 3 1/2 each. Similar proportions are recorded in PTS 2097, where the brewers and bakers of Nanaya receive 9 1/3 *mašīhus* of barley, 93% the amount delivered to Ištar, and twice the respective amounts directed to the other two goddesses.

YBC 7422 records allotments of barley to the brewers over 3 months (VIII to X) for the offering days before Ištar, Nanaya, and Ušur-amāssu in the 8th year of Merodach-Baladan II: 1. Š[E.BAR *mi-in-du* šá <sup>lū</sup>BAPPIR.MEŠ šá ITI APIN MU.NE “Ba[rley *mindu*] allotted to the [bre]wers for the month Arašsamnu, itemized,” 7. PAP 29 (GUR) 2 (PI) 3 BĀN ŠE. ‘BAR *mi-in-du* šá <sup>lū</sup>BAPPIR.MEŠ šá ITI APIN “Total: 29 *kurru*s, 2 *pānus*, and 3 *sātus* of barley *mindu* allotted to the brewers for the month Arašsamnu,” Nanaya being mentioned on lines 3, 4, 9, 10, 15, and 17; YBC 11901 records allotments of barley to the brewers and bakers for two months: 2. ŠE.BAR šá ITI DU<sub>6</sub> u ITI APIN *a-na* <sup>lū</sup>BAPPIR.MEŠ u <sup>lū</sup>MUḪALDIM.MEŠ ‘SUM-na-at’ “barley allotted for the months Tašrītu and Arašsamnu to the brewers and the bakers,” Nanaya being mentioned on lines 3, 5, and 12; NCBT 849: 3. ŠE.BAR šá ITI GU<sub>4</sub> ‘a-na <sup>lū</sup>BAPPIR SUM-na-at... 5. 1 GUR ITI GU<sub>4</sub> IGI <sup>d</sup>na-na-a <sup>id</sup>Ū-a “barley for the month Ayaru allotted to the brewer(s) ... 1 *kurru* (for) the month Ayaru before Nanaya, Ibnā.”

Additional texts record deliveries and allotments of barley to various individual prebendaries for the offerings of Nanaya; GCCI 2, 63:<sup>88</sup> 22. ‘x’ GUR 2 (PI) 1 BĀN 8 U<sub>4</sub>.ME ITI ŠU IGI <sup>d</sup>na-na-a <sup>lū</sup>MUḪALDIM-ú-tu šá <sup>id</sup>EN-ŠEŠ.ME-MU “‘x’ *kurru*s, 2 *pānus*, and 1 *sūtu* for 8 days in the month Dūzu before Nanaya (in connection with) the baker's prebend of Bēl-aḫḫē-iddin,” GCCI 2, 251: 3. 4 1/2 U<sub>4</sub> ITI GAN 4. IGI

<sup>88</sup> According to its incipit this text records *maššartu* deliveries of barley to the brewers.

<sup>d</sup>na-na-a “(payment of barley and silver to PN for) 4 1/2 days in the month Kislīmu before Nanaya;” NCBT 767: 2. ITI KIN IGI <sup>d</sup>na-na-a “(barley) for the month Ulūlu before Nanaya (at disposal of PN).”

UCP 9/1, 73 mentions an allotment of barley for Ištar and Nanaya: 9. 3 (GUR) ‘ŠE.BAR’ 10. IGI <sup>d</sup>15 u <sup>d</sup>na-na-a “3 (*kurru*s) of barley before Ištar and Nanaya.” NBC 4798 mentions deliveries of barley for the occasional (*guqqū*) offerings of Nanaya:

## NBC 4798

14. [o o o]+1 GUR 2 BĀN ŠE.BAR
15. [gu-u]q-qu-ú šá ITI ‘KIN u ITI’ DU<sub>6</sub>

17. 5 (GUR) ‘3 (PI) 2 BĀN IGI <sup>d</sup>na-na-a’

14. [o o o]+1 *kurru* (and) 2 *sātus* of barley,
15. (for) the [occa]sional offerings of the months Ulūlu and Tašrītu ...

17. 5 *kurru*s, 3 *pānus*, (and) 2 *sātus* before Nanaya.

## 4.2.4.4. Emmer

According to Group 1 of *SWU* texts (§2.3.2) the bakers received a daily allowance of 2 *pānus* and 2 *qūs* of emmer for Nanaya. Ištar received an equal amount, while Bēltu-ša-Rēš and Ušur-amāssu received 76% of that quantity, respectively. PTS 2097 gives slightly different proportions for the brewers and bakers, Nanaya receiving 1 1/3 *mašīhus*, only 73% of Ištar's allowance. Bēltu-ša-Rēš received the same amount, and Ušur-amāssu slightly less, 1 1/4 *mašīhus*. Offerings of emmer before Nanaya are also the subject of the following transaction:

## NBDUM 6

1. 1 GÍN *gi-ru-ú* šá 2 <sup>gi</sup>ma-‘<sup>ši</sup>-<sup>hu</sup>’
2. šá ŠE.ZÍZ.ĀM šá U<sub>4</sub>.ME šá <sup>id</sup>NĀ-NUMUN-‘MU’
3. ‘ITI’ ŠE IGI <sup>d</sup>na-na-a
4. <sup>id</sup>NĀ-ke-šir A ‘NUMUN-DŪ GIŠ
5. 1/3 GÍN šá <sup>id</sup>INNIN-na-din’-A (A) ‘A-a
6. ‘ITI’ BĀRA IGI <sup>d</sup>GAŠAN šá UNUG<sup>ki</sup>
7. <sup>id</sup>NĀ-ke-šir GIŠ

1 1/24 shekels (of silver) for 2 *mašīhus* of emmer for the offering days of Nabû-zēr-iddin in the month Addaru before Nanaya, withdrawn by Nabû-kēšir, son of Zēr-ibni; 1/3 shekel for Ištar-nādin-apli, (son) of Aplā, for the month Nisannu before the Lady-of-Uruk, withdrawn by Nabû-kēšir.

## 4.2.4.5. Flour

Offerings of flour before Nanaya are mentioned in YBC 11311: 1. *re-e-ḫi* šá ZÍD.D[A o o o] 2. šá IGI <sup>d</sup>GAŠAN šá UNUG<sup>ki</sup> [i <sup>d</sup>na-na-a] 3. u <sup>d</sup>GAŠAN šá SAG “remainder of the flou[r o o o] which is (offered) before the Lady-of-Uruk, [Nanaya], and Bēltu-ša-Rēš;”

and 8. 3 PI (ZĪD.DA) IGI <sup>u</sup>na-na-a “3 *pānus* (of flour) before Nanaya.” The text does not specify whether this flour was allocated to perform rituals or for the preparation of food for the sacred meals.

## 4.2.4.6. Beer

The kudurru of Ibni-Ištar records the privilege to offer beer to the goddess Nanaya:<sup>89</sup> col. I. 19. 1 SĪLA NINDA.ĤÁ 1 SĪLA KAŠ.SAG 20. IGI <sup>u</sup>na-na-a “1 *qû* of bread (and) 1 *qû* of beer before Nanaya.” These were presumably daily allowances.

## 4.2.4.7. Sweets and Cakes

As just seen offerings of bread to Nanaya are recorded in the kudurru of Ibni-Ištar. NBC 4731 records a withdrawal of fresh barley to make bread for Nanaya: 1. ŠE.BAR šá NINDA.ĤÁ *eš-šú* ... 4. 1 BĀN IGI <sup>u</sup>na-na-a 1 IGI-AMAR.UD “(account) of fresh barley (to make) bread ... 1 *sūtu* before Nanaya, Mušallim-Marduk.” YOS 6, 170 lists allocations of staples to prepare *mersu* cakes for Ištar, Nanaya, and Bēltu-ša-Rēš: 10. [o o o o] ‘x’ a-na mi-ir-su a-na 12 *gi<sup>u</sup>sel-le-e* 11. [šá <sup>u</sup>GAŠAN šá UNUG<sup>ki</sup>] <sup>u</sup>na-na-a u <sup>u</sup>GAŠAN [šá SAG] “[o o o o] (to prepare) *mersu* cakes for 12 offering baskets [for the Lady-of-Uruk], Nanaya, and Bēltu-[ša-Rēš].”

## 4.2.4.8. Fish

According to PTS 3191 offerings of fish were prepared for the sacred meal of Ištar and Nanaya: 1. 90 KU<sub>6</sub> *nap-ta-nu* šá <sup>u</sup>GAŠAN šá UNUG<sup>ki</sup> 2. u <sup>u</sup>na-na-a “90 fish for the sacred meal of the Lady-of-Uruk and Nanaya,” while the text further specifies that these fish belonged to the regular offerings of Ištar: 7. a-na SÁ.DU<sub>11</sub> šá <sup>u</sup>GAŠAN šá UNUG<sup>ki</sup> 8. *i-nam-din* “he will provide (these fish) for the regular offerings of the Lady-of-Uruk.”

## 4.2.4.9. Meat

According to Group A of offering lists Nanaya received a basic allowance of one or two of the following sacrificial animals on any particular day for her regular (*ginû*) offerings: oxen, sheep, lambs, ducks, turtledoves, and geese. These sacrifices were made to Nanaya and the symbol of Nabû. Offerings to Nanaya, probably involving sacrificial animals, are also mentioned in *SWU* 162: 3’, belonging to Group B of offering lists. The Nabû-aplaidina tablet details how the meat of the daily sacrifices of sheep to Ištar and Nanaya was redistributed, listing among various recipients the king, the high priest (*šešgallu*), the *šatammu*, and a large number of cultic functionaries (§3.7.11). According to the tablet two sheep were sacrificed daily. This agrees with the evidence from the offering lists of Group A, which specify that Ištar and Nanaya were entitled to a regular sacrifice

of one sheep each. There is evidence that this entitlement was increased to two sheep during the reign of Nebuchadnezzar II when these offerings became also directed to the symbols of Bēl and Nabû (§2.1.3), now consistently associated with the two goddesses in the offering lists.

## 4.2.4.10. Varia

AUWE 5, 77: 10 (fragment; allotments of unknown commodity for *guqqû* offerings before Nanaya).

AUWE 5, 78: 8’–13’ (fragment; allotments of unknown commodity for offering months VIII to I before Nanaya).

AUWE 5, 80: 7’–8’ (fragment; allotments of unknown commodity before Nanaya).

AUWE 5, 81: obv. 7’ (allotments of unknown commodity presented in *dannu* vats before Nanaya).

AUWE 8, 81: 3’–4’ (offering days before Nanaya with PN).

AUWE 8, 89: 11–12, 20 (list of offering days before Nanaya in inheritance document).

GCCI 2, 359: 9–12 (list of offering days of PN before Nanaya).<sup>90</sup>

GCCI 2, 370: 1, 13 (allotment of unspecified commodity in connection with the bakers’ prebends for offering days before Nanaya).

NBC 4796: 4–6 (list of offering months II to IV with allotment of unspecified commodity before Nanaya).

NBC 4870: 2 (list of allotments of unspecified commodity for offering months before Nanaya).

NCBT 421: 3’ (withdrawal of unknown commodity by PN for month IV before Nanaya).

NCBT 1297: 4, 6, 8, 10, 12 (list of offering days before Nanaya with prebendaries in charge).

PTS 3211: 4 (quantity of unknown commodity before Nanaya).

YBC 4002: 12 (list of recipients of unspecified commodity before Nanaya).

YBC 9318: 4, 9, 11 (list of offering days before Nanaya).

## 4.2.5. Temple

The goddess Nanaya was a resident of the Eanna temple. Her chapel Eḫilianna is first mentioned in connection with the Kassite king Nazi-Maruttaš, who may have been its original builder.<sup>91</sup> It was restored by Erība-Marduk and finally by Esarhaddon, who refers to it as the sanctuary of Nanaya within Eanna: 11. É.ĤI.LI.AN.NA É *pa-pa-ḫi* <sup>u</sup>na-na-a GAŠAN-ia šá *qé-reb* É.AN.NA “Eḫilianna, the inner cella of Nanaya, my lady, which is inside Eanna.”<sup>92</sup> Another inscription of Esarhaddon contains a more elaborate account of the restoration:<sup>93</sup>

<sup>90</sup> Dougherty’s copy starts with ‘ŠE.BAR’ on line 1, but collation shows that it has to be read U<sub>4</sub>\*.[ME] ‘šá\*’ IDNĀ-SUR-ZI.MEŠ.

<sup>91</sup> The basic information on Eḫilianna is collected by GEORGE 1993, no. 459.

<sup>92</sup> FRAME 1995, B.6.31.17.

<sup>93</sup> FRAME 1995, B.6.31.18.

<sup>89</sup> THUREAU-DANGIN 1919, p. 125.

11. É.Ī.LI.AN.NA É *pa-paḥ* <sup>d</sup>na-na-a GAŠAN-ia
12. *ša* <sup>1</sup>na-zi-múru-taš MAN KÁ.DINGIR.RA<sup>ki</sup> *i-pu-šu*
13. <sup>1</sup>eri-ba-mar-duk MAN KÁ.DINGIR.RA<sup>ki</sup> *ú-ke-eš-šu-u*
14. *la-ba-riš il-lik-ma ma-qit-ti ir-ši*
15. *áš-ra-ti-šu áš-te-’ ina a-gur-ri UDUN KÙ-tim*
16. *ma-qit-ta-šu ak-šir ŠU.MIN* <sup>d</sup>na-na-a GAŠAN-ia
17. *aš-bat-ma a-na qer-bi-šu ú-še-rib šu-bat da-rat ú-šar-me*

Eḫilianna, the inner cella of Nanaya, my lady, which Nazi-Maruttaš, king of Babylon, had built, (and which) Erība-Marduk, king of Babylon, had *shored up*, became old and dilapidated. I sought its (original) emplacement (and) repaired its dilapidated parts with baked bricks from a (ritually) pure kiln. I took the hand of Nanaya, my lady, brought (her) inside and installed (her) in an eternal residence.

The sanctuary of Nanaya is mentioned under the common designation *papāḫu* in the letter NBC 5037: 15. É *pa-pa-ḫu šá* <sup>d</sup>na-na-a. According to a late Babylonian ritual from Uruk, Eḫilianna was still in existence during the Seleucid period.<sup>94</sup> TCL 13, 221 mentions the food storeroom (*bīt kannāni*) of the Lady-of-Uruk, Nanaya, Bēltu-ša-Rēš, and Ušur-amāssu (§ 3.8).

#### 4.2.6. Prebends

Four prebendary offices are attested in connection with the cult of Nanaya. The *rab-banūtu* is the object of the protocol YOS 6, 222, which records a cultic fault committed by a holder of that prebend before the Lady-of-Uruk, Nanaya, and Bēltu-ša-Rēš: 2. <sup>1</sup>uGAL-DÛ-ú-tu IGI <sup>d</sup>GAŠAN *šá* UNUG<sup>ki</sup> <sup>d</sup>na-na-a 3. <sup>1</sup>uGAL-ŠAG *šá* SAG “the *rab-banūtu* prebend before the Lady-of-Uruk, Nanaya, and Bēltu-ša-Rēš.” NBC 5037 contains the only known reference to the *sarrārūtu* prebend: 14. GIŠ.ŠUB.BA <sup>1</sup>u<sup>r</sup>sa<sup>7</sup>-ra-ru-t[ú] 15. *ina É pa-pa-ḫu šá* <sup>d</sup>na-na-a “the prebend of *sarrārūtu* in the inner cella of Nanaya.” The brewer’s (*sirāšūtu*) and baker’s (*nuḫatimmūtu*) prebends occur in several texts. The *sirāšūtu* occurs in YOS 6, 241: 3–4; YOS 17, 126: 11–13; YOS 17, 360, III: 33–34’ and IV 7–8. The *nuḫatimmūtu* occurs in YOS 6, 241: 8–9; YOS 17, 126: 15–17; YOS 17, 360, IV: 13 (and passim in this document); in many texts from the archive of Nabû-ušallim published by Hunger (NU, passim); and in several transactions from the private archives published by Kessler in AUWE 8, 4: 2; 26: 1–2; 32: 1–2; 36: 1–2; 40: 1–2; 46: 1–2; 53: 1–2; 56: 1–2; 67: 1–2; 84h: 1–2; 84z: 1–2.

#### 4.2.7. Personnel

In the kudurru of Ibni-Ištar this prebendary bears among his several titles that of *ērib-bīti* of Nanaya:<sup>95</sup> col. III, 7. <sup>1</sup>ib-ni-deš<sub>4</sub>-tār 8. DUMU <sup>1</sup>ḫu-un-zu-’-i 9. <sup>1</sup>uGALA <sup>d</sup>INNIN UNUG<sup>ki</sup> 10. <sup>1</sup>uKU<sub>4</sub>-É <sup>d</sup>na-na-a 11. <sup>1</sup>uÉ.MAŠ <sup>d</sup>UR<sub>1</sub>-INIM-sa 12. <sup>1</sup>uDUB.SAR É.AN.NA “Ibni-Ištar, descendant of Ḫunzû, cultic singer of Ištar-of-Uruk, *ērib-bīti* of Nanaya,

<sup>94</sup> THUREAU-DANGIN 1921, p. 66, AO 6459, lines 4. É.Ī.LI.AN.NA 5. É <sup>d</sup>na-na-a “Eḫilianna, the sanctuary of Nanaya.”

<sup>95</sup> THUREAU-DANGIN 1919, p. 126.

pontiff of Ušur-amāssu, (and) scribe of Eanna.” The function of cultic singer (*kalû*) of Ištar-of-Uruk and Nanaya is mentioned in the colophon of the Neo-Babylonian copy of an inscription of king Simbar-Šipak: 29. <sup>1</sup>uGALA 30. <sup>d</sup>INNIN UNUG<sup>ki</sup> *u* <sup>d</sup>na-na-a.<sup>96</sup> Marduk-šarrani, the scribe who copied this inscription, cumulates that function with those of *ērib-bīti* of Kanisurra and scribe of Eanna. The same titles, with the exception of that of “scribe of Eanna,” are claimed by the owner of the tablet, Rīmūt-Nabû.

Outside the cultic realm we find the oblates of Nanaya in the letter YOS 3, 106: 37. ŠUK.HÁ <sup>1</sup>ušir-ki-tu *šá* <sup>d</sup>na-(na)-a “the food allowances of the oblates of Nanaya;” and in ARNAUD 1973, p. 147: 9. *za-ki-tu*<sub>4</sub> 10. *šá* <sup>d</sup>na-na-a “a woman consecrated to Nanaya.”<sup>97</sup> NBC 4913 enumerates various households with the formula PN<sub>1</sub> *apilšu ša* PN<sub>2</sub> *ina qaqqari ša Nanaya ašib* “PN<sub>1</sub>, son of PN<sub>2</sub>, lives on the estates of Nanaya,” and ends with the following summary: line 27. ‘PAP’ 26 É.MEŠ *šá* <sup>d</sup>na-na-a *šá* <sup>1</sup>u<sup>r</sup>DUMU<sup>1</sup>. DÛ.MEŠ *ina lib-bi* ‘áš-ba’ “Total: 26 houses of Nanaya in which the *mār-banīs* live,” hinting at the possibility that certain *mār-banīs* of Uruk were specifically linked to the cult of Nanaya.

#### 4.2.8. Ceremonies

##### 4.2.8.1. Sacred Meal

TCL 13, 221 is a protocol in which 19 cooks, bakers, and food preparers assume responsibility for preparing the sacred meal (*naptanu*) in the *bīt kannāni* of the Lady-of-Uruk, Nanaya, Bēltu-ša-Rēš, and Ušur-amāssu (§ 3.11.1). YOS 17, 166: 3 records allotments of dates to the bakers for the second meals (*tardennu*) of the month Addaru before Nanaya.

##### 4.2.8.2. Clothing Ceremony

PTS 2783 informs us that 3 sacrificial sheep were selected for the clothing ceremony of Ištar, Nanaya, and other deities: 6. 3 (UDU.NÍTA) *a-na* <sup>1</sup>u<sup>r</sup>NI<sup>1</sup>G.LÁM 7. ‘šá’ <sup>d</sup>GAŠAN *šá* UNUG<sup>ki</sup> 8. ‘<sup>d</sup>na-na-a 9. [ú]’ <sup>d</sup>GAŠAN *šá* SAG!<sup>98</sup> 10. ITI GAN U<sub>4</sub> 6-KAM 11. KUD-as “3 (sheep) ritually selected for the clothing ceremony of the Lady-of-Uruk, Nanaya, [and] Bēltu-ša-Rēš on the 6th day of the month Kislīmu.”<sup>99</sup> NBC 4769 records an allocation of libation bowls (*maqqu*) of sesame oil for the same ceremony: 5. 4 U<sub>4</sub> 6-KAM *šá* ITI APIN *a-na* <sup>1</sup>u<sup>r</sup>NI<sup>1</sup>G.LÁM *šá* <sup>d</sup>GAŠAN *šá* UNUG<sup>ki</sup> 6. *u* <sup>d</sup>na-na-a “4 (*maqqu*s of sesame oil for) the 6th day of the month Araḫsamnu for the clothing ceremony of the Lady-of-Uruk and Nanaya.” YOS 17, 305 mentions materials, fabrics, and garments at the disposal of a weaver for several deities, including Nanaya, in connection with the clothing ceremony: 5. *a-na lu-bu-uš-ti šá* U<sub>4</sub> 8\*-KAM 6. *šá* ITI DU<sub>6</sub> “for the clothing ceremony of the 8th day of the month Tašritu.” PTS 3257 records the receipt of materials,

<sup>96</sup> FRAME 1995, B.3.1.1.

<sup>97</sup> Published by Arnaud with photograph, transliteration, and translation; copy by Durand in *TBER*, pls. 60–61.

<sup>98</sup> The scribe inadvertently wrote <sup>d</sup>GAŠAN *šá* UNUG<sup>ki</sup>, while he obviously meant <sup>d</sup>GAŠAN *šá* SAG.

<sup>99</sup> The heading of the text reads as follows: 1. KUD-as *šá* ITI GAN U<sub>4</sub> 3-KAM 2. U<sub>4</sub> 6-KAM “ritual selection of the month Kislīmu, 3rd and 6th days.”



fabrics, and garments by a weaver for Ištar, Nanaya, and Dumuzi, also in connection with the clothing ceremony: 11. *a-na* <sup>100</sup>NI.G.LÁM *ša* U<sub>4</sub> 1-KAM *ša* ITI NE “for the clothing ceremony of the 1st day of the month Abu.” The dates of the clothing ceremony and correlations between those dates and archival texts recording the allocation of garments for the deities of Eanna are discussed in chapter 1 (§ 1.7.1; § 1.7.2; § 1.12.1).

4.2.8.3. *Varia*

Nanaya appears in the ritual *LKU* 51 in connection with cultic events taking place in the month Dûzu (Appendix 2). Texts recording administrative operations on her jewelry in the shape of door-locking devices indicate that she took part with Ištar and other deities of the Eanna temple in rituals scheduled for the first part of the month Addaru during which this jewelry was displayed (§ 4.2.2.4; § 3.5.4).

4.2.9. *Toponyms*

A few toponyms named in honor of Nanaya appear in the archive. The many references to the locality Kār-Nanaya are listed in RGTC 8, p. 197, to which the following ones can be added; NBC 4536: 13. <sup>100</sup>ur<sup>100</sup>kar-*na-na-a* 14. *ši-i-ḫu* *ša* dGAŠAN *ša* UNUG<sup>ki</sup>; and YOS 19, 75: 21. *ši-i-ḫi* *ša* kar-*na-na-a* “<sup>100</sup>”. A settlement named Dimtu-ša-Nanaya appears in *TEBR* 36: 31. *dī-in-du* *ša* *na-na-a*. The Tillē (or Tillāti?)-ša-Nanaya appear in *TEBR* 36: 22. DU<sub>6</sub>.MEŠ *ša* *na-na-a*.<sup>100</sup> References to the hydronyms Ḫarru-ša-Nanaya and Nāru-ša-Nanaya, which are probably one and the same watercourse, are listed in RGTC 8, pp. 357–358 and 392, to which one can add YOS 17, 348: 11. <sup>100</sup>ḫar-ri 12. *ša* *na-na-a*.

## 4.3. Bēltu-ša-Rēš

The identity of the goddess Bēltu-ša-Rēš “Lady-of-the-Rēš,” who is attested exclusively at Uruk during the Neo-Babylonian and Seleucid periods, remains mysterious. Her name may be related to the name of the temple of Lugalbanda, É.SAG. One É.SAG was located in the district Kullab at Babylon, and another was perhaps located in the district of the same name at Uruk.<sup>101</sup> It is possible that this latter É.SAG gave birth to the Hellenistic temple of Anu and Antu at Uruk, also named É.SAG (or Bīt Rēš, or simply Rēš), but this is purely hypothetical.<sup>102</sup> Bēltu-ša-Rēš moved, with Ištar and her retinue, from the Eanna temple to the Rēš or the Irigal temple during the late Achaemenid or early Seleucid period. The spellings of her name are as follows in Neo-Babylonian documents:

dGAŠAN *ša* SAG (passim)

dGAŠAN *ša* re-e-šú (YOS 19, 104: 5; NU 13: 2; AUWE 8, 47: 2)

dGAŠAN *ša* reš-šú (AUWE 8, 48: 4)

<sup>100</sup> The toponym Til-Nanaya, listed in RGTC 8, p. 312, must be read as follows in YOS 6, 162: 14. <sup>100</sup>ŠU-*na-na-a*, and be interpreted as Gimil-Nanaya, the patronymic of the scribe who wrote the document.

<sup>101</sup> See GEORGE 1993, nos. 952 and 953.

<sup>102</sup> See GEORGE 1993, no. 940.

4.3.1. *Paraphernalia*

The canopy (*šamû*) and the *dēpu* weapon of Bēltu-ša-Rēš are mentioned in NCBT 2338: 4. PAP 2 *šal-ḫu* *ša* it-ti 5. *de-pu-ú a-na* AN-e 6. *ša* dGAŠAN *ša* SAG *na-saḫ* “Total: 2 *šalḫu* cloths which were withdrawn with the *dēpu* weapon for the canopy of Bēltu-ša-Rēš.” Her whip (*iš/ltuḫḫu*) may be mentioned in NCBT 310 (§ 4.3.2.1), but there is no clear indication in the text that the insignia belonged to her. The bed (*eršu*) of Bēltu-ša-Rēš occurs in the inventory of textiles VS 20, 136: 4’. [o o o *š*] *á* UGU <sup>103</sup>isNÁ *ša* dGAŠAN *ša* SAG “[o o o wh]ich is on the bed of Bēltu-ša-Rēš.” NCBT 380 mentions her offering table (*paššūru*): 1. 1 5/6 MA.NA KÙ.GI *te-šir-ti* 2. *ša* <sup>103</sup>URUxGA *ša* dGAŠAN *ša* SAG “1 5/6 minas of gold, supplementary delivery for the offering table of Bēltu-ša-Rēš.”

4.3.2. *Ornaments*4.3.2.1. *Breast Ornament*

VS 20, 127 mentions the “crescent-shaped breastplate” (line 6. 1 GABA *ša* U<sub>4</sub>.SAKAR) in an inventory of jewelry belonging to the Lady-of-Uruk, Nanaya, and Bēltu-ša-Rēš. Other breast ornaments belonging to the goddess are mentioned in the following texts:

## NCBT 310

1. 16 GÍN *ḫal-lu-ru* KÙ.GI
2. 6 NU.ÚR.MA KÙ.GI <sup>103</sup>la-bi-ru-ti
3. *a-di* 1/2 GÍN *mī-šil bit-qa* LÁ
4. *tar-di-ti* *ša* *ina muḫ-ḫi il-tu-úḫ*
5. *1-en sa-an-ḫa* ((TI)) *ina lib-bi*
6. *a-na* GABA *ša* dGAŠAN *ša* SAG
7. <sup>103</sup>NI.G.DU-nu *ma-ḫir*

16 1/40 shekels of gold (obtained from) 6 old gold pomegranates, together with 1/2 minus 1/16 shekel (obtained from) the reinforcement on the whip, (to make) from it 1 suspension ring for the breast ornament of Bēltu-ša-Rēš, received by Kudurrānu.

NCBT 511<sup>103</sup>

1. 11 1/2 GÍN KÙ.GI *re-ḫi-it* KÙ.GI *ša* GABA KÙ.GI *ša* d[GAŠAN *ša* SAG]
2. 51 *man-da-a-ta* *ša* <sup>103</sup>KIŠIB.MEŠ 25 *nu-úr* “KÙ.GI” [o o o]
3. 21 *ḫar-ḫar-ri* 27 *sa-ḫa-a-ni* 25 *zu-bu-[rin-ni]*
4. *ša* *nu-úr* KÙ.GI 27 *gi-’-na-a-ta* “*ša* *su-um-m* [u o o o]
5. *ša* GABA KÙ.GI *ša* dGAŠAN *ša* SAG <sup>103</sup>NI.G.DU-nu *IGI-er*

11 1/2 shekels of gold, remainder of the gold for the golden breast ornament of [Bēltu-ša-Rēš]: 51 mountings for cylinders, 25 pomegranate-shaped beads of gold [o o o], 21 chains,

<sup>103</sup> Publication with copy, transliteration, translation, and commentary in BEAULIEU 1997b, pp. 390 and 393.

27 suspension rings, 25 *zubu[rinnus]* for pomegranate-shaped beads of gold, 27 *gi'nātus* for the *summ[u...]*<sup>104</sup> of the golden breast ornament of Bēltu-ša-Rēš, received by Kudurranu.

## 4.3.2.2. Jewelry

Jewelry belonging to Bēltu-ša-Rēš is listed in two inventories:

## YBC 4174

36. 2 *a-a-ri* IGI KÙ.GI [o o o o] 'x'  
 37. 17 <sup>na4</sup>KIŠIB BABBAR.DIL šá [*man-di*]-'ti' *ina lib-bi* 2 šá <sup>na4</sup>BABBAR.DIL  
 38. *ina* 2 *gu-ḫal-ša* 'KÙ.GI' *ṣab-tu*  
 39. 1 ALGAMES *ina gu-ḫal-šu* KÙ.GI *ṣa-bit*  
 40. PAP *šu-kut-ti* šá dGAŠAN šá SAG

2 frontal rosettes of gold [o o o]; 17 cylinder-seal-shaped beads of banded agate with [mount]ings, of which 2 (which are made) of banded agate are strung on 2 suspension wires of gold; 1 bead of steatite strung on a suspension wire of gold. Total (of) the jewelry of Bēltu-ša-Rēš.

## YOS 6, 216

13. 2 *a-a-ri* KÙ.GI *pa-ni* šá dGAŠAN šá SAG  
 14. *ina lib-bi* 3 *sa-an-ḫa* 1 NUMUN ÚKUŠ *ma-tu*  
 15. 21 šá-an-šú šá dGAŠAN šá SAG  
 16. PAP šá dGAŠAN šá SAG

2 frontal rosettes of gold belonging to Bēltu-ša-Rēš, missing from it are 3 catches and 1 melon-seed-shaped bead; 21 sun-disk ornaments belonging to Bēltu-ša-Rēš. Total (of the jewelry) belonging to Bēltu-ša-Rēš.

The frontal rosette is mentioned again in VS 20, 127, an inventory of jewelry belonging in common to the Lady-of-Uruk, Nanaya, and Bēltu-ša-Rēš: 4. 2 *a-a-ri pa-ni* KÙ.GI "2 frontal rosettes of gold." The same text mentions the fibulas of these deities: 5. 2 *du-d[i-it-tu]*. Another piece of jewelry whose name is partly lost is mentioned in NCBT 1018: 4. [o o] *sa-ma-ḫa-li-šú-nu* LÁ-ú 5. [o o].GA.MEŠ šá dGAŠAN šá SAG "[o o] their missing attachments [for the o o]s of Bēltu-ša-Rēš."

Two texts mention jewelry in the shape of door-locking mechanisms which was probably used in a ritual at the beginning of the month Addaru (§ 3.5.4); Stigers 19: 9. 4 *pi-in-gu* KÙ.BABBAR 10. 2 *ḫar-gul-lum* KÙ.BABBAR 11. 12 *ḫa-an-duḫ* KÙ.BABBAR 12. šá dGAŠAN šá SAG "4 knobs of silver, 2 locks of silver, 12 *ḫandūḫus* of silver, (all) belonging to Bēltu-ša-Rēš;" and NCBT 357: 10. 2 *pi-in-gu* KÙ.BABBAR 11. 4

<sup>104</sup> Line 4: the last word might be restored *su-um-m[u-ḫu]* or *su-um-m[u-nu]*. The verb *summuḫu* "to ornament, to decorate" has a meaning which fits the context, but it is attested in that sense only at Boghazköi and El-Amarna (CAD S, p. 109, s.v. *samāḫu* 4). However, the adjective derived from that root, *summuḫu* "assorted, mixed," is attested also in Neo-Assyrian and Neo-Babylonian texts. The meaning of *summunu* is uncertain; it occurs mostly in connection with foodstuffs (CAD S, p. 381, s.v. *summunu*).

*ḫar-gul-lum* KÙ.BABBAR 12. 12 *ḫa-an-du-uh-ḫu* KÙ.BABBAR 13. šá dGAŠAN šá SAG "2 knobs of silver, 4 locks of silver, 12 *ḫandūḫus* of silver, (all) belonging to Bēltu-ša-Rēš."

## 4.3.3. Clothing

Several texts record disbursements of textiles, threads, and various fabrics for the sacred wardrobe of Bēltu-ša-Rēš. The following pieces of her clothing apparel are mentioned: *eru* "headband," *ḫullānu* "wrap," *ḫuṣannu* "sash," the *išḫel/anabe* garment, the *lubāru* garment, the *lubāru mēṭu* garment, *naḫlaptu* "outer garment," *paršigu* "turban," the *ṣibtu* garment, and the *ṣalḫu* cloth. Gold sequins in the shape of lions were sown to the *lubāru mēṭu* garment.

## 4.3.3.1. Garments

## YOS 7, 183

15. 1 5/6 MA.NA <sup>uḡ</sup>*mi-iḫ-ṣi* BABBAR-ú 1 TÚG.ḪÁ  
 16. 1 1/3 MA.NA KI.MIN 2 <sup>uḡ</sup>MÁŠ.ME'  
 17. 1/3 MA.NA 5 GÍN 5 <sup>uḡ</sup>NÍG.ÍB.LÁ.ME 10 GÍN KI.MIN! 1 <sup>uḡ</sup>[g o o]  
 18. 14! GÍN <sup>uḡ</sup>[o o o o o o o o o o o o o o] *in-za*]-*ḫu-re*]-[*e-ti* o o o]  
 19. 5 GÍN [o o o o o o o o o o o o o o] 'x' [o o o]  
 20. 1 <sup>uḡ</sup>*e-r*[i o o o o o o o o o o o o o o o]  
 21. PAP [šá dGAŠAN šá S]AG

1 5/6 minas of white woven cloth (for) one *lubāru* garment, 1 1/3 minas of the same for 2 *ṣibtu* garments, 1/3 mina (and) 5 shekels (of the same) for 5 sashes, 10 shekels of the same for 1 [o o o] garment, 14 shekels of [o o o o o o o o] dyed with *inzaḫurētu*, 5 shekels [o o o o o o o o o o], 1 headband [o o o o o o o o o o]. Total (of the clothing) [of Bēltu-ša-Rēš].

## YOS 17, 301

9. 1 2/3 MA.NA KI.MIN 1 TÚG.ḪÁ  
 10. 1 1/3 MA.NA KI.MIN 2 <sup>uḡ</sup>MÁŠ.ME  
 11. 1/2 MA.NA 5 GÍN KI.MIN 7 <sup>uḡ</sup>NÍG.ÍB.LÁ.ME  
 12. PAP šá dGAŠAN šá SAG

1 2/3 minas of the same (= white woven cloth) (for) one *lubāru* garment, 1 1/3 minas of the same for 2 *ṣibtu* garments, 1/2 mina and 5 shekels of the same for 7 sashes. Total (of the clothing) of Bēltu-ša-Rēš.

PTS 2094<sup>105</sup>

col. II, obv.

1. 2 gadašal-ḫu
2. 1 úgGÚ.È s<sup>g</sup>ḪÉ.ME.DA
3. 2 úgMÁŠ.ME
4. 1 úgḫul-la-nu
6. 1 úgḫi-ḫé-be
7. 1 úgḫu-bar
8. PAP úgmi-iḫ-ṣu šá dGAŠAN šá SAG

2 šalḫu cloths, 1 outer garment of red-colored wool, 2 šibtu garments, 1 wrap, 1 išḫe/anabe garment, 1 lubāru garment. Total (of the) woven cloth belonging to Bēltu-ša-Rēš.

The turban is mentioned in PTS 2282: 17. 1 par-ši-gu šá dGAŠAN šá SAG “1 turban (of woven cloth of red-colored wool dyed with inzaḫurētu)<sup>106</sup> belonging to Bēltu-ša-Rēš.” The lubāru garment occurs in IBK 8, 165: 15’. 2 TÚG.ḪÁ.ME šá dGAŠAN šá SAG “2 lubāru garments for Bēltu-ša-Rēš,” and YBC 9030: 5. ‘úglu-bar šá dGAŠAN šá SAG’ ... 11. 1 ‘úglu-bar [šá] dGAŠAN šá SAG “the lubāru garment of Bēltu-ša-Rēš ... 1 lubāru garment of Bēltu-ša-Rēš.” The sashes occur in YOS 19, 270: 9. ‘1/3’ 5 GÍN 5 úgNÍG.ÍB.LÁ.MEŠ šá dGAŠAN šá SAG “1/3 (mina and) 5 shekels (of white woven cloth for) 5 sashes for Bēltu-ša-Rēš,” and YOS 19, 271: 11. 1/3 5 GÍN 5 úgNÍG.ÍB.LÁ šá dGAŠAN šá SAG “1/3 (mina and) 5 shekels (of woven cloth for) 5 sashes for Bēltu-ša-Rēš.” The šalḫu cloth, which is mentioned in NCBT 2338 (§ 4.3.1) and PTS 2094, also appears in PTS 3190: 1. 6 gadašal-ḫu<sup>me</sup> ... 5. ... a-na te-né-e 6. ‘šá’ dGAŠAN šá UNUG<sup>ki</sup> 7. ‘na-’na-a u’ dGAŠAN (šá) SAG “6 pieces of šalḫu cloth ... as spare (clothing) for the Lady-of-Uruk, Nanaya, and Bēltu-ša-Rēš.” Finally the general term “woven garment” (úgmi-iḫ-ṣu) occurs in NCBT 200: 1–4 (§ 3.6.1).

## 4.3.3.2. Decorated Garments

Four texts mention the lubāru mēṭu garment of Bēltu-ša-Rēš, which was decorated with gold sequins in the shape of lions; NCBT 1251: 6. 14 UR.MAḪ 7. šá TÚG.ḪÁ dGÍŠ.KU.AN 8. šá dGAŠAN šá SAG “14 lions for the lubāru mēṭu garment of Bēltu-ša-Rēš,” PTS 2927: 4. 15 UR.MAḪ KÙ.GI šá ‘úglu-bar me-ṭu šá dGAŠAN šá SAG “15 lions for the lubāru mēṭu garment of Bēltu-ša-Rēš,” YBC 9031: 1. [o o o o] KÙ.GI 2. [o UR.MAḪ] KÙ.GI.ME 3. [šá ‘úglu-bar] GÍŠ.KU.AN šá dGAŠAN šá SAG “[o o o] of gold [for x lions] of gold [for the] lubāru mēṭu garment of Bēltu-ša-Rēš,” and NCBT 557: 9. 25 UR.MAḪ.MEŠ TUR.M[EŠ] 10. šá TÚG.ḪÁ me-ṭu šá dGAŠAN šá SA[G] “25 small lions for the lubāru mēṭu garment of Bēltu-ša-Rēš.” Two texts with format identical to NCBT 557 list the same ornaments without connecting them with the lubāru

<sup>105</sup> The heading of this text reads: 1. ‘úgmi-iḫ-ṣu’ ‘te’-nu-ú šá a-na ‘úgNÍG.ÍB.LÁ.ME’ šá ITI GAN 2. a-na ‘DÙ.‘15 ‘AZLAG na-ad-nu’ “Spare woven cloth allotted to Ibni-Ištar, a cleaner, for the clothing ceremony of the month Kislimu.”

<sup>106</sup> This occurs in a list of ten paršig<sup>us</sup> for which are disbursed, line 15: 9 1/3 MA.NA mi-iḫ-ṣi šá ‘úgḪÉ.ME.DA šá in-za-ḫu-re-e-tú.

mēṭu garment of Bēltu-ša-Rēš, although it is probable that they were meant for that same garment and goddess. The two texts are GCCI 2, 133: 8. 25 UR.GU.LA.MEŠ TUR.MEŠ “25 small lions;” and GCCI 2, 367: 7. [25] UR.GU.LA TUR.ME “[25] small lions.”

## 4.3.4. Offerings

## 4.3.4.1. Salt

Offerings of salt for the regular offerings of Bēltu-ša-Rēš occur in five texts. The evidence from NCBT 713 and YOS 19, 190 could indicate that the monthly salt allowance of the goddess was 1 talent and 20 minas.

NCBT 713: 1–4 (1 talent and 20 minas, ginû of the month Ulûlu before Bēltu-ša-Rēš, withdrawn by Erišu).

NCBT 934: 1–7 (‘4’ talents and 30 minas, remainder of ginû of Bēltu-ša-Rēš from the month Nisannu of year 41 until the end of the month Ulûlu, withdrawn by Innin-zēr-ušabši, son of Aplâ).

YBC 9296: 1–3 (withdrawal of 2 talents and 20 minas for the ginû of the Lady-of-Uruk, Nanaya, and Bēltu-ša-Rēš).

YOS 19, 190: 4–6 (2 talents and 40 minas for the months Ulûlu and Tašritu before Bēltu-ša-Rēš, withdrawn by Innin-zēr-ušabši).

YOS 19, 193: 8–9 (30 minas before Bēltu-ša-Rēš, Līširu).

NCBT 779, PTS 3112, YBC 9452, and YOS 17, 194 mention allocations of salt for “Eanna.” The term must be understood in these cases as a collective designation for Ištar, Nanaya, and Bēltu-ša-Rēš (§ 3.7.1).

## 4.3.4.2. Dates

According to Group 1 of *SWU* texts the bakers received a daily amount of 3 pānus, 4 sātus, and 3 qūs of dates for the offerings of Bēltu-ša-Rēš (§ 2.3.2). Ušur-amāssu received an identical amount, which totaled 75 % of the respective allowances of Ištar and Nanaya. In PTS 2097, which records the reforms introduced by Nabonidus, the allowance of Bēltu-ša-Rēš is 3 1/3 mašīḫus. This is still equal to Ušur-amāssu’s allowance, but as much as 87 % of the respective quantities directed to Ištar and Nanaya. The same text fixes the daily amount of Telmun dates at 1 1/2 qūs by the great measure (ina rabīti), which is equal to Ušur-amāssu’s and half of the respective allowances of Ištar and Nanaya.

Additional texts mention allocations of dates for the offerings of Bēltu-ša-Rēš; NCBT 175: 1. ‘3’ GUR 2 (PI) 3 BÁN ZÚ.LUM.MA 2. 3 GUR 2 (PI) 3 BÁN ZÍZ.ÁM 3. 1 BÁN 1 SÍLA ZÚ.LUM.MA NI.TUK<sup>ki</sup> 4. šá 14 U<sub>4</sub> ITI BÁRA IGI dGAŠAN šá SAG “3 kurrus, 2 pānus, (and) 3 sātus of dates; 3 kurrus, 2 pānus, (and) 3 sātus of emmer; 1 sūtu (and) 1 qū of Telmun dates, for 14 days in the month Nisannu before Bēltu-ša-Rēš (withdrawn by PNs);” NCBT 1053, an account of dates allotted to the bakers for the month Ayaru: 2. 1 (GUR) 3 SÍLA (ZÚ.LUM.MA) ITI GU<sub>4</sub> IGI dGAŠAN šá SAG 1<sup>du</sup>U.GUR-MU A-šú šá 1<sup>du</sup>NA-NUMUN-DÙ “1 (kurru and) 3 sātus (of dates for) the month Ayaru before

Bēltu-ša-Rēš, Nergal-iddin, son of Nabû-zēr-ibni,” and UCP 9/1, 73: 3. 1 (GUR) 1 PI IGI dGAŠAN šá SAG! “1 (*kurru* and) 1 *pānu* (of dates) before Bēltu-ša-Rēš.”<sup>107</sup>

Five texts record allotments of Telmun dates to the bakers as *maššartu* for the offerings of Bēltu-ša-Rēš; YOS 6, 39: 1. ZÚ.LUM.MA NI.TUK<sup>ki</sup> šá a-na maš-šar-ti šá ITI AB a-na lúMUḪALDIM.ME 2. SUM-na (lines 6, 10, 15, 19–22: various quantities to PNs IGI dGAŠAN šá SAG); YOS 19, 134: 1. [Z]Ú.LUM.MA NI.TUK<sup>ki</sup> šá a-na maš-šar-ti šá ITI ŠE MU 1-KAM dNÀ-N[Í.TUK LUGAL TIN.TIR<sup>ki</sup>] 2. a-na lúMUḪALDIM.MEŠ na-ad-[nu] (lines 11 and 13: various quantities to PNs IGI dGAŠAN šá SAG); PTS 2708: 9. ITI DU<sub>6</sub> IGI dGAŠAN šá SAG! “(*maššartu* delivery of Telmun dates to the bakers for the) month Tašrītu before Bēltu-ša-Rēš,” YBC 3478: 1. ZÚ.LUM.MA NI.TUK<sup>ki</sup> me maš-šar-ti šá ITI APIN lúMU.ME ‘x x x’ ... 4. 1 PI 1 BÁN 3 ŠĪLA (ITI APIN) IGI dGAŠAN šá SAG lúNÀ-ú-še-zib lúR-ana-na-a u ‘x x’ “Telmun dates ‘x x’ (to) the bakers as *maššartu* for the month Araḥsamnu ... 1 *pānu*, 1 *sūtu*, (and) 3 *qūs* (for the month Araḥsamnu) before Bēltu-ša-Rēš, Nabû-ušēzib, Arad-Nanaya, and ‘x x’,” and YBC 3997: 1. ZÚ.LUM.MA NI.TUK<sup>ki</sup> šá maš-šar-ti šá ITI APIN 2. MU 1-KAM dU.GUR-LUGAL-ŪRI LUGAL TIN.TIR<sup>ki</sup> a-na lúMUḪALDIM.ME SUM-nu (lines 4, 11, 14, 15, 16: various quantities to PNs IGI dGAŠAN šá SAG).

Four texts record allotments of dates as *maššartu* before Bēltu-ša-Rēš, but do not specify the occupation of the recipients; PTS 2660: 1. 1 GUR 2 (PI) 3 BÁN ZÚ.LUM.MA 2. ina maš-šar-ti šá ITI ŠE 3. IGI dGAŠAN šá SAG; PTS 2707: obv. col. 1, 3. ZÚ.LUM.MA 4. ina maš-šar-ti šá ITI ŠU 5. IGI dGAŠAN šá SAG; YOS 17, 172: 2. ZÚ.LUM.MA maš-šar-ti šá ITI APIN ... 7. 15 (gišma-si-ḫu) ITI APIN IGI dGAŠAN šá SAG “Dates, *maššartu* deliveries of the month Araḥsamnu ... 15 (*mašīḫus*) for the month Araḥsamnu before Bēltu-ša-Rēš,” and YOS 17, 173: 1. ZÚ.LUM.MA NI.TUK<sup>ki</sup> maš-šar-ti šá ITI KIN ... 9. ITI KIN IGI dGAŠAN šá SAG “Telmun dates, the *maššartu* deliveries of the month Ulūlu ... month Ulūlu before Bēltu-ša-Rēš.”

Finally YOS 17, 166 records allotments of dates to the bakers for the second meals (*tardennu*) of the four main goddesses of Eanna in the month Addaru (1. ZÚ.LUM.MA šá a-na tar-den-né-e šá ITI ŠE a-na lúMUḪALDIM.MEŠ SUM-nu), some intended for Bēltu-ša-Rēš (4. ITI ŠE IGI dGAŠAN šá SAG), and the same text records allotments of dates as *maššartu* for the month Nisannu (7. ZÚ.LUM.MA maš-šar-ti šá ITI BĀRA šá a-na lúMUḪALDIM.MEŠ SUM-nu), some intended for Bēltu-ša-Rēš (10. [ITI BĀRA IGI] dGAŠAN šá SAG).<sup>108</sup>

#### 4.3.4.3. Barley

According to Group 2 of *SWU* texts the brewers of Bēltu-ša-Rēš received a daily allotment of 1 *kurru* and 1 *pānu* of barley for the goddess (§ 2.3.2). This represented only 63 % of the amount allotted for Ištar and Nanaya, respectively, and was even lower than the allowance of Ušur-amāssu. According to Group 3, the bakers of the goddess received a daily amount of 1 *kurru*, 2 *pānus*, 2 *sātus*, and 2 *qūs*, representing 54 % of the allowance of Ištar. In this case the share of Bēltu-ša-Rēš is slightly larger than Ušur-amāssu’s. The figures appearing in PTS 2097 are almost identical proportionally with

those of Group 3, with Bēltu-ša-Rēš receiving 5 3/4 *mašīḫus*, 53 % of Ištar’s allowance. In Group 5 Bēltu-ša-Rēš gets 3 1/2 *mašīḫus*, a quantity equal to 62 % that of Ištar. In Group 5 and PTS 2097 the share of Bēltu-ša-Rēš is equal or slightly larger than that of Ušur-amāssu. In addition to these texts, GCCI 2, 63 records deliveries of barley to the brewers as *maššartu*: 17. [o o š]á ITI ŠU IGI dGAŠAN šá SAG šá lúU.GUR-PAP “[o o fo]r the month Dūzu before Bēltu-ša-Rēš, (prebend) of Nergal-nāšir,” and NCBT 849 records deliveries of barley to the brewers:

#### NCBT 849

3. ŠE.BAR šá ITI GU<sub>4</sub> ‘a-na lú’BAPPIR SUM-na-at ...
6. 1 GUR ITI GU<sub>4</sub> IGI dGAŠAN šá SAG ...
9. 3 (PI) 2! BÁN ina lib-bi ITI ŠU IGI dGAŠAN šá SAG ‘x’[o o o]

Barley for the month Ayaru allotted to the brewers ...

1 *kurru* (for) the month Ayaru before Bēltu-ša-Rēš ...

3 *pānus* (and) 2 *sātus* from (the allowance of) the month Dūzu before Bēltu-ša-Rēš [o o o].

UCP 9/1, 73 mentions an allotment of barley for Bēltu-ša-Rēš: 11. 3 (GUR) IGI dGAŠAN šá SAG! “3 (*kurrus* of barley) before Bēltu-ša-Rēš.” Finally NBC 4798 mentions deliveries of barley in conjunction with the occasional (*guqqū*) offerings of Bēltu-ša-Rēš:

#### NBC 4798

14. [o o o]+1 GUR 2 BÁN ŠE.BAR
15. [gu-u]q-qu-ú šá ITI ‘KIN u ITI’ DU<sub>6</sub> ...
18. 5 (GUR) [o o o o IGI] dGAŠAN šá SAG!
14. [o o o]+1 *kurru* (and) 2 *sātus* of barley
15. [for the *guqqū* offerings of the months Ulūlu and Tašrītu ...
18. 5 (*kurrus*) [o o o o before] Bēltu-ša-Rēš.

#### 4.3.4.4. Emmer

Offerings of emmer are mentioned in Group 1 of *SWU* texts (§ 2.3.2), which record a daily amount of 1 *pānu*, 3 *sātus*, and 3 *qūs* for the bakers of Bēltu-ša-Rēš. Ušur-amāssu received the same amount, which equaled 76 % of the respective allowances of Ištar and Nanaya. PTS 2097 attributes 1 1/3 *mašīḫus* to Bēltu-ša-Rēš. The same amount goes to Nanaya, and only a slightly inferior quantity to Ušur-amāssu. The allowance of Bēltu-ša-Rēš in this text is 73 % that of Ištar. NCBT 175 mentions withdrawals of emmer by PNs for the offerings of Bēltu-ša-Rēš (§ 4.3.4.2).

<sup>107</sup> According to line 6 of that text these dates may have been allotted for the confection of the *mersu* cake.

<sup>108</sup> The text includes further mentions of the goddess on lines 14 and 15.

## 4.3.4.5. Flour

Offerings of flour before Bēltu-ša-Rēš are mentioned in YBC 11311: 1. *re-e-ḫi šá* ZÍD.D[A o o o] 2. *šá* IGI dGAŠAN *šá* UNUG<sup>ki</sup>[i d<sub>na-na-a</sub>] 3. *u* dGAŠAN *šá* SAG “remainder of the flou[r o o o] which is (offered) before the Lady-of-Uruk, [Nanaya], and Bēltu-ša-Rēš;” and 9. 4 PI IGI dGAŠAN *šá* SAG “4 *pānus* before Bēltu-ša-Rēš.” The text does not specify whether this flour was destined for performing ritual acts or the preparation of food for the sacred meals.

## 4.3.4.6. Sweets and Cakes

YOS 6, 170 lists allocations of ingredients to prepare *mersu* cakes for Ištar, Nanaya, and Bēltu-ša-Rēš: 10. [o o o o] ‘x’ *a-na mi-ir-su a-na* 12 *ḫi<sup>se</sup>l-le-e* 11. [*šá* dGAŠAN *šá* UNUG<sup>ki</sup> d<sub>na-na-a</sub> u dGAŠAN [*šá* SAG] “[o o o o] (to prepare) *mersu* cakes for 12 offering baskets [of the Lady-of-Uruk], Nanaya, and Bēltu-ša-Rēš].”

## 4.3.4.7. Meat

According to the offering lists of Group A, oxen, sheep, lambs, turtledoves, ducks, and geese were sacrificed to the goddess. Her basic allowance for the regular (*ḡinū*) offerings never exceeded one of each of these animals on any particular day. Offerings of sacrificial animals for Bēltu-ša-Rēš are also listed in *SWU* 161: 2’ and *SWU* 162: 4’, which belong to Group B. The letter YOS 19, 104, sent by the crown prince Belshazzar to Nabû-šar-ušur, refers to the interruption of sacrifices of oxen to Bēltu-ša-Rēš: 4. *al-pi šá a-na* 5. dGAŠAN *šá re-e-šú* 6. *il-la-ka ul-tu* 7. *im-ma-at ib-ti-il* “As for the ox which usually goes to Bēltu-ša-Rēš, since when has it been interrupted?”

## 4.3.4.8. Varia

AUWE 5, 78: 14’–16’ (fragment; allotments of unknown commodity for offering months VIII to I before Bēltu-ša-Rēš).

AUWE 5, 80: 4’–6’, 8’ (fragment; allotments of unknown commodity before Bēltu-ša-Rēš).

AUWE 5, 81: *passim* (allotments of unknown commodity before Bēltu-ša-Rēš).

AUWE 8, 48: 4 (list of offering days before Bēltu-ša-Rēš).

AUWE 8, 73: 3 (offering days before Bēltu-ša-Rēš in contract).

AUWE 8, 80: 7’ (offering days before Bēltu-ša-Rēš in contract).

AUWE 8, 84bb: 2 (list of offering days before Bēltu-ša-Rēš).

AUWE 8, 89: 9–10 (offering days before Bēltu-ša-Rēš in inheritance document).

GCCI 2, 359: 13–17 (list of offering days of PN before Bēltu-ša-Rēš).<sup>109</sup>

GCCI 2, 370: 4, 8 (allotment of unspecified commodity in connection with the bakers’ prebends for offering days before Bēltu-ša-Rēš).

<sup>109</sup> Dougherty’s copy begins with ‘ŠE.BAR’ on line 1, but collation shows that it has to be read U<sub>4</sub>\*.[ME] ‘šá\*’ d<sub>NA-SUR-ZI</sub>.MEŠ.

NBC 4773: 4 (withdrawal of unknown commodity for offering days before Bēltu-ša-Rēš).

NBC 4796: 7–9 (list of offering months II to IV with allotment of unspecified commodity before Bēltu-ša-Rēš).

NBC 4870: 3, 5 (allotments of unspecified commodity for offering months before Bēltu-ša-Rēš).

PTS 3211: 5 (quantity of unknown commodity before Bēltu-ša-Rēš).

UCP 9/1, 81: 3 (quantity of unspecified commodity before Bēltu-ša-Rēš).

YBC 4002: 16 (list of recipients of unspecified commodity before Bēltu-ša-Rēš).

YBC 9318: 2, 8, 10, 13 (list of offering days before Bēltu-ša-Rēš).

## 4.3.5. Prebends

Three prebends connected with the cult of Bēltu-ša-Rēš appear in texts from Uruk: the *rab-banūtu*, the *nuḫatimmūtu*, and the *sirāšūtu*. The *rab-banūtu* is the object of the protocol YOS 6, 222, which records a cultic fault committed by a holder of that prebend before the Lady-of-Uruk, Nanaya, and Bēltu-ša-Rēš: 2. <sup>10</sup>GAL-DÜ-ú-tu IGI dGAŠAN *šá* UNUG<sup>ki</sup> d<sub>na-na-a</sub> 3. <sup>10</sup>GAŠAN *šá* SAG (§ 3.11.1). The *sirāšūtu* is mentioned alongside the *nuḫatimmūtu* in YOS 6, 241: 3. <sup>10</sup>BAPPIR-ú-tu IGI dGAŠAN *šá* UNUG<sup>ki</sup> 4. d<sub>na-na-a</sub> u dGAŠAN *šá* SAG; 8. <sup>10</sup>MUḪALDIM-ú-tu IGI dGAŠAN *šá* UNUG<sup>ki</sup> 9. d<sub>na-na-a</sub> u dGAŠAN *šá* SAG (§ 3.9). YOS 17, 126: 11–12 mentions the *sirāšūtu* before Bēltu-ša-Rēš, as well as the *nuḫatimmūtu* (lines 15–18). The *nuḫatimmūtu* before Bēltu-ša-Rēš is also the object of several, mostly fragmentary transactions from the private archives edited by Kessler in AUWE 8 (nos. 12: 1; 34: 2; 82J: 3–4; 85K: 1–2). The Nabû-ušallim archive also contains two transactions involving the *nuḫatimmūtu* before that goddess: NU 13, a document recording the sale of the baker’s prebend, and NU 27, a promissory note on silver in which the baker’s prebend is put as collateral.

## 4.3.6. Personnel

TCL 13, 156 mentions the brewers of Bēltu-ša-Rēš in the following context: 7. 5/6 MA.NA 1 ḡÍN *a-na bat-qa šá man-di-tú* 8. *šá kan-kan-na šá te-eb-bi-ti* 9. *šá* <sup>10</sup>BAPPIR. ME *šá* dGAŠAN *šá* SAG 10. *na-din* “5/6 minas and 1 shekel (of silver) allotted for repairing the mounting of the pot stand for the ritual purification of the brewers of Bēltu-ša-Rēš.”<sup>110</sup>

<sup>110</sup> The spelling *te-eb-bi-ti* is probably an error for *te-bi-ib-ti* in view of the following two parallels; AnOr 8, 35: 19. *man-di-ti* 20. *šá kan-kan-na šá te-bi-ib-ti* “the mounting of the pot stand for the ritual purification;” YOS 3, 149: 8. 2! *kan-kan-na* 9. *šá te-bi-ib-tu* “the pot stand for the ritual purification.”

## 4.3.7. Ceremonies

## 4.3.7.1. Sacred Meal

YOS 6, 239 is a protocol assigning prebendaries for the sacred meal (1. *nap-ta-nu*) of various deities, including Bēltu-ša-Rēš: 7. [o o a-na] <sup>d</sup>GAŠAN šá SAG ú-qa[r-ra-bu]. YOS 17, 166: 4 records allotments of dates to the bakers for the *tardennu* meal of the four main goddesses of Eanna, including Bēltu-ša-Rēš (§ 4.3.4.2). The text further mentions disbursements of dates for the *šiditu* of the goddess, probably provisions for a ritual journey: 15. 2 BĀN (ZÚ.LUM.MA) šá ši-di-ti šá KI.MIN (= U<sub>4</sub> 3-KAM U<sub>4</sub> 6-KAM) IGI <sup>d</sup>GAŠAN šá SAG <sup>l</sup>iq-ba-a GIŠ “2 *sātus* (of dates) for the *šiditu* of the 3rd and 6th days before Bēltu-ša-Rēš, withdrawn by Iqbā.” TCL 13, 221 is a protocol in which 19 cooks, bakers, and food preparers assume responsibility for preparing the sacred meal in the *kannānu* room of the Lady-of-Uruk, Nanaya, and Bēltu-ša-Rēš (§ 3.11.1).

## 4.3.7.2. Clothing Ceremony

PTS 2783 informs us that 3 sacrificial sheep were ritually selected for the clothing ceremonies of Ištar, Nanaya, and Bēltu-ša-Rēš on the 6th day of the month Kislīmu:<sup>111</sup> 6. 3 (UDU.NÍTA) a-na <sup>u</sup>gNÍG.LÁM 7. ‘šá’ <sup>d</sup>GAŠAN šá UNUG<sup>ki</sup> 8. ‘d’na-na-a 9. [ú] <sup>d</sup>GAŠAN šá SAG!<sup>112</sup> 10. ITI GAN U<sub>4</sub> 6-KAM 11. KUD-as “3 (sheep) ritually selected for the clothing ceremony of the Lady-of-Uruk, Nanaya, [and] Bēltu-ša-Rēš, on the 6th day of the month Kislīmu.” The dates of the clothing ceremony and correlations with texts recording allocations of garments are discussed in chapter 1 (§ 1.7.1; § 1.7.2; § 1.12.1).

## 4.3.7.3. Varia

According to texts recording operations on jewelry in the shape of door-locking devices, Bēltu-ša-Rēš participated with Ištar and other deities of the Eanna temple in rituals scheduled for the first part of the month Addaru during which this jewelry was displayed (§ 3.5.4).

## 4.4. Ušur-amāssu

The earliest mention of the goddess Ušur-amāssu at Uruk occurs in an inscription recording the dedication of a field to her by a governor of the Sealand named Kaššû-bēl-zēri. The inscription has survived on a Neo-Babylonian copy excerpted, according to its colophon, from an inscribed cylinder seal strung on the necklace of the goddess: 13. šá ina UGU <sup>na</sup>dKIŠIB šá i-na <sup>na</sup>dGÚ šá <sup>d</sup>URI-INIM-sa “That which is [written] upon a cylinder seal which is on the necklace of the goddess Ušur-amāssa.”<sup>113</sup> No evidence

<sup>111</sup> The heading of the document reads as follows: 1. KUD-as šá ITI GAN U<sub>4</sub> 3-KAM 2. U<sub>4</sub> 6-KAM “ritual selection of the month Kislīmu, 3rd and 6th days.”

<sup>112</sup> The scribe inadvertently wrote <sup>d</sup>GAŠAN šá UNUG<sup>ki</sup>, ostensibly meaning to write <sup>d</sup>GAŠAN šá SAG.

<sup>113</sup> Edition in FRAME 1995, B.4.0.2001. For a discussion of this text see BEAULIEU 2000b.

allows us to assign a date to the inscription save for the fact that the divine name Kaššû appears only in theophoric names from the years 1008–955 B.C.<sup>114</sup>

The next mention of the goddess occurs in a building inscription from the 5th year of king Nabonassar (743–742 B.C.) which records that two prominent citizens of Uruk undertook the restoration of her *bīt-akīti*.<sup>115</sup> Two generations later Ušur-amāssu was included among the gods of Uruk carried off in the wake of the Assyrian attack in the fall of 693.<sup>116</sup> The Babylonian Chronicle states that these gods were returned to their city 12 years later in 681, at the very end of Sennacherib’s reign.<sup>117</sup> It is uncertain whether Ušur-amāssu was then restored to her place of worship, since Esarhaddon also affirms that he returned her to Uruk.<sup>118</sup> The question is further complicated by the fact that Assurbanipal also claims to have returned Ušur-amāssu to Uruk.<sup>119</sup> We know at any rate that the goddess left Uruk again with Nanaya to take part in Assurbanipal’s coronation ceremonies.<sup>120</sup> From Esarhaddon’s reign dates a letter, sent probably by the scholar Mār-Ištar and addressed to the king, which deals with the repair work to be done on the statues of several gods of Uruk, including Ušur-amāssu:

## PARPOLA 1993, 349

13. ú pa-ni ŠU.[MIN.MEŠ šá <sup>d</sup>ú-šur]-a-mat-sa
14. KÙ.GI uš-ḥu-zu la-a-nu ‘ú’! [GĪR.MIN.MEŠ]
15. KÙ.GI la uš-ḥu-zu <sup>u</sup>gla-[ma-ḥuš-šu-u lab]-šá-at
16. a-gu-ú KÙ.GI šak-na-at 2 [šu-un-gal-l]i
17. ša KÙ.GI ga-am-ru 15 u 150 [ina UGU ki-gal-li]-šá
18. iz-za-zu TA <sup>ku</sup>aš-šur<sup>ki</sup> a-na UNUG<sup>ki</sup>
19. ú-še-bi-la-áš-ši

Furthermore, (while) the face (and) the hand[s of Ušur]-amāssa have been overlaid with gold, the figure and [the feet] have not. She is [dr]essed with a *la[maḥuššû]*-robe (and) equipped with a golden tiara. The two golden [drago]ns are ready and they stand right and left [upon] her [pedestal]. I have sent her from Assyria to Uruk.

Ušur-amāssu is mentioned numerous times in the Eanna archive and ranked among the most important deities worshiped at Uruk. Her cult was still in existence during the Hellenistic period, as she is mentioned in the “Fête d’Ištar” and another late ritual from Uruk.<sup>121</sup>

<sup>114</sup> Frame noted this, as well as BRINKMAN 1968, p. 257, and p. 297, n. 1943.

<sup>115</sup> Edition in FRAME 1995, B.6.15.2001.

<sup>116</sup> OIP 2, p. 87, lines 31–33.

<sup>117</sup> GRAYSON 1975, p. 81, lines 28–29. The tradition seems somewhat confused, however, as the Chronicle states that the gods of Uruk had been carried off both by the Assyrians and by the Elamites in the wake of the Assyrian onslaught (ibid., pp. 78–79, col. II, 48 – col. III, 3), and were later returned from Elam (p. 81, col. III, 29. [N]IM<sup>ki</sup>; the sign NIM, however, is almost entirely restored, only its right side vertical wedge appears on the copy).

<sup>118</sup> BORGER 1956, p. 84, rev. 43.

<sup>119</sup> STRECK 1916, p. 220, lines 29–35.

<sup>120</sup> STRECK 1916, p. 266, lines 12–13.

<sup>121</sup> LACKENBACHER 1977, p. 41, rev. 4. <sup>d</sup>URI-INIM-sa; and KAR 132, col. II, 13. <sup>d</sup>URI-INIM-sa, edited by THUREAU-DANGIN 1921, p. 101.

The various spellings of her name are as follows:

## 1. Ušur-amāssa

ḫURI-INIM-*sa* (FRAME 1995, B.4.0.2001, line 11, inscription of Kaššû-bêl-zêri, ca. 1000 B.C.; THUREAU-DANGIN 1919, p. 126, col. III, line 11, reign of Marduk-zākir-šumi; Streck, *Asb.*, p. 220, line 29, inscription of Assurbanipal).

ḫú-šur-a-mat-*sa* (OIP 2, p. 87, line 32, 693 B.C.; PARPOLA 1993, 349, lines 13 and 24, reign of Esarhaddon; BORGER 1956, p. 84, rev. 43, inscription of Esarhaddon; STRECK 1916, p. 266, line 12, inscription of Assurbanipal).

## 2. Ušur-amāssu

ḫURI-INIM-*su* (passim in Neo-Babylonian texts from Uruk, mostly 6th century).

ḫURI-a-mat-*su* (passim in Neo-Babylonian texts from Uruk: earliest attestation is in YBC 7422, passim, dated to the 8th year of Merodach-Baladan II; also in building inscription from the reign of Nabonassar, FRAME 1995, B.6.15.2001).

ḫú-šur-a-mat-*su* (passim in Neo-Babylonian texts from Uruk, mostly 6th century).

d.inninú-šur-a-mat-*su* (NBC 5037: 23 and 26, Neo-Babylonian, probably late 7th or 6th century).

The spelling Ušur-amāssa predominates until the 7th century, the only exceptions being the *bīt-akīti* inscription from the 5th year of Nabonassar and YBC 7422. In Neo-Babylonian documents the spelling is always Ušur-amāssu in conformity with the change of the possessive pronominal suffix of the 3rd person feminine singular from -*ša* to -*šu* in Neo-Babylonian. The spelling d.inninú-šur-a-mat-*su* in NBC 5037 contains the additional determinative INNIN, stressing the female character of the deity.

In the inscription of Kaššû-bêl-zêri Ušur-amāssu is characterized as *āšibat Uruk* “resident of Uruk,”<sup>122</sup> while an inscription of Esarhaddon ascribes to her the epithets *mālikat milki* “provider of counsel” and *šābitat abbūti* “intercessor.”<sup>123</sup> The preamble to the inscription from the 5th year of Nabonassar recording the restoration of her *bīt-akīti* offers more substantial theological information.<sup>124</sup>

1. *a-na* ḫURI-a-mat-*su* GAŠAN šir-ti da-i-na-at di-ni ma-a-ti

2. *pa-ri-sa-at* EŠ.BAR AN-e ù er-še-ti bu-uk-rat ḫIM

3. *na-ār-mat* ḫAMAR.UD šá la inš-né-nu-ú qí-bi-is-su

For the goddess Ušur-amāssu, august lady, who renders judgment for the land, who makes decision(s) for heaven and the netherworld, daughter of the god Adad, beloved of the god Marduk, the one whose command cannot be changed.

<sup>122</sup> FRAME 1995, B.4.0.2001, rev. 11. *a-na* ḫURI-INIM-*sa* a-ši-bat UNUG<sup>ki</sup> 12. *be-el-ti-šú i-qí-iš!* “he presented (this land) to Ušur-amāssu, who dwells in Uruk, his lady.”

<sup>123</sup> BORGER 1956, p. 84, rev. 43.

<sup>124</sup> FRAME 1995, B.6.15.2001.

The god-list An=Anum III lists Ušur-amāssu, not as a daughter, but as a son of Adad:<sup>125</sup>

246. ḫmi-ša-ru = dumu ḫIM-ke<sub>4</sub>

247. ḫi-šar-tu<sub>4</sub> = dam-bi-mí

248. ḫú-šur-a-mat-su = dumu ḫIM-ke<sub>4</sub>

This male Ušur-amāssu also appears in the Genouillac god list dating from the Old Babylonian period (TCL 15, pl. 27, line 196: ḫú-šur-a-wa-sú), in the Old Babylonian personal name Ušur-awāssu-gāmil (ḫú-šur-a-wa-as-sú-ga-mil),<sup>126</sup> and in an incantation belonging to the series *Šurpu*, where he is accompanied by Adad, Ninurta, Šullat, Ḫaniš, and Mēšaru,<sup>127</sup> the latter three being well-known deities of the Adad circle. The association of Ušur-amāssu with Mēšaru and Išartu in An=Anum is not surprising if one considers that one of the titles of the female Ušur-amāssu in the *bīt-akīti* inscription from Uruk portrays her as a deity of justice, *dā'inat dīni māti* “who renders judgment for the land.” This evidence suggests that the originally male Ušur-amāssu became a female deity when he was introduced to Uruk. Ušur-amāssu also appears in BM 41239, a late Babylonian ritual for the month Šabātu which mentions Eturkalama, the temple of Ištar-of-Babylon in Babylon, and the procession of various deities to Kish.<sup>128</sup> There is no indication as to whether this deity is the male or the female Ušur-amāssu.

Name formations of the type Ušur-amāssu “Obey his command” are known mostly from Old Babylonian and Old Assyrian personal names. A king of Ešnunna and a high official of Mari were named Ušur-awāssu.<sup>129</sup> Names like Ušur-awāt-Šamaš “Obey the command of Šamaš,” Ušur-awāt-Ištar “Obey the command of Ištar,” and Ušur-ša-Ašur “Obey that (i.e. the command) of Aššur” are attested in early 2nd millennium documents.<sup>130</sup> Such names were classified by Stamm under the rubric *Mahnungen an den Namensträger* “injunctions to the name bearer.”<sup>131</sup> The possessive suffix -*šu* in *awāssu* refers to the deity under whose protection the bearer of the name is placed, and the same must be true of the male deity Ušur-amāssu, whose name must then mean “Obey his (Adad’s) command.” When Ušur-amāssu, listed as a “son” of Adad in An=Anum, was introduced to Uruk to serve Ištar he became Ušur-amāssa, “Obey her (Ištar’s) command,” and became a female deity, although his name was not changed to \*Ušrī-amāssa/u to reflect this transformation. In texts from the archive Ušur-amāssu is often mentioned in conjunction with the goddess Urkayītu, who was probably a resident of her temple.

<sup>125</sup> LITKE 1998, p. 143. The question of the male and female Ušur-amāssu was discussed by JEAN 1934.

<sup>126</sup> This name appears in SZLECHTER 1963, p. 71, lines 7 and 11; and also in YOS 13, 203: rev. 21. ḫú-šur-a-wa-as-sú-ga-[mil]. PIENKA 1998, p. 183, posits that this name honors the deity Ušur-awāssu, who would have already been worshiped in Uruk in the Old Babylonian period.

<sup>127</sup> REINER 1958, p. 40 (Tablet VIII), line 24.

<sup>128</sup> GEORGE 2000, p. 293, line 4.

<sup>129</sup> For the ruler of Ešnunna see FRAYNE 1990, pp. 501–504, with references to previous literature. The high official of Mari is discussed mainly by CHARPIN 1988.

<sup>130</sup> On these names see STAMM 1939, p. 204; CAD N/II, p. 43, s.v. *našāru*, with several examples quoted; and the names listed in WENDEL BOWES 1987, pp. 753–754.

<sup>131</sup> STAMM 1939, pp. 203–204.

## 4.4.1. Paraphernalia

The Neo-Assyrian letter PARPOLA 1993, 349 contains a short description of the statue of Ušur-amāssu, mentioning the two dragons on each side of her pedestal. This passage, however, is heavily restored by its editor. The balustrade (*tallu*) of Ušur-amāssu is mentioned in YOS 19, 246: 1. 5/6 MA.NA 6 1/2 GÍN KÙ.GI *man-di-tú* 2. *ša* <sup>gis</sup>*tal-lu* *ša* d<sup>U</sup>RI-INIM-su “5/6 mina and 6 1/2 shekels of gold (for) the plating of the balustrade of Ušur-amāssu;” and 7. PAP 55 GÍN 3 IGI-4-GÁL.LA.ME *gir-e* 8. [KÙ.GI] *a-na man-di-tú* *ša* <sup>gis</sup>*tal-lu* 9. *ša* d<sup>U</sup>RI-INIM-su “total: 55 3/4 (and) 1/24 shekels of [gol]d for the plating of the balustrade of Ušur-amāssu.” Her Divine *Urigallu* Standard was the object of a separate cult (§ 8.1.4). YOS 19, 245 records an expenditure of gold to repair her golden *dēpu* weapon: 4. DUN<sub>4</sub> KÙ.GI 5. *ša* d<sup>U</sup>RI-INIM-su “the golden *dēpu* weapon of Ušur-amāssu.” Her ceremonial chest is mentioned in FLP 1564: 1. <sup>gis</sup>PISAN *ša* d<sup>U</sup>RI-INIM-su “the chest of Ušur-amāssu.”

The ceremonial wagon (*attaru*) of the goddess occurs in four texts; PTS 2811: 1. 1/2 MA.NA KÙ.BABBAR 2. *a-na bat-qu* *ša* <sup>gis</sup>*at-ta-ri* KÙ.BABBAR 3. *ša* d<sup>U</sup>RI-INIM-su “1/2 mina of silver to repair the silver ceremonial wagon of Ušur-amāssu;” YBC 3998: 20. [o]+’9’ MA.NA 12 GÍN KÙ.BABBAR 1 *ku-šur* UGU *ša* <sup>gis</sup>*at-ta-ri* 21. *ša* d<sup>U</sup>RI-INIM-su “[o] 9 minas (and) 12 shekels of silver (in) 1 ingot for the ceremonial wagon of Ušur-amāssu;” YBC 4117: 9. 9 1/2 GÍN KÙ.BABBAR *a-na* UGU 10. <sup>gis</sup>*at-ta-ri* *ša* d<sup>U</sup>RI-INIM-su *ru-ud-du* “9 1/2 shekels of supplementary silver for the ceremonial wagon of Ušur-amāssu;” and YBC 9063: 14. 7 1/2 MA.NA 3 GÍN KÙ.BABBAR 1 *ku-šur* 15. [*a*]-*na man-di-ti* *ša* <sup>gis</sup>*at-ta-ri* *ša* d<sup>U</sup>RI-INIM-su “7 1/2 minas (and) 3 shekels of silver (in) 1 ingot for plating the ceremonial wagon of Ušur-amāssu.”

Several texts mention the door curtain (*gidlū*) hanging at the gate of the inner cella of Ušur-amāssu; NBC 8350: 4. 22 MA.NA <sup>gida</sup>*hal-[šu]* 5. *a-na* <sup>gida</sup>*gid-da-[lu-ú]* 6. *ša pa-ni* d<sup>U</sup>RI-INIM-’su’ “22 minas of combed flax for the door curtain in front of Ušur-amāssu;” PTS 2522: 1. 35 1/2 MA.NA <sup>gida</sup>*gid-lu-u* 2. *ša* IGI d<sup>U</sup>RI-INIM-su “35 1/2 minas, (weight of the) door curtain which is in front of Ušur-amāssu;” and YBC 3715 (§ 3.4). The blanket (*taḥapšu*) is mentioned in NBC 8363: 4. [*a-na*] <sup>zi</sup>*ku-tu* 5. *ša ta-ḥap-šú* *ša* d<sup>U</sup>RI-INIM-su 6. *u* d<sup>U</sup>UNUG<sup>ki</sup>-*i-ti* “(unknown substance withdrawn by a fuller) [for] cleaning the blanket of Ušur-amāssu and Urkayītu;” 9. 2 BÂN <sup>sim</sup>LI *ša ta-ḥap-šú* 10. *ša* d<sup>U</sup>RI-INIM-su 11. *u* d<sup>U</sup>UNUG<sup>ki</sup>-*i-ti* “2 *sātus* of juniper extract for the blanket of Ušur-amāssu and Urkayītu (received by weaver).” The *sūnu* cloth occurs in one text where it is associated with the water basin (*mê-qālī*), and therefore the usual interpretation of *sūnu* as “loincloth” may not be appropriate in this case; NBC 4597: 23’. [o o o] *a-na su-ú-nu* *ša* A.ME ŠU.MIN 24’. *ša* É d<sup>U</sup>RI-INIM-su’ *ku-um* <sup>u</sup>g<sup>U</sup>R *a-ri-du* “[o o o] for the *sūnu* cloth of the water basin of the temple of Ušur-amāssu, in replacement for the removed *sūnu* cloth.”

A number of vessels and cultic implements for the cult of Ušur-amāssu are mentioned in the archive. The bowl (*ruqqu*) occurs in NBC 4560: 2. ŠEN<sup>urudu</sup> 3. *ša* É d<sup>U</sup>RI-INIM-su “the bowl of the temple of Ušur-amāssu;” and the *našappu* container in YBC 3998: 1. *na-šap* KÙ.BABBAR 2. [*ša*] d<sup>U</sup>RI-INIM-su “1 *našappu* container of silver [belonging to] Ušur-amāssu;” and 12. PAP.PAP ‘19’ MA.NA 10 GÍN KÙ.BABBAR 2 *ku-šar* KÙ.BABBAR 13. *ša na-šap* KÙ.BABBAR *ša* d<sup>U</sup>RI-INIM-su “grand total: 19 minas (and) 10 shekels of silver (in) 2 ingots of silver for the silver *našappu* container of

Ušur-amāssu.” The water sprinkler (*ša-salā’-mê*) occurs in two texts; PTS 3256: 12. 1 *ša sa-la-mu* KÙ.BABBAR 13. *ša* d<sup>U</sup>RI-[INIM]-su “1 water sprinkler of silver belonging to Ušur-[amās]su;” and YBC 9434: 5. 1 1/2 MA.NA KÙ.BABBAR ‘*ana*’ *ša sa-’lam* KÙ.BABBAR’ 6. *a-ri-du* *ša* IGI d<sup>U</sup>RI-INIM-’su’ “1 1/2 minas of silver for the removed water sprinkler of silver which is before Ušur-amāssu.” The vat (*dannu*) occurs in YBC 9434: 8. (silver) *a-na* UGU *ku-šur*<sup>meš</sup> 9. *ša dan-nu* KÙ.BABBAR *ša* d<sup>U</sup>RI-INIM-su “(silver) for the ingots (to make) the silver vat of Ušur-amāssu.”

The *dannu* is mentioned again together with another type of vat, the *namḥaru*, in NCBT 528, a text listing offerings of barley to various deities; the text further mentions the fermenting vat (*namzītu*), the *ḥussū* vessel, and the drinking vessel (*mašqū*):

13. 2 *dan-nu-tu* 2 *nam-ḥa-ra-a-ta* U<sub>4</sub> 9-KAM *ša* ITI GAN
14. *a-na* d<sup>U</sup>RI-*sur-a-mat-su* ...
18. 1 PI ŠE.BAR U<sub>4</sub> 9-KAM *a-na nam-za-a-ta maš-ša-qu-ú*
19. *a-na* d<sup>U</sup>RI-*sur-a-mat-su*
20. 5 BÂN ŠE.BAR *a-na* 1-en *ḥu-us-su-ú* *ša* U<sub>4</sub> 20-KAM *ša* ITI AB
21. *ša ina* BĀRA *an-zu-ú a-na* d<sup>U</sup>RI-*a-mat-su i[n-n]a-qu-ú!*

2 *dannu* vats and 2 *namḥaru* vats (of barley) for Ušur-amāssu on the 9th day of the month Kislīmu ... 1 *pānu* of barley (offered) on the 9th day to Ušur-amāssu (and put) in the fermenting vat (for) the drinking vessel; 5 *sātus* of barley for 1 *ḥussū* vessel which is offered to Ušur-amāssu on the Dais of Anzû on the 20th day of the month Ṭebētu.

The Dais of Anzû is also mentioned in the ritual LKU 51, but in connection with a ritual performed for Nanaya in the month Dûzu: obv. 20’. [o o o] *ina* UGU BĀRA *an-zu-ú a-na* d<sup>U</sup>RI-INIM-*a i-maḥ-ḥa-aš-’ma*’ [o o o] “[o o o] on the Dais of Anzû for Nanaya he strikes/kills(?) and [o o o]” (Appendix 2).

Finally YOS 6, 192, which records the allocation of sacred vessels for the *šalām bīti* ceremony of the 8th day of the month Kislīmu, assigns the following vessels to the temple of Ušur-amāssu:

23. *ina lib-bi* 2 *dan-nu-tu* KÙ.BABBAR 2 *nam-za-a-ta*
24. 1 *šid-da-tu<sub>4</sub>* *ša bi-rii* *šid-du*
25. 4 *lib-bê-e* KÙ.GI 4 *šu-la-pu* KÙ.GI
26. 1 *ma-li-tū!* KÙ.BABBAR 2 *ka-kan-na-a-ta*
27. 1 *ma-sá-ab* GUR<sub>7</sub> *ša ma-aq-qí-ti*
28. *ina* É d<sup>U</sup>RI-*a-mat-su*

From it, 2 vats of silver, 2 fermenting vats, 1 container stand for (the ceremony) between the dividing curtains, 4 heart-shaped vessels of gold, 4 *šulāpus* of gold, 1 bowl of silver, 2 pot stands, 1 basket on a stand for libations, in the temple of Ušur-amāssu.



## 4.4.2. Ornaments

## 4.4.2.1. Tiara

As discussed above (§ 4.4) the Neo-Assyrian letter PARPOLA 1993, 349 mentions the golden tiara of Ušur-amāssu of Uruk: 16. *a-gu-ú KÙ.GI šak-na-at* “she is equipped with a golden tiara.” This tiara is described in detail in YBC 11390, dated to the 10th year of Šamaš-šum-ukīn, an account of the red gold (KÙ.GI SA<sub>5</sub>) allocated to fashion the tiara of Ušur-amāssu. Its various components are listed, but, save for a few terms, the technical vocabulary employed is obscure or otherwise unknown. The mention of 20 quills (20 *ga-ap-pi*) on line 2 indicates that the tiara of Ušur-amāssu was, like those of Ištar and Nanaya, a feathered headdress. The text indirectly confirms Esarhaddon and Assurbanipal’s claims that the cult of the goddess had been reorganized after the disruptions caused by Sennacherib’s campaigns in southern Babylonia.

YBC 11390 (plates 24, 25)

1. 'KÙ.GI' SA<sub>5</sub> šá a-na AGA KÙ.GI šá 'ÙRI'-a-mat-su 'mah?-ru?'-ni

2. 6 MA.NA KÙ.GI SA<sub>5</sub> 20 *ga-ap-pi* 1-en a-bu-lu<sub>4</sub>
3. ù 'zu'-bu-rin-ni šá sa-ma-ḫal
4. 3 'MA'.NA 19 GÍN KÙ.GI 15 šu-bu-ú-tu
5. 5/6 MA.NA 8 GÍN ḫal-la-ma-ad-ri
6. 10 MA.NA 52 GÍN KÙ.GI su-ú-tu AGA KÙ.GI
7. ina lib-bi 1 MA.NA 14 1/2 GÍN ú-rak K[Á]
8. šu-pa-lu-ú šá! mi-si 'UD.KA.BAR'
9. 1 MA.NA 8 GÍN KÙ.GI 5 šu-bu-ḫu 'x'[o o]
10. šu-pa-lu-ú ù 46 su-ta-[a-ta]
11. 1/3 2 GÍN KÙ.GI ed-il e-le-n[u o o]
12. 37 i-rim-ma-at 47 su-ú-[a-a-ta]
13. 3 1/2 MA.NA 6 GÍN KÙ.GI 122 ár-zal-la-'nu'
14. 7 tu-ri-in-né-e-ti 1-en rik-su
15. 142 su-ú-ta-a-ta
16. 1 MA.NA KÙ.GI 35 ár-zal-la-nu
17. 183 su-ú-'ta'-a-ta
18. [o o] 5 GÍN KÙ.'GI' 44 a-a-ru šá KÁ 'IGI?-'ú?'
19. [o o] MA.NA 3 GÍN 2-'ta ta'-ri-ka!-a-ta'
20. šá pu-uk-ku-ru 120 su-ta-a-ta
21. '5' [GÍN] 'KÙ.GI SA<sub>5</sub> 1-en ár-zal-la'
22. '180 su-ú-'ta-a-ta
23. 'PAP 29 MA.NA 15?' GÍN KÙ.GI SA<sub>5</sub>
24. 'a-na AGA KÙ.GI šá' 'ÙRI'-a-mat-su
25. 'e-pu-uš ina lib'-bi 1 MA.NA 14 1/2 GÍN mi-si
26. 'ú-rak KÁ šu'-pa-lu-ú
27. 'ú 47 5/6 MA.NA 16 1/2 GÍN KÙ.GI SA<sub>5</sub>'
28. 'dul-lu x' ep-šú šá AGA KÙ.GI
29. MU 10-KAM 'GIŠ.NU<sub>11</sub>-MU-GI.NA

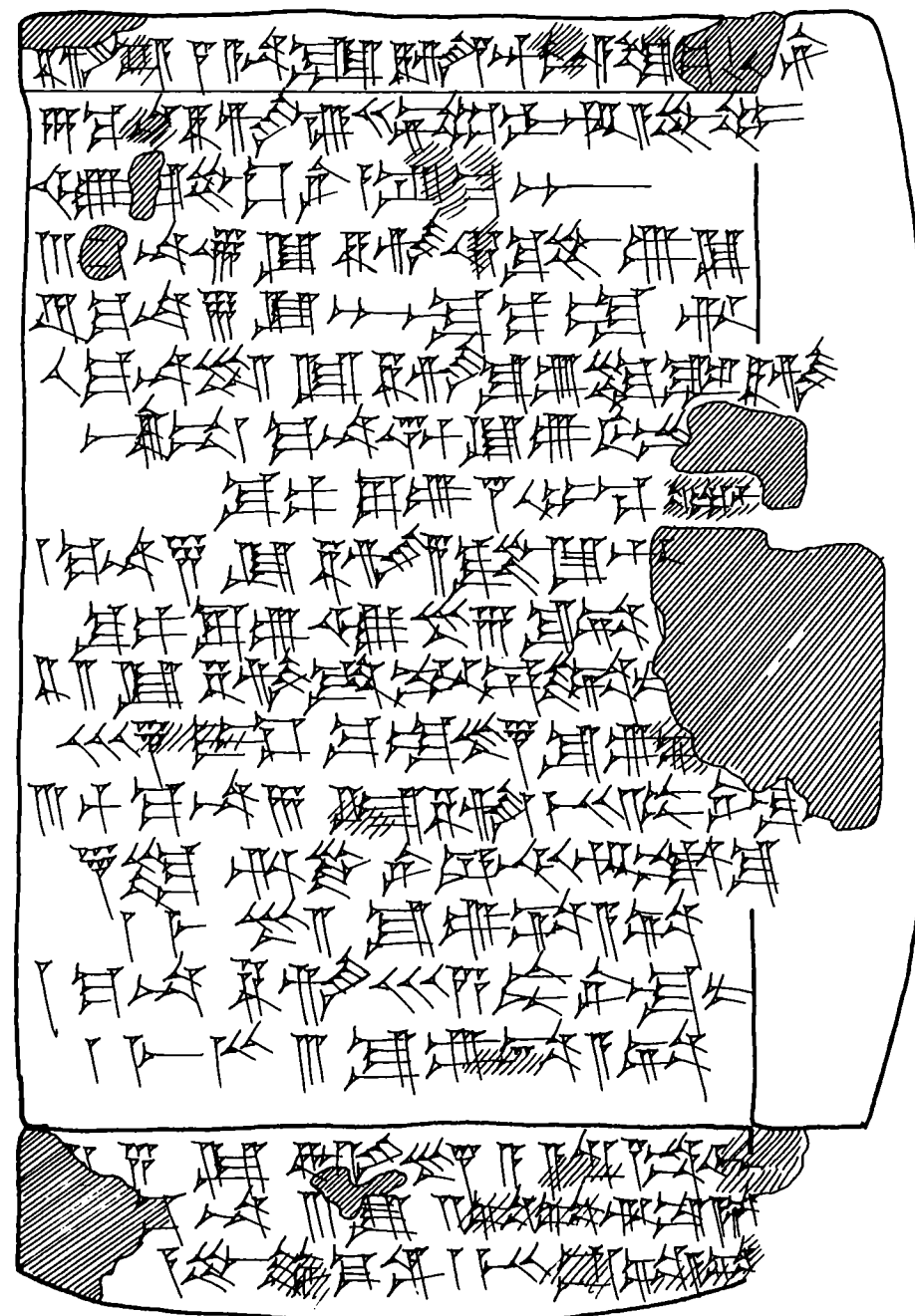


Plate 24. YBC 11390 (obverse)

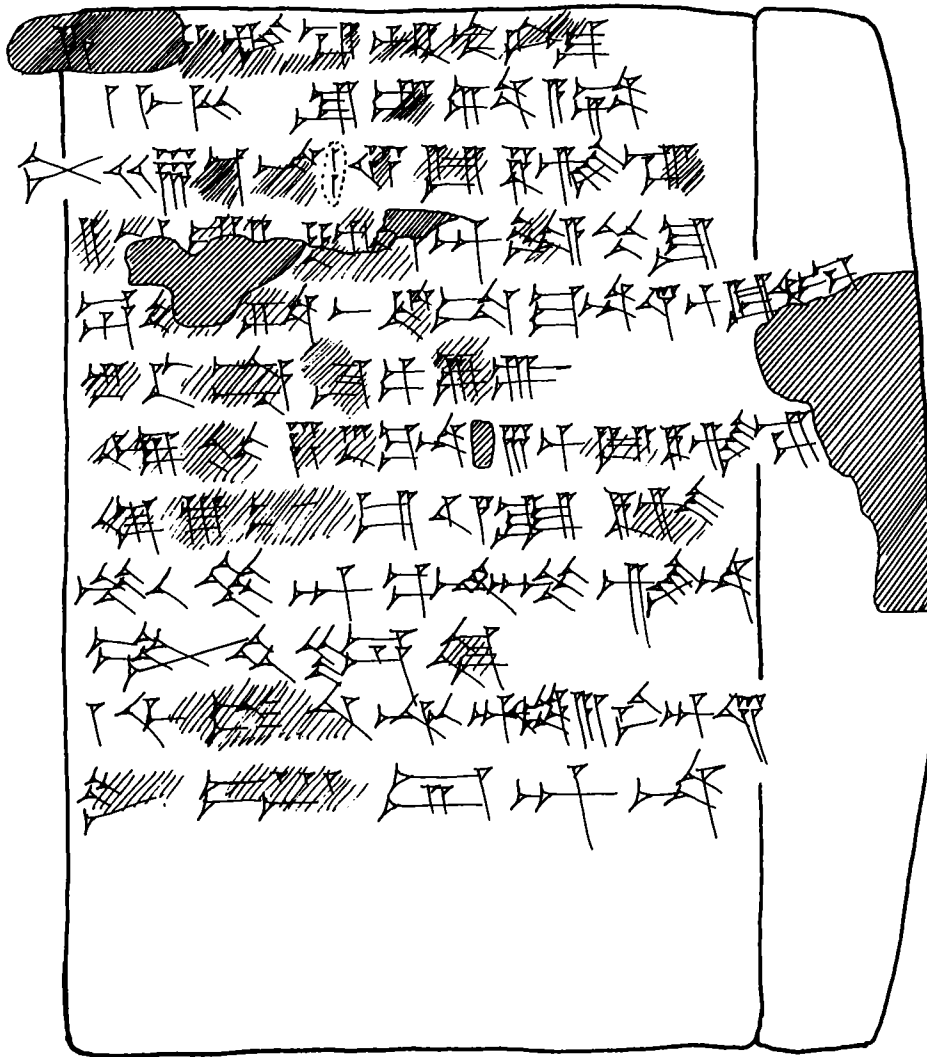


Plate 25. YBC 11390 (reverse)

30. LUGAL TIN.TIR<sup>ki</sup>31. <sup>1</sup>šī-<sup>r</sup>rik<sup>1</sup>-<sup>ti</sup>-<sup>d</sup>AMAR.UD A <sup>1</sup>DÜ-<sup>d</sup>1532. <sup>1</sup>UMBISAG<sup>1</sup> É.AN.NA

1. Red gold received(?) for the golden tiara of Ušur-amāssu.
2. 6 minas of red gold (for) 20 quills, 1 *abūlu*,
3. and a *zuburinnu* with an attachment;
4. 3 minas (and) 19 shekels of gold (for) 15 *šubūtus*;
5. 5/6 mina (and) 8 shekels (for a) *ħalmadru*;
6. 10 minas (and) 52 shekels of red(?) gold for the golden tiara,
7. including 1 mina (and) 14 1/2 shekels for the rod of the
8. lower ope[ning] made of refined copper;
9. 1 mina (and) 8 shekels of gold (for) 5 *šubūtus* (for the)
10. lower [o o] and (for) 46 *sūt[us]*;
11. 1/3 (mina and) 2 shekels of gold (for the) upper closing (and for)
12. 37 egg-shaped ornaments and 47 *sūt[us]*;
13. 3 1/2 minas (and) 6 shekels of gold (for) 122 *arzallu* jewels,
14. 7 *turinnītus*, and 1 string
15. (of) 142 *sūtus*;
16. 1 mina of gold (for) 35 *arzallu* jewels (and)
17. 183 *sūtus*;
18. [o o] (and) 5 shekels of gold (for) 44 rosettes (for) the front(?) opening;
19. [o o] minas (and) 3 shekels (of gold for) 2 *tariktus*
20. for affixing, (and for) 120 *sūtus*;
21. 5 [shekels] of red gold (for) 1 *arzallu* jewel
22. (and) 180 *sūtus*.
23. Total: 29 (and) 15(?) shekels of red gold
24. for the golden tiara of Ušur-amāssu,
25. worked, including 1 mina and 14 1/2 shekels of refined (copper)
26. (for) the lower opening,
27. and 47 minas (and) 16 1/2 shekels of red gold,
28. the finished work on the golden tiara.
29. 10th year of Šamaš-šum-ukīn,
30. king of Babylon.
31. (Written by) Širikti-Marduk, son of Ibni-Ištar,
32. scribe of Eanna.

Taking the breaks into account, the total on line 23 appears to match the total of the smaller amounts enumerated in the previous lines. The amount on line 27 must therefore represent the grand total of gold in the tiara, or the weight in gold of the tiara before the additions recorded in this text, in which case it would have weighed almost 80 minas. Considering its weight, it is possible that the tiara was not worn by the deity, but instead was displayed on a stand in her temple.<sup>132</sup>

<sup>132</sup> Such a stand is mentioned in the inscription of Nabonidus commemorating the restoration of the tiara of Šamaš of Sippar (BEAULIEU 1989b, pp. 10–11).

## 4.4.2.2. Crown

The crown of Ušur-amāssu is mentioned with some of its components in PTS 2950 (§ 4.4.2.4): 2. [o] *taš-kis* KÙ.GI 3. *ša ku-lu-lu* KÙ.GI 4. [o] *a-a-ri pa-ni ša 4-ú ša-ab-tú* “[o] *tarkīsu* ornament of gold for the golden crown (and) [o] frontal rosette(s) attached in 4 places.”

## 4.4.2.3. Breast Ornaments

GCCI 2, 214 records delivery of a quantity of gold for work on the breast ornament of Nanaya and Ušur-amāssu: 1. 1/3 7 1/2 GÍN *gi-ru-ú* KÙ.GI 2. *iš-kar a-na ú-rak KÁ* 3. *ša GABA! ša 4-na-na-a ú 4. ša 4-URI-a-mat-su* “1/3 (mina) 7 1/2 (and) 1/24 shekels of gold, work delivery for the rod of the opening of the breast ornament of Nanaya and Ušur-amāssu.” NCBT 380 records a delivery of gold for her “winged(?)” breastplate: 5. PAP 3 MA.NA 2/3! GÍN KÙ.GI 6. *a-na GABA a-ḥa-nu* KÙ.GI 7. *ša 4-URI-INIM-su* “total: 3 minas (and) 2/3 shekels of gold for the winged(?) breastplate of gold belonging to Ušur-amāssu.” Finally PTS 2950 (§ 4.4.2.4) lists a number of breast ornaments belonging to the goddess: 8. [1 GABA] *ša bi-rit ŠU.MIN.ME* KÙ.GI “a gold [breast ornament] located between the hands;” and three breastplates “with a representation of a rising snake” (*ša MUŠ ti-bi*; lines 16, 21, and 27).

## 4.4.2.4. Jewelry

The inscription of the Sealand governor Kaššû-bēl-zēri was copied in Neo-Babylonian times from an inscribed votive cylinder seal belonging to the necklace of Ušur-amāssu (§ 4.4). AnOr 9, 2 mentions the same object and specifies that it was made of lapis lazuli: 31. *na4\*ku\*-nu\*-uk\** na4\*ZA\*.GÍN\* 32. *ša\* dURI\*-a\*-mat\*-su* “the lapis lazuli cylinder seal of Ušur-amāssu.”<sup>133</sup> Her jewelry is described in several other texts, including two inventories (PTS 2950 and FLP 1564). The ornaments listed in PTS 2950 were put on the image of Ušur-amāssu on the 14th day of the month Ayaru. As discussed earlier this date coincides with one of the clothing ceremonies in the Eanna temple (§ 1.6, § 1.12.1).

## PTS 2950

1. *šur\*-kut-ti ša 4-URI-INIM-su*
2. [o] *taš-kis* KÙ.GI
3. *ša ku-lu-lu* KÙ.GI
4. [o] *a-a-ri pa-ni ša 4-ú ša-ab-tú*
5. [o Ḫ]AR.ME *as-pu* KÙ.GI
6. [o Š]U.GUR KÙ.GI
7. [o d]u-di-ti KÙ.GI
8. [1 GABA] *ša bi-rit ŠU.MIN.ME* KÙ.GI
9. [o o a] *-gur-ru* 44 na4IM.KIŠIB.ME<sup>134</sup>

<sup>133</sup> BEAULIEU 2000b. The text has been collated from the original.

<sup>134</sup> In the Neo-Babylonian script the signs DUB and KIŠIB (ŠID) are occasionally confused, the latter

10. [na4]BABBAR.DIL 88 NA4.ME KÙ.GI
11. 88 na4GUG.ME 44 na4tuk-pi-ti
12. [na4]BABBAR.DIL *sa-ma-ḥal-šú šal-lim*
13. [ina ṭū]r-ru GADA.ḪA *ša-ab-ti*
14. [o o] *ku-ma-ru* KÙ.GI *ša tam-le-e*
15. [o aš]-mu *ša zi-mu* KÙ.GI
16. [2-ti GABA] *ša MUŠ ti-bi* KÙ.GI
17. [o o na]4IM.KIŠIB BABBAR.DIL 29 NA4.ME KÙ.GI
18. [o o na]4tuk-pi-ti na4BABBAR.DIL
19. [sa-ma-ḥ]al-šú *šal-lim*
20. [ina gú]-ḥal-šu KÙ.GI *ša-ab-ti*
21. [3-ti] GABA *ša MUŠ ti-bi* KÙ.GI
22. 20 na4IM.KIŠIB na4BABBAR.DIL
23. *sa-ma-ḥal-šú šal-lim ina gú-ḥal-šu* KÙ.GI DIB
24. 1 mil-ḥu KÙ.GI 24 *a-gur-ru*
25. *ša NA4.ME KÙ.GI na4ZA.GÍN na4GUG.ME*
26. *ú na4AŠ.GI4.GI4 3 a-gur-ru* KÙ.GI
27. [4-ti GABA] *ša MUŠ ti-bi* 141 [o o o] KÙ.GI
28. [4]0 na4IM.KIŠIB na4BABBAR.DIL [o NA4.ME KÙ.GI]
29. [4]0 na4tuk-pi-ti 2 *kur-š[u-ú o o]*
30. [i]na ṭūr-ru GADA.ḪA *ša-ab-ti* [i o na4I]M.KIŠIB.ME
31. *ina sa-ma-ḥal-šú ḥal-[liq]*
32. 20 *ka-ar-pi-lu* KÙ.GI *ša sa-a-da*
33. 64 *a-a-ri* KÙ.GI *ša sa-a-da*
34. 9-ši *raq-qa-a-ta* KÙ.GI *ša ku-tal-la*
35. PAP *šur-kut-ti ša 4-URI-INIM-su*
36. *ina ITI GU4 U4 14-KAM MU 2-KAM*
37. U.GUR-LUGAL-URI LUGAL TIN.TIRki
38. *sa-an-qa-ti a-na UGU*
39. 4-URI-INIM-su *te-lu-ú*

1. Jewelry of Ušur-amāssu;
2. [o] *tarkīsu*(s) of gold
3. for the golden crown;
4. [o] frontal rosette(s) attached in 4 places;
5. [o] cleft bracelets of gold;
6. [o] gold finger-rings;
7. [o] gold fibula(s);
8. a gold [breast ornament] located between the hands, (which includes)
9. [o o o] *gurrus*, 44 cylinder-seal-shaped beads
10. of banded agate, 88 gold beads,
11. 88 beads of carnelian, 44 kidney-shaped beads of
12. banded agate, (with) its attachment(s) in good condition,
13. (and) held [on] a linen [str]ing;

being sometimes written like a clear DUB, hence the attribution of the value KIŠIB to the sign DUB by some assyriologists. In the present text the bead named *kumukku* is consistently written na4IM.DUB, which is obviously an equivalent of na4KIŠIB and should be read na4IM.KIŠIB. See OWEN, WATANABE 1983, pp. 44–47; and BORGER 1978, p. 251, s.v. KIŠIB, who argues against the attribution of this additional value to the sign DUB.

14. [o o] framed ornament of gold with inlays;
15. [o sun]-disk ornaments as garment decoration;
16. [a 2nd breast ornament], (a breastplate) of gold with a representation of a rising snake, (which includes)
17. [o] cylinder-seal-shaped beads of banded agate, 29 gold beads,
18. [o] kidney-shaped beads of banded agate,
19. (with) its [attach]ment(s) in good condition,
20. (and) held [on] a gold wire;
21. [a 3rd] breast ornament, (a breastplate) of gold with a representation of a rising snake, (which includes)
22. 20 cylinder-seal-shaped beads of [banded agate?],
23. (with) its attachment(s) in good condition, (and) held on a gold wire;
24. 1 *milhu* of gold; 24 *agurru*s
25. (with) gold beads, lapis lazuli beads, carnelian beads,
26. and turquoise beads; 3 *agurru*s of gold;
27. (a 4th breast ornament), (a breastplate) with a representation of a rising snake, which includes 141 [o o] of gold,
28. [4]0 cylinder-seal-shaped beads of banded agate, [go]ld [beads?],
29. [4]0 kidney-shaped beads, 2 lin[ks o o],
30. held on a linen string, [with o cy]linder-seal-shaped bead(s)
31. mis[sing?] on its attachment;
32. 20 *karpilus* of *sādu* gold;
33. 64 rosettes of *sādu* gold;
34. 9 *raqqatus* of gold for a counterpoise.
35. Total of the jewelry of Ušur-amāssu
36. (which), in the month Ayaru, on the 14th day, in the 2nd year
37. of Neriglissar, king of Babylon,
38. was selected and
39. went on Ušur-amāssu.

FLP 1564 lists a number of necklaces belonging to the chest of Ušur-amāssu which were put on the god Dumuzi on the 29th day of the month Dūzu in the 5th year of Nabonidus. The ritual *LKU* 51, as well as a number of texts from the archive, allude to ritual activities connected with Dumuzi taking place in the month Dūzu or the beginning of the month Abu (§ 7.10). These activities also coincided with the clothing ceremony of the first day of the month Abu, and it is possible that the jewelry listed in FLP 1564 was displayed in connection with that ceremony.

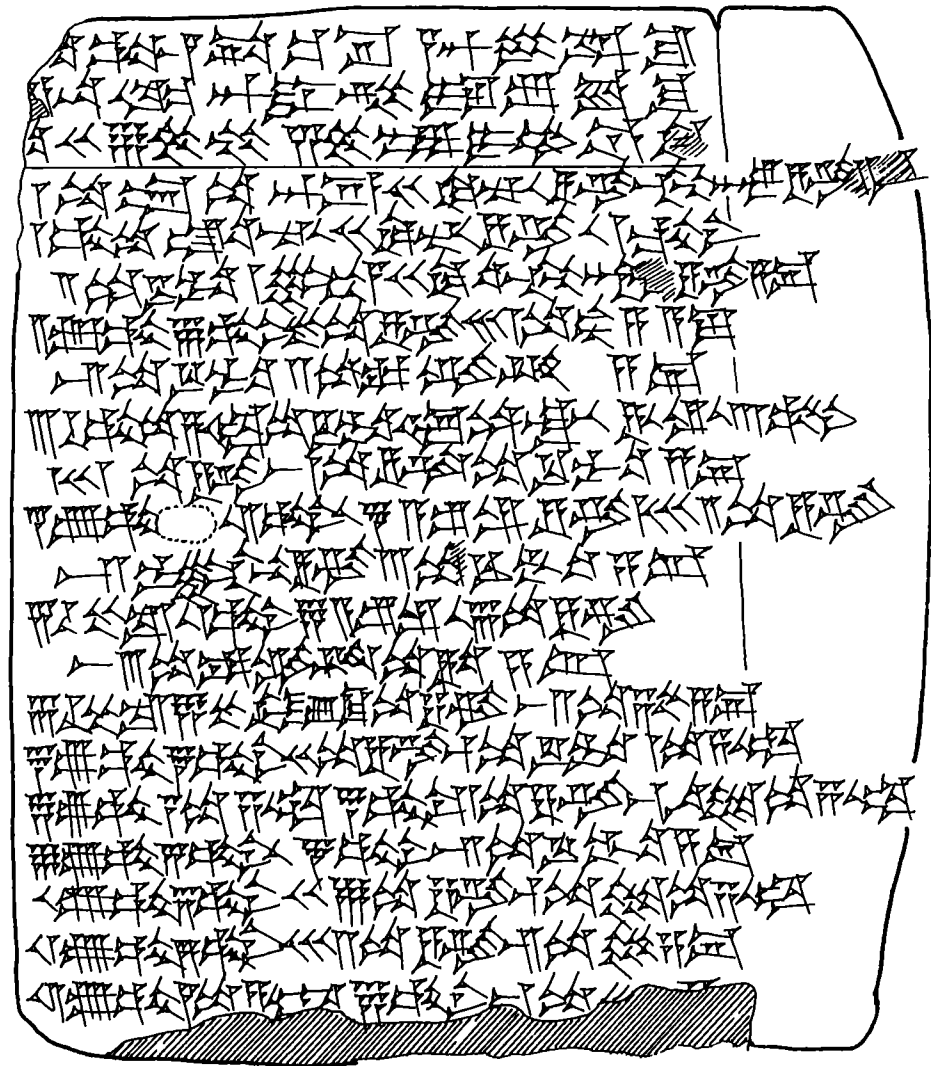


Plate 26. FLP 1564 (obverse)

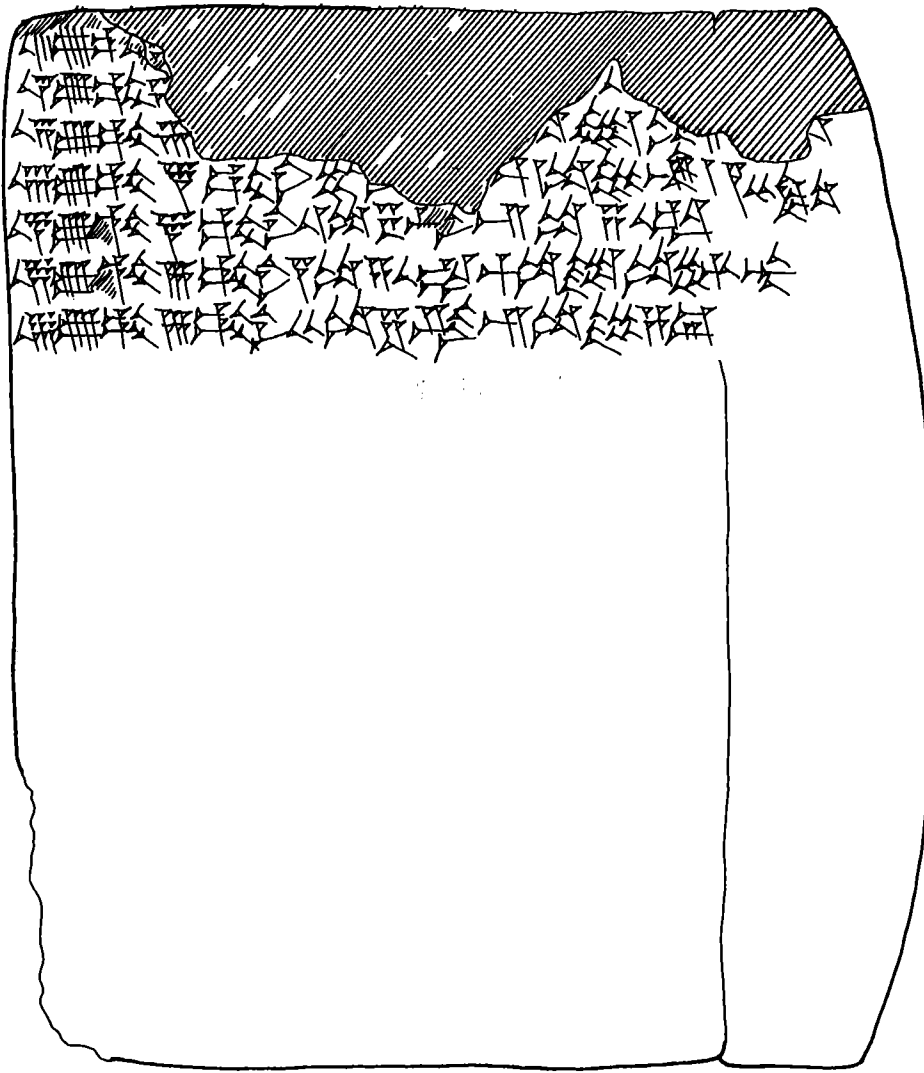


Plate 27. FLP 1564 (reverse)

## FLP 1564 (plate 26, 27)

1. [n]<sup>na4</sup>GÚ.ME šá TA <sup>giš</sup>PISAN šá d'ÜRI-INIM-su
  2. a-na UGU d'dumu-zi i-lu-ú ITI ŠU
  3. U<sub>4</sub> 29-KAM MU 5-KAM d'NÀ-I LUGAL Eki
- 
4. 1 <sup>na4</sup>KIŠIB <sup>na4</sup>dLAMMA man-di-ti KÙ.GI ina gu-ḫal-ši KÙ.GI ša-bit
  5. 1 GÚ <sup>na4</sup>ši-pir-ti man-di-ti KÙ.GI 11 DUR
  6. 2 <sup>na4</sup>tuk-pi-tú 1 in-bi šá man-di-tú ina gu-ḫal-šu KÙ.GI ša-bit
  7. 2-ú GÚ 9 DUR 40 NA<sub>4</sub> KÙ.GI 31 <sup>na4</sup>ár-za-a-lu
  8. ina 2 <sup>na4</sup>tuk-pi-tú 2 <sup>na4</sup>sag-gil-mud ša-bit
  9. 3-šú GÚ <sup>na4</sup>GUG <sup>na4</sup>tuk-pi-tú ù NA<sub>4</sub> la mit-ḫa-ru 13 DUR
  10. 81 NA<sub>4</sub> KÙ.GI ina 1 NA<sub>4</sub> KÙ.GI 1 <sup>na4</sup>tuk-pi-tú ša-bit
  11. 4-ú GÚ 12 DUR 17 a-gur-ru KÙ.GI 92 NA<sub>4</sub> KÙ.GI
  12. ina 2 pi-in-gu KÙ.GI 3 <sup>na4</sup>tuk-pi-tú ša-bit
  13. 5-šú GÚ! 11 DUR 8 a-gur-ru 16 NA<sub>4</sub> KÙ.GI
  14. ina 3 <sup>na4</sup>sag-gil-mud 1 NA<sub>4</sub> KÙ.BABBAR ša-bit
  15. 6-šú GÚ! 8 kur-šu-ú 60 NA<sub>4</sub> KÙ.GI ina 2 <sup>na4</sup>ZA.GÌN ša-bit
  16. 7-ú GÚ 7 DUR 20 NA<sub>4</sub> KÙ.GI ina 1 <sup>na4</sup>tuk-pi-tú 1 <sup>na4</sup>GUG (ša-bit)
  17. 8-ú GÚ šá <sup>na4</sup>GUG 7 DUR 2 NA<sub>4</sub> KÙ.GI ina 1 <sup>na4</sup>BIR 1 <sup>na4</sup>GUG (ša-bit)
  18. 9-ú GÚ 5 DUR u 7 DUR ina 2 <sup>na4</sup>tuk-pi-tú ša-bit
  19. 10-ú GÚ 5 DUR 29 NA<sub>4</sub> KÙ.GI ina 1 <sup>na4</sup>BIR 1 <sup>na4</sup>GUG (ša-bit)
  20. 11-ú GÚ 5 DUR 32 NA<sub>4</sub> KÙ.GI ina 2 <sup>na4</sup>BIR ša-bit
  21. 12-ú GÚ šá <sup>na4</sup>GUG 8 DUR ina 1 <sup>na4</sup>BIR? ša?-bit?
  22. 13-ú GÚ [o o o o o o o o o]
  23. 14-ú GÚ 'x' [o o o o o o o o o]
  24. 15-ú GÚ 6 [DUR o o o ina n]<sup>na4</sup>BIR 1 n<sup>na4</sup>GUG (ša-bit)
  25. 16-ú GÚ 7 DUR 50 n<sup>na4</sup>KÙ.GI ina 2 <sup>na4</sup>BIR (ša-bit) ina ŠÁ 1 šá man-di-tú
  26. 17-ú GÚ 7 DUR 11 NA<sub>4</sub> KÙ.GI ina 2 <sup>na4</sup>GUG (ša-bit)
  27. 18-ú GÚ 6 DUR šá <sup>na4</sup>GUG ina 1 <sup>na4</sup>BIR 1 <sup>na4</sup>MUŠ.GÍR (ša-bit)
  28. 19-ú GÚ 6 DUR 20 NA<sub>4</sub> KÙ.GI ina 2 <sup>na4</sup>BIR ša-bit
- 
1. Necklaces from the chest of Ušur-amāssu
  2. (which) went on Dumuzi. Month Dûzu,
  3. the 29th day, the 5th year of Nabonidus, king of Babylon.
- 
4. A cylinder-seal-shaped bead of lamassu stone with gold mounting, held on a gold wire.
  5. 1: a necklace of šipirtu beads with gold mountings, (made of) 11 strings,
  6. (with) 2 kidney-shaped beads (and) 1 fruit-shaped ornament with mounting, held on a gold wire.
  7. 2: a necklace (made of) 9 strings (including) 40 gold beads (and) 31 arzallu stones,
  8. (and) held by 2 kidney-shaped beads and 2 saggilmud stones.
  9. 3: a necklace of beads of carnelian, kidney-shaped beads, and beads of varied size, (made of) 13 strings,
  10. (including) 81 gold beads, (and) held by 1 gold bead and 1 kidney-shaped bead.
  11. 4: a necklace (made of) 12 strings, (including) 17 gold agurru (and) 92 gold beads,
  12. (and) held by 2 gold end pieces (and) 3 kidney-shaped beads.
  13. 5: a necklace (made of) 11 strings, (including) 8 agurru (and) 16 gold beads,
  14. (and) held by 3 saggilmud stones (and) 1 silver bead.
  15. 6: a necklace (including) 8 links (and) 60 gold beads, held by 2 beads of lapis lazuli.

16. 7: a necklace (made of) 7 strings, (including) 20 gold beads (and) (held) by 1 kidney-shaped bead (and) 1 bead of carnelian.
17. 8: a necklace of beads of carnelian, (made of) 7 strings, (including) 2 gold beads, (and) (held) by 1 kidney-shaped bead (and) 1 bead of carnelian.
18. 9: a necklace (made of) 5 strings and 7 strings, (and) held by 2 kidney-shaped beads.
19. 10: a necklace (made of) 5 strings, (including) 29 gold beads, (and) (held) by 1 kidney-shaped bead (and) 1 bead of carnelian.
20. 11: a necklace (made of) 5 strings, (including) 32 gold beads, (and) held by 2 kidney-shaped beads.
21. 12: a necklace of beads of carnelian (made of) 8 strings, (and) held(?) by a kidney-shaped bead.
22. 13: a necklace [o o o o o o o]
23. 14: a necklace [o o o o o o o]
24. 15: a necklace (made of) 6 [strings o o o] (held) [by] a kidney-shaped bead (and) a bead of carnelian.
25. 16: a necklace (made of) 7 strings, (including) 50 [gold(?) beads], (and) (held) by 2 kidney-shaped beads, including 1 with mounting.
26. 17: a necklace (made of) 7 strings, (including) 11 gold beads, (and) (held) by 2 beads of carnelian.
27. 18: a necklace (made of) 6 strings of beads of carnelian, (and) (held) by a kidney-shaped bead and a *muššaru* stone.
28. 19: a necklace (made of) 6 strings, (including) 20 gold beads, (and) held by 2 kidney-shaped beads.

Several more texts mention individual pieces of jewelry belonging to Ušur-amāssu; VS 20, 1: 4. 1 'NA<sub>4</sub>' KÙ.GI 5. 'šá' *mil-ḫi* šá d'URI-INIM-su "1 gold bead for the *milḫu* of Ušur-amāssu;" VS 20, 96: 3'. 3 *a-a-ru* KÙ.GI *sa-a-du* 4'. [o o o o o šá] 'd'URI-INIM-su ù d'š-ka-a-a-i-tu<sub>4</sub> "3 rosettes of *sādu* gold [o o o o belonging] to Ušur-amāssu and Urkayītu;"<sup>135</sup> and YBC 4174: 35. 1 AŠ.ME KÙ.GI [o o o d'URI-INI]M-su *i-te-li* "1 sun-disk ornament [o o o] which went [on Ušur-amāssu];"

The following three texts mention the framed ornaments (*kumāru*) of Ušur-amāssu:

#### PTS 2264

10. 3 GÍN KÙ.GI 3 *ár-zal-lum* KÙ.GI
11. 11 MAŠ.TA.ME šá ku-⟨šá⟩-ma-rat KÙ.GI
12. šá d'URI-INIM-su

3 shekels of gold (for) 3 *arzallu* jewels of gold (and) 11 MAŠ.TA<sup>136</sup> with gold frames belonging to Ušur-amāssu.

<sup>135</sup> This is a fragmentary *maš'altu* text, probably related to the theft of these pieces of jewelry.

<sup>136</sup> The compound MAŠ.TA might be a phonetic writing for MAŠ.DĀ = *šabītu* "gazelle," in which case the text could refer to openwork figurines of gazelles within a gold frame. Given the small quantity of gold involved, however, it seems more likely that MAŠ.TA refers to a catch or attachment.

#### YBC 9590

1. [o GÍ]N *gi-ru-ú* 'KÙ.GI'
2. 'a-na' *bat-qu* ⟨šá⟩ šá ku-ma-ra-a-ta [o o]
3. šá d'URI-INIM-su

[o] (and) 1/24 [she]kels of gold for repairing the framed ornaments [o o] of Ušur-amāssu.

#### YBC 11504

1. 5/6 MA.NA '6 GÍN' [o o o]
2. a-na *ú-rad* KÁ [o]
3. šá ku-ma-ra-a-tú [o o]
4. šá d'URI-INIM-su' [o o]

5/6 mina (and) 6 shekels [o o o] for the *ur(a)tu* [o] of the framed ornaments [o o] belonging to Ušur-amāssu [o o].

The following text mentions figurines in the shape of "scorpion-men" (*girtablûlu*) belonging to Ušur-amāssu:

#### NCBT 333

1. 1 MA.NA 6 GÍN 3 IGI.GÁL.LA.ME KÙ.GI
2. šá GÍR.TAB.LÚ.U<sub>18</sub>.LU *la-bir-ú-tú*
3. [šá] TA UGU d'URI-INIM-su
4. [ú-r]i-du-ni

1 mina (and) 6 3/4 shekels of gold, (weight in gold) of the old scorpion-men figurines [which] were [re]moved from Ušur-amāssu.

These scorpion-men may have been sequins sown to the ceremonial garment of the goddess, or figurines belonging to a pectoral or necklace. As the scorpion-man is frequently associated with Ištar on Neo-Assyrian seals, probably as protective genius, it is possible that the figurines mentioned in NCBT 333 had an apotropaic function.

#### 4.4.3. Clothing

Several texts record disbursements of textiles, threads, and various fabrics for the sacred wardrobe of Ušur-amāssu. The following items are known: *adīlu* "tassel(?)," *ḫullānu* "wrap," *ḫuṣannu* "sash," the *lubāru* garment, *naḫlaptu* "outer garment," the *naṣbatu* garment, *paršīgu* "turban," the *šibtu* garment, and the *šalḫu* cloth.

#### YOS 7, 183

22. 13 MA.NA <sup>úg</sup>*mi-iḫ-š*[i o o o o o <sup>úg</sup>]MAŠ.ME
23. 1 5/6 MA.NA KI.MIN [o o o o o <sup>úg</sup>]NÍG.ÍB.LÁ.ME

24. 1 5/6<sup>1</sup> MA <sup>úg</sup>mi-iḫ-ši šá <sup>šg</sup>JE.ME.DA šá in<sup>1</sup>-za-ḫu-re-e-ti 2 <sup>úg</sup>par-ši-gu<sup>me</sup>  
 25. PAP šá <sup>ú</sup>URI-INIM-su

13 minas of woven cloth [o o o for o] *šibtu* [garments], 1 5/6 minas of the same [o o o for o] sashes, 1 5/6 minas of woven cloth of red-colored wool (dyed) with *inzaḫurētu* (for) 2 turbans. Total (of the clothing) belonging to Ušur-amāssu.

PTS 2094<sup>137</sup>

col. II, obv.

8. 1 <sup>g</sup>adašal-ḫu  
 9. 1 <sup>úg</sup>GÚ.Ē <sup>šg</sup>ZA.GIN.KUR.RA  
 10. 1 <sup>úg</sup>KI.MIN <sup>šg</sup>JE.ME.DA  
 11. 2 <sup>úg</sup>MÁŠ.ME  
 12. 1 <sup>úg</sup>ḫul-la-nu  
 13. 1 <sup>úg</sup>lu-bar  
 14. PAP <sup>úg</sup>mi-iḫ-šu šá <sup>ú</sup>URI-INIM-su

1 *šalḫu* cloth, 1 outer garment of blue-colored wool, 1 of the same of red-colored wool, 2 *šibtu* garments, 1 wrap, 1 *lubāru* garment. Total (of the) woven cloth belonging to Ušur-amāssu.

Four texts mention the sashes; TCL 12, 107: 9. 1 2/3 MA.NA 10 <sup>úg</sup>NÍG.ÍB.LÁ.ME šá <sup>ú</sup>URI-a-mat-su “1 2/3 minas (of white woven cloth for) 10 sashes for Ušur-amāssu and Urkayītu;” YOS 17, 301: 13. 1 2/3 MA.NA 10 <sup>úg</sup>NÍG.ÍB.LÁ.ME šá <sup>ú</sup>URI-INIM-su “1 2/3 minas (of white woven cloth for) 10 sashes for Ušur-amāssu;” YOS 19, 270: 10. [o] 1 5/6<sup>1</sup> MA.NA 10 <sup>úg</sup>NÍG.ÍB.LÁ.MEŠ šá <sup>ú</sup>[URI-IN]IM-su “[o o] 1 5/6 minas (of white woven cloth for) 10 sashes for Ušur-amāssu;” and YOS 19, 271: 12. 1 5/6 MA.NA 10 <sup>úg</sup>NÍG.ÍB.LÁ.MEŠ šá <sup>ú</sup>URI-a-mat-su “1 5/6 minas (of white woven cloth for) 10 sashes for Ušur-amāssu.” The turban occurs in PTS 2282: 19. 1 *par-ši-gu* šá <sup>ú</sup>URI-INIM-su “1 turban (of woven cloth of red-colored wool dyed with *inzaḫurētu*)<sup>138</sup> belonging to Ušur-amāssu.” NCBT 377 mentions *adīlu* “tassels(?)” and *našbatu* garments for the *bīt-ḫilši* of Ušur-amāssu (§ 4.2.3.1). PARPOLA 1993, 349 possibly mentions a *la[maḫuššu]* robe, but this passage is almost completely restored. Other garments occur in IBK 8, 165: 7'. 1 (GUN) 26 MA.NA 10 GÍN <sup>šg</sup>JE.ME.DA šá <sup>ú</sup>in-z[a-ḫu-re-e-ti] ina ŠÁ 2 <sup>úg</sup>x'.ME 8'. šá <sup>ú</sup>[UR]I-a-<sup>r</sup>mat-su<sup>1</sup> <sup>ú</sup> <sup>r</sup>áš-ka<sup>1</sup>-[<sup>r</sup>-i]-<sup>r</sup>tu<sup>4</sup> “1 talent, 26 minas (and) 10 shekels of red-colored wool (dyed) with *inz[aḫurētu]*; from it 2 <sup>r</sup>x' garments for Ušur-amāssu and Urkayītu.” NCBT 200: 1–4 (§ 3.6.1) mentions woven garments (<sup>úg</sup>mi-iḫ-šu), and thread is listed GCCI 1, 388: 16. 5/6<sup>1</sup> MA.NA *ḫi-me kab-ba-ru* 17. šá <sup>šg</sup>lta-kil šá <sup>ú</sup>URI-a-mat-su 18. <sup>r</sup>u <sup>r</sup>áš-ka<sup>1</sup>-i-ti “5/6 mina of thick blue-colored thread for Ušur-amāssu and Urkayītu.”

<sup>137</sup> The heading of this text reads: 1. <sup>úg</sup>mi-iḫ-šu <sup>r</sup>te<sup>1</sup>-nu-ú šá a-na <sup>úg</sup>NÍG.ÍB.LÁ.ME šá ITI GAN 2. a-na <sup>ú</sup>DÜ-ú 15 <sup>ú</sup>AZLAG na-ad-nu “Spare woven cloth allotted to Ibni-Ištar, a cleaner, for the clothing ceremony of the month Kislimu.”

<sup>138</sup> This occurs in a list of ten *paršigus* for which are disbursed, line 15: 9 1/3 MA.NA *mi-iḫ-ši* šá <sup>šg</sup>JE.ME.DA šá in-za-ḫu-re-e-ti “9 1/3 minas of woven cloth of red-colored wool dyed with *inzaḫurētu*.”

## 4.4.4. Offerings

## 4.4.4.1. Salt

Ušur-amāssu is paired with Urkayītu in five texts recording disbursements or withdrawals of salt for the offerings of these two goddesses (§ 4.5.4.1). In the following texts, on the other hand, she always occurs alone, except once with Gula. If we combine the evidence from all the texts it appears that the standard monthly allowance of salt for Ušur-amāssu and Urkayītu was 1 1/2 talents.

AUWE 5, 87: 1–5 (10 minas, from the *ginū* of the month Dūzu for the temple of Ušur-amāssu, withdrawn by Ina-tēšē-ēṭir, son of Tabnea).

GCCI 1, 173: 1–6 ([o]+5 minas of salt, from an allocation of 1 talent and 11 minas, from the *ginū* of the month Ayaru for the temple of Ušur-amāssu, withdrawn by Bēl-uballiṭ, son of Šum-ukīn).

GCCI 2, 81: 1–5 (1 1/2 talents, *ginū* of the month Simānu for Ušur-amāssu, withdrawn by Ina-šilliya).

GCCI 2, 287: 1–4 (1 1/2 talents, *ginū* of the month Dūzu for the temple of Ušur-amāssu, withdrawn by Ina-šilliya).

NCBT 284: 1–5 ([o]+1 1/2 talents, *ginū* of the months Tašrītu, Araḫsamnu, and Kislīmu for the temple of Ušur-amāssu, withdrawn by Ina-tēšē-ēṭir, son of Tabnea).

YBC 9296: 4–5 (1 1/2 talents for the *ginū* of Ušur-amāssu, Tabnea).

YBC 9452: 4–7 (1 3/4 talents for Ušur-amāssu and Gula, withdrawn by Nabû-taklak).

YOS 15, 13: 1–5 (1 1/2 talents for the *ginū* of Ušur-amāssu for the month Simānu, withdrawn by Bēl-uballiṭ).

YOS 17, 194:<sup>139</sup> 6–8 (30 minas for 10 days for Ušur-amāssu, withdrawn by <sup>r</sup>Šulā<sup>1</sup>; the text is dated to the month Nisannu).

YOS 19, 190: 9–10 (45 minas for the month Tašrītu before Ušur-amāssu, withdrawn by Nabû-aḫḫē-bullit).

YOS 19, 191: 1–5 ([o] minas, *ginū* for the month Šabātu before Ušur-amāssu, withdrawn by Bēl-uballiṭ, son of Šum-ukīn).

YOS 19, 284: 17–18 ([o]+2 talents, *ginū* of the month Šabātu [before] Ušur-amāssu, withdrawn by Bēl-uballiṭ).

## 4.4.4.2. Dates

According to Group 1 of *SWU* texts (§ 2.3.2) the bakers received daily 3 *pānus*, 4 *sātus*, and 3 *qūs* of dates for the goddess Ušur-amāssu. Bēltu-ša-Rēš received an identical amount, which totaled 75% of the respective allowances of Ištar and Nanaya. In PTS 2097, which records the reforms introduced by Nabonidus, the allowance of Ušur-amāssu is 3 1/3 *mašṭḫus*. This is still equal to the allowance of Bēltu-ša-Rēš and as much as 87% of the quantities directed to Ištar and Nanaya, respectively. The same text fixes

<sup>139</sup> See § 3.7.1 for full transliteration of this text.

the amount of Telmun dates delivered to the goddess at 1 1/2 *qûs* by the great measure (*ina rabīti*). The allowance of Bēltu-ša-Rēš is identical and corresponds to 50% of the respective allowances of Ištar and Nanaya.

The following texts all record allotments of Telmun dates to the bakers as *maššartu*; PTS 2708: 11. ITI DU<sub>6</sub> 'IGI' [dū-šur-IN]IM-su "(*maššartu* delivery of Telmun dates to the bakers for the) month Tašrītu before Ušur-amāssu;" YBC 3478: 1. ZÚ.LUM.MA NI.TUK<sup>ki.me</sup> *maš-šar-ti šá* ITI APIN lūMU.ME 'x x x' ... 5. 1 (PI) 1 BÁN 3 ŠĪLA (ITI APIN) IGI d'URI-INIM-su lūNĀ-TIN-su-iq-bi u lba-la' "Telmun dates 'x x' (to) the bakers as *maššartu* for the month Arašsamnu ... 1 *pānu*, 1 *sūtu*, (and) 3 *qûs* (for the month Arašsamnu) before Ušur-amāssu, Nabû-balāssu-iqbi and Balātu;" YBC 3997: 1. ZÚ.LUM.MA NI.TUK<sup>ki</sup> *šá maš-šar-ti šá* ITI APIN 2. MU 1-KAM d'U.GUR-LUGAL-URI LUGAL TIN.TIR<sup>ki</sup> *a-na* lūMUḪALDIM.ME SUM-nu (lines 7, 9, 13, 15, 17, 18: various quantities to PNs IGI d'URI-a-mat-su); YOS 6, 39: 1. ZÚ.LUM.MA NI.TUK<sup>ki</sup> *šá a-na maš-šar-ti šá* ITI AB *a-na* lūMUḪALDIM.ME 2. SUM-na (lines 3, 7, 22, 24: various quantities to PNs IGI d'URI-INIM-su); and YOS 19, 134: 1. [Z]Ú.LUM.MA NI.TUK<sup>ki</sup> *šá a-na maš-šar-ti šá* ITI ŠE MU 1-KAM d'NĀ-N[.TUK LUGAL TIN.TIR<sup>ki</sup>] 2. *a-na* lūMUḪALDIM.MEŠ *na-ad-[nu]* (lines 11, 14–15: various quantities to PNs IGI d'URI-INIM-su). Other *maššartu* texts are PTS 2707: obv. col. I, 10. (dates) *ina maš-šar-ti šá* ITI SIG<sub>4</sub> 11. IGI d'URI-INIM-su; NCBT 1053: 3. 5 (GUR) 2 BÁN (ZÚ.LUM.MA) ITI GU<sub>4</sub> IGI d'URI-INIM-su (followed by five PNs; dates allotted to bakers as remainder for the month Ayaru); YOS 17, 172: 2. ZÚ.LUM.MA *maš-šar-ti šá* ITI APIN ... 8. [I]Š (giš<sup>ma</sup>-ši-*hu*) ITI APIN IGI d'URI-INIM-su "Dates, *maššartu* deliveries of the month Arašsamnu ... 15 (*mašīhus*) for the month Arašsamnu before Ušur-amāssu;" and YOS 17, 173: 1. ZÚ.LUM.MA NI.TUK<sup>ki</sup> *maš-šar-ti šá* ITI KIN ... 12. ITI KIN IGI d'URI-INIM-su "Telmun dates, *maššartu* deliveries of the month Ulūlu ... month Ulūlu before Ušur-amāssu."

Allotments of dates for *makkasu* for the second meals (*tardennu*) of the goddess are recorded in YOS 7, 110: 50'. ZÚ.LUM.MA *tar-den-né-e šá a-na ma-ak-(ka-su)* IGI d'URI-INIM-su 51'. *šá* ITI ŠU ITI NE ù ITI KIN *a-na* lūMUḪALDIM.ME SUM-nu "dates for *mak(kasu)* allotted to the bakers for the second meals of the months Dūzu, Abu, and Ulūlu before Ušur-amāssu;" and YOS 17, 166, which records allotments of dates to the bakers for the second meals (*tardennu*) of the four main goddesses of Eanna in the month Addaru (1. ZÚ.LUM.MA *šá a-na tar-den-né-e šá* ITI ŠE *a-na* lūMUḪALDIM.MEŠ SUM-nu), some of which were directed to Ušur-amāssu (5. ITI ŠE IGI d'URI-INIM-su), and also records allotments of dates as *maššartu* for the month Nisannu (7. ZÚ.LUM.MA *maš-šar-ti šá* ITI BĀRA *šá a-na* lūMUḪALDIM.MEŠ SUM-nu), some of which were directed to Ušur-amāssu (11. ITI BĀRA IGI d'URI-INIM-su).

UCP 9/1, 73 records a delivery of dates for the goddess: 4. I (GUR) 1 (PI) 4 BÁN IGI d'URI-INIM-su! "1 (*kurru*), 1 (*pānu*), and 4 *sātus* (of dates) before Ušur-amāssu;"<sup>140</sup> and a withdrawal of dates by an individual prebendary for one day for the occasional (*guqqû*) offerings of the goddess is mentioned in YOS 17, 167: 1. 1 giš<sup>ma</sup>-ši-*hu* 2. *šá* ZÚ.LUM.MA 3. *guq-û* 4. *šá* ITI BĀRA U<sub>4</sub> 7-KAM 5. IGI d'URI-INIM-su 6. lūU.GUR-

PAP GIŠ "1 *mašīhu* of dates, the occasional offerings of the 7th day of the month Nisannu before Ušur-amāssu, withdrawn by Nergal-nāšir." Withdrawals of dates for the *guqqû* offerings of Ušur-amāssu are also mentioned in YBC 9365 (§4.4.8.3).

## 4.4.4.3. Barley

According to Group 2 of *SWU* texts (§2.3.2) the daily allotment of barley to the brewers for the goddess Ušur-amāssu was 1 *kurru*, 3 *pānus*, and 2 *sātus*. This was larger than the allowance of Bēltu-ša-Rēš, and 88% of the amount directed to Ištar and Nanaya, respectively. According to Group 3, recording the deliveries connected with the bakers' duties, Ušur-amāssu received 1 *kurru*, 5 *sātus*, and 1 *qû*, equaling 43% of Ištar's allowance and slightly lower than that of Bēltu-ša-Rēš. Proportionally very similar figures are given in PTS 2097, in which Ušur-amāssu receives daily 4 5/6 *mašīhus* of barley, 48% of the amount directed to Ištar and again slightly less than Bēltu-ša-Rēš. Finally according to Group 5 the goddess received the same daily amount of barley as Bēltu-ša-Rēš, 3 1/2 *mašīhus*, equal to 62% the allowance of Ištar or Nanaya.

YBC 7422 records allotments of barley to the brewers over three months (VIII to X) for the offering days before Ištar, Nanaya, and Ušur-amāssu in the 8th year of Merodach-Baladan II: 1. Š[E.BAR *mi-in-du šá* lūBAP]PIR.MEŠ *šá* ITI APIN MU.NE "Ba[rley *mindu*] allotted to the [bre]wers for the month Arašsamnu, itemized;" 7. PAP 29 (GUR) 2 (PI) 3 BÁN ŠE. 'BAR *mi'-in-du šá* lūBAPPIR.MEŠ *šá* ITI APIN "Total: 29 *kurrus*, 2 *pānus*, and 3 *sātus* of barley *mindu* allotted to the brewers for the month Arašsamnu;" Ušur-amāssu is mentioned on lines 5, 6, 11, 12, 18, 20, and 21 (d'URI-a-mat-su). YBC 11901 records allotments of barley to the brewers and bakers for two months: 2. ŠE.BAR *šá* ITI DU<sub>6</sub> u ITI APIN *a-na* lūBAPPIR.MEŠ u lūMUḪALDIM.MEŠ 'SUM-na-at' "Barley allotted for the months Tašrītu and Arašsamnu to the brewers and the bakers;" Ušur-amāssu is mentioned on line 8. NBC 4929 records allotments of barley to the bakers as *maššartu* for three months: 1. 'ŠE.BAR *maš-šar-ti šá* 3 ITI.ME ITI 'ZIZ' ITI ŠE u ITI BĀRA *a-na* lūMUḪALDIM.ME SUM.NA "barley allotted as *maššartu* to the bakers for 3 months, (namely) the months Šabātu, Addaru, and Nisannu," including some quantities specifically for Ušur-amāssu: 6. PAP 200 ITI ŠE IGI d'URI-INIM-su "total, 200 (*kurrus*?) for the month Addaru before Ušur-amāssu;" 8. PAP 180 ITI BĀRA IGI d'URI-INIM-(su) "total, 180 (*kurrus*?) for the month Nisannu before Ušur-amāssu."<sup>141</sup> NCBT 849 mentions allotments of barley for the brewers: 3. ŠE.BAR *šá* ITI GU<sub>4</sub> 'a-na lūBAPPIR SUM-na-at ... 8. 1 GUR ITI GU<sub>4</sub> (IGI) d'URI-INIM-su "barley for the month Ayaru allotted to the bakers ... 1 *kurru*, month Ayaru, (before) Ušur-amāssu."

Several more texts record deliveries of barley for Ušur-amāssu; GCCI 1, 14: 1. 3 giš<sup>ma</sup>-ši-*hu* *šá* ŠE.BAR 2. *ina* U<sub>4</sub>.MEŠ *šá* ITI GAN 3. IGI d'URI-INIM-su 4. *šá* lūAMAR.UD-SUR 5. 'A 'KI-É. 'AN'.NA-bu-di-'ia' GIŠ "3 *mašīhus* of barley, from the offering days of the month Kislimu before Ušur-amāssu, which were withdrawn by Itti-Eanna-būdiya;" YOS 17, 128: 1. 1 giš<sup>ma</sup>-ši-*hu* *šá* ŠE.BAR 2. *ina* U<sub>4</sub>.ME 'šá lba'-la-tu 3. *šá* ITI APIN IGI d'URI-INIM-su 4. lūU.GUR-PAP GIŠ "1 measure of barley, from

<sup>140</sup> According to line 6 of that text these dates may have been allotted for the confection of the *mersu* cake.

<sup>141</sup> It is impossible to determine whether these are measured in *kurrus* or *mašīhus*.



the offering days of Balātu in the month Araḥsamnu before Ušur-amāssu, withdrawn by Nergal-nāšir;” GCCI 2, 251: 1. 25 *u<sub>4</sub>-mu* ITI DU<sub>6</sub> 2. IGI *ú-šur-a-mat-su* “(payment of barley and silver to PN for) 25 offering days in the month Tašrītu before Ušur-amāssu;” UCP 9/1, 73: 12. 4 (GUR) 2 (PI) 3 BĀN IGI *ú-RI-INIM!-su!* “4 (*kurrus*), 2 (*pānus*, and) 3 *sātus* (of barley) before Ušur-amāssu;” and YBC 9285: 6. *a-na* 7. [*ú-RI-IN*]IM-*su* 8. [*ú-q*]ar-*ra-bi* “he offers (barley) to Ušur-amāssu.” Finally NCBT 528 records deliveries of various containers of barley for the cult of Ušur-amāssu (§ 4.4.1).

## 4.4.4.4. Emmer

Offerings of emmer to Ušur-amāssu are mentioned in Group 1 of *SWU* texts (§ 2.3.2), which record a daily amount of 1 *pānu*, 3 *sātus*, and 3 *qūs* in connection with the bakers’ duties. Bēltu-ša-Rēš received the same amount, which equaled 76% of the respective allowances of Ištar and Nanaya. PTS 2097 allocates 1 1/4 *mašīḫus* to Ušur-amāssu, while a slightly larger amount goes to Nanaya and Bēltu-ša-Rēš. The allowance of Ušur-amāssu in this text is 68% that of Ištar.

## 4.4.4.5. Beer

Offerings of bread and beer connected with the prebend of *ērib-bīti* of Ušur-amāssu and Urkayītu are mentioned in *SWU* 117: obv. I, 22’. GIŠ.ŠUB.BA.ME *ša* *lú*KU<sub>4</sub>-Ē.ME *ša* *ú-RI*’-INIM-*su* *u* *ú-UNUG*<sup>ki</sup>-*a-i*’-[*tu<sub>4</sub>*] 23’. ‘3 SĪLA’ NINDA.ĤÁ 3 SĪLA ‘KAŠ.SAG’ “prebends of the *ērib-bītis* of Ušur-amāssu and Urkayītu, 3 *sātus* of bread (and) 3 *sātus* of beer.”

## 4.4.4.6. Sesame

Disbursements of processed sesame oil, or of sesame to make sesame oil, are attested in connection with the lighting ceremony in the *bīt-hilši* of Ušur-amāssu in three texts. The recipient (or his son) is the same in all three cases, and similar quantities always seem to be involved (the larger quantity in YOS 19, 172 involves sesame, not processed oil); NCBT 245: 3. 8 NINDA.ĤÁ Ĭ.GIŠ *ša* *nu-úr* *ša* ITI KIN 4. *ša* *lú*NĀ-mu-še-((*ti*))-*tīq*-(*u<sub>4</sub>*)-*da* 5. [A-šú *ša*] *lú*A-a *ša* Ē *hi-il-su*’ 6. *ša* Ē *ú-RI*’-INIM-*su*’ “8 *nindanus* of sesame oil for the lighting of the month Ulūlu, to Nabû-mušētiq-ūdi, son of Aplā, for the *bīt-hilši* of the temple of Ušur-amāssu;” and YOS 19, 172: 7. 2 BĀN 3 SĪLA (ŠE.GIŠ.Ĭ) *ša* *nu-úr* *ša* Ē *hi-il-su* 8. *ša* ‘Ē’ *ú-RI*’-INIM-*su* *ša* TA ITI GAN 9. [*a*]-*dī qí-it* *ša* ITI ŠE *lú*NĀ-ŠEŠ-MU 10. ‘A’ *lú*NĀ-mu-še-*tī-q*-*u<sub>4</sub>*-*da* “2 *pānus* and 3 *sātus* (of sesame) for the lighting ceremony in the *bīt-hilši* of the temple of Ušur-amāssu from the month Kislīmu until the end of the month Addaru, Nabû-aḥ-iddin, son of Nabû-mušētiq-ūdi.” According to the following text the lighting ceremony in her sanctuary appears to have taken place twice a month, near or at full moon, and at the time of the disappearance of the moon:

## NCBT 762

1. 8 NINDA.ĤÁ Ĭ.GIŠ
2. *ša* *nu-úr*
3. *ša* Ē *ú-RI*’-INIM-*su*
4. *ša* U<sub>4</sub> 29-KAM
5. *ša* ITI KIN
6. *ú* U<sub>4</sub> 13-KAM
7. *ša* ITI DU<sub>6</sub>
8. *lú*NĀ-mu-še-*tīq*-*u<sub>4</sub>*-*da*
9. A-šú *ša* *lú*A-a *it-ta-ši*

Nabû-mušētiq-ūdi, son of Aplā, has withdrawn 8 *nindanus* of sesame oil for the lighting ceremony in the temple of Ušur-amāssu on the 29th day of the month Ulūlu and the 13th day of the month Tašrītu.

Deliveries of sesame oil also occur in GCCI 2, 166: 9. 9 ‘NINDA\*.ĤI\*.A’ (Ĭ.GIŠ) *a-na* Ē *ú-RI*’-*a-mat-su* “9 *nindanus* (of sesame oil) for the temple of Ušur-amāssu,” but in this case neither the recipient nor the purpose of the disbursement are specified. Nevertheless, since the quantity is nearly the same as in NCBT 245 and 762, we may assume that the purpose was identical.

## 4.4.4.7. Sweets and Cakes

NBC 4731 records a withdrawal of fresh barley to make bread for Ušur-amāssu: 1. ŠE.BAR *ša* NINDA.ĤÁ *eš-šú*... 5. ‘1 BĀN IGI *ú-RI*’-INIM-*su*’ “fresh barley for (making) bread ... 1 *sūtu* before Ušur-amāssu.” Bread offerings by the *ērib-bītis* of Ušur-amāssu and Urkayītu are mentioned in *SWU* 117: obv. I, 22’. GIŠ.ŠUB.BA.ME *ša* *lú*KU<sub>4</sub>-Ē.ME *ša* *ú-RI*’-INIM-*su* *u* *ú-UNUG*<sup>ki</sup>-*a-i*’-[*tu<sub>4</sub>*] 23’. ‘3 SĪLA’ NINDA.ĤÁ “prebends of the *ērib-bītis* of Ušur-amāssu and Urkayītu, 3 *sātus* of bread.” Deliveries of fresh *takkasū* confections to make bread for the two goddesses occur in NCBT 1178: 1. 2 BĀN *tak-ka-su-ú* 2. NINDA.ĤÁ *eš-šú* ‘ITI’ SIG<sub>4</sub> 3. *a-na* *ú-RI*’-INIM-*su* 4. *u* *ú-UNUG*<sup>ki</sup>-*a-a-i-tú* “2 *sātus* of fresh *takkasū* confections (to make) bread (in) the month Simānu for Ušur-amāssu and Urkayītu.”

## 4.4.4.8. Meat

Offerings of sacrificial animals to Ušur-amāssu and Urkayītu are combined in the offering lists of Group A. Oxen, sheep, lambs, turtledoves, ducks, and geese were offered to the two goddesses, their basic allowance for the regular offerings (*ginū*) not exceeding one of each animal for each goddess on a normal cultic day. Four offering lists of Group B probably also record sacrifices of animals to Ušur-amāssu; *SWU* 160: rev. 2’; *SWU* 161: 5’; *SWU* 162: 6’; and *ARRIM* 7, 47: 2–3 (with Urkayītu). One text informs us that two cuts of meat, probably from a sheep, the shoulder cut (<sup>uzu</sup>ZAG.LU = *imittu*) and the *bamū* cut (<sup>uzu</sup>*ba-me-e*, perhaps “rib cage”), were connected with the prebend of *ērib-bīti* of Ušur-amāssu and Urkayītu:



YBC 4002: 25 (list of recipients of unspecified commodity for month VII before Ušur-amāssu).

YBC 9318: 6, 15 (list of offering days before Ušur-amāssu).

#### 4.4.5. Temple

In addition to the references listed above and below, the temple of Ušur-amāssu is mentioned in several more texts. YOS 19, 115 lists groups of craftsmen assigned to the watch in various parts of the Eanna temple complex (1. [lūERÍN.ME šá a-na m]a-aš-šar-tú šá É.AN.NA sa-an-q[u]) and specifies that one team is responsible for the area between the gate of the temple of Ušur-amāssu and the *kisallu ša parak šīmāti* “the Courtyard of the Divine Dais of Destinies” (26. [o o o TA U]GU ‘KÁ’ É dÜRI-a-mat-‘su’ a-di É.KISAL šá d‘BÁRA.NAM.ME’). This indicates that the temple of Ušur-amāssu was located in the Eanna temple complex. Its gate is also mentioned in VS 20, 126: 8. KÁ É dÜRI-INIM-š[u], but in a broken context. YOS 6, 235, which records a deposition concerning a theft of silver in the temple of Ušur-amāssu, mentions its central courtyard or *kisallu* (16. É.KISAL šá dÜRI-INIM-su), its cash-box (19. qu-up-pu 20. šá dÜRI-INIM-su), and its storehouse (3. ki-za-la-a-qa 4. šá dÜRI-INIM-su). YBC 9223, another deposition concerning a suspected theft, mentions the inner cella (*papāhu*) of Ušur-amāssu (14. šisad-du šá bat-qa šá É pa-pa-ḥa 15. šá dÜRI-INIM-su “the repair container of the inner cella of Ušur-amāssu”). The *bīt-hilši* of the temple of Ušur-amāssu occurs in YOS 19, 172 and NCBT 245, which record disbursements of sesame to make sesame oil for its lighting ceremony (§ 4.4.4.6), and in NCBT 377: 6–7, which records an allocation of sacred garments for it (§ 4.2.3.1). A garden belonging to Ušur-amāssu is listed in the cadastre AnOr 9, 3: 40. šisKIRI<sub>6</sub> šá dÜRI-a-mat-su dEN-eri<sub>4</sub>-ba A ldu-um-mu-qu “a garden belonging to Ušur-amāssu, (tended) by Bēl-erība, son of Dummuqu.”<sup>150</sup> A delivery of red gold from the repair container of the temple of Ušur-amāssu occurs in YBC 9039: 1. ‘1/2’ MA.NA 5 (GÍN) KÜ.GI SA<sub>5</sub> TA 2. šisad-du šá bat-qu šá É dÜRI-IMIN-‘su’ “1/2 mina (and) 5 (shekels) of red gold from the repair container of the temple of Ušur-amāssu.” TCL 13, 221 mentions the food storeroom (*bīt kannāni*) of the Lady-of-Uruk, Nanaya, Bēltu-ša-Rēš, and Ušur-amāssu (§ 3.8). Other mentions of the temple occur in uninformative contexts: NCBT 1215: 8; UCP 9/1, 99: 3; and YBC 9326: 9. The *bīt-akīti* of Ušur-amāssu is known solely from the building inscription dated to the 5th year of Nabonassar which commemorates its restoration.<sup>151</sup>

All this evidence suggests that the temple of Ušur-amāssu was a suite of rooms disposed around a central courtyard leading to the inner cella (*papāhu*) of the goddess. It must therefore have occupied a significant portion of the Eanna temple complex. There is as yet no evidence as to whether the *bīt-akīti* of Ušur-amāssu was located in or outside the Eanna temple.

<sup>150</sup> The first line of this text reads as follows: 1. šisKIRI<sub>6</sub>.MEŠ šá É DINGIR.MEŠ. It lists various gardens together with the gardeners tending them, and sums them up with their location. The garden of Ušur-amāssu belongs to a group summed up as belonging to the temple of the god Ea (42. PAP 9 GIŠ.KIRI<sub>6</sub>.MEŠ É dē-a).

<sup>151</sup> FRAME 1995, B.6.15.2001.

#### 4.4.6. Prebends

YOS 17, 126 mentions the prebend of brewer (lines 11–14, lūKAŠ-ú-tu) before Ušur-amāssu. The same text mentions the prebend of baker (lines 15–19, lūMUḤALDIM-ú-tu). The prebend of meat carver (*tābiḥūtu*) is mentioned in the letter NBC 5037:

##### NBC 5037

21. U<sub>4</sub> 4-KAM ina ITI lūGÍR.LÁ-ú-tu
22. šá lūNĀ-NUMUN-BA-šá A l‘gu-x’
23. ‘ina IGI dinninū-šur-a-mat-su’ [o]
24. U<sub>4</sub> 6-KAM ina ITI lūGÍR.L[Á-ú-tu]
25. ‘ina x’ šá lūEN-GI A [o o]
26. ina IGI dinninū-šur-a-mat-su

The 4th day of each month, the meat carver’s prebend of Nabû-zēr-iqīša, son of ‘x x’, before Ušur-amāssu; the 6th day of each month, the meat carver’s [prebend] from the ‘x’ of Bēl-ušallim, son of [o o], before Ušur-amāssu.

#### 4.4.7. Personnel

The office of pontiff (*šangū*) of Ušur-amāssu is mentioned in the kudurru of Ibni-Ištar:<sup>152</sup> col. III, 11. PN (Ibni-Ištar) lūÉ.MAŠ dÜRI-INIM-sa; and possibly in the Nabû-apla-iddina tablet:<sup>153</sup> 59. [u<sub>2</sub>uo o o lūÉ.MA]Š? šá dÜRI-INIM-š[u]. The *erib-bītis* of Ušur-amāssu occur in *ŠWU* 117: obv. I, 22’. GIŠ.ŠUB.BA.ME šá lūKU<sub>4</sub>-É.ME šá d‘ÜRI’-INIM-su u d‘UNUGki-a-i’-[tu<sub>4</sub>] “the prebends of the *erib-bītis* of Ušur-amāssu and Urkayītu;” and in YBC 9223: 10. lūNĀ-DÜ-ŠEŠ A-šú šá 11. lūBE-ia A lba-la-tu 12. lūŠU-dUTU A-šú šá lūKI-dUTU-TIN 13. lūKU<sub>4</sub>-É šá dÜRI-INIM-su “Nabû-bāni-aḫi, son of Kabtiya, descendant of Balāḫu, (and) Gimil-Šamaš, son of Itti-Šamaš-balāḫu, the *erib-bītis*(s) of Ušur-amāssu.” A tenant farmer of the goddess is possibly mentioned in YBC 4165: 5. lūNĀ-na-din-ŠEŠ lūENGAR! šá dū-šur-a-mat-su “Nabû-nādin-aḫi, the tenant farmer! of Ušur-amāssu.”<sup>154</sup>

#### 4.4.8. Ceremonies

##### 4.4.8.1. Sacred Meal

YOS 17, 166 lists allotments of dates for the second meals (*tardenmu*) of Ušur-amāssu and other deities (§ 4.4.4.2). YOS 6, 239 is a protocol assigning prebendaries for the sacred meal (1. nap-ta-nu) of various deities, including Ušur-amāssu and Urkayītu (9. [dÜRI-a]-mat-su dāš-ka-a-a-[i-tu<sub>4</sub>]).

<sup>152</sup> THUREAU-DANGIN 1919, p. 126.

<sup>153</sup> McEWAN 1983, p. 190.

<sup>154</sup> The sign transliterated as ENGAR! looks like URU minus the second vertical wedge.

## 4.4.8.2. Clothing Ceremony

The clothing ceremony of Ušur-amāssu is mentioned in the following texts:

## NBC 4769

7. 2 *a-na* <sup>u</sup>gNÍG.LÁM *šá* d'URI-INIM-su u d'UNUG<sup>ki</sup>-a-a-i-tú

"2 (*maqquš* of sesame oil) for the clothing ceremony of Ušur-amāssu and Urkayītu." No date is mentioned.

PTS 2783<sup>155</sup>

3. 2 UDU.NÍTA *a-na* <sup>u</sup>gNÍG.LÁM.MA

4. *šá* d'URI-INIM-su u d'UNUG<sup>ki</sup>-i-tú

5. ITI GAN U<sub>4</sub> 3-KAM

2 sheep for the clothing ceremony of Ušur-amāssu and Urkayītu, month Kislīmu, 3rd day.

The calendar of the clothing ceremony and the correlations which can be proposed with texts recording disbursements of textiles and other operations involving the garments of the gods are discussed in chapter 1 (§ 1.7.1; § 1.7.2; § 1.12.1).

## 4.4.8.3. The Kinūnu Ritual

YBC 9365, dated to the 12th day of the month Kislīmu, mentions withdrawals of dates for the occasional (*guqqū*) offerings to Gula, d'IGI.DU, the *bīt-hilši*, and Ušur-amāssu in connection with the *kinūnu* ritual in Eanna: 2. *gu<sub>8</sub>-uq-qu-ú šá* 3 *u<sub>4</sub>-mu* U<sub>4</sub> 7-KAM U<sub>4</sub> 8-KAM U<sub>4</sub> 9-(KAM) 3. '*a-na*' d'gu-la d'IGI.DU 4. '*É*' *hi-il-ši u a-na* 5. d'URI-INIM-su' *ina* UGU 'KI.NE.NE' 6. *ina É.AN.NA iq-ru-ub* "occasional offerings for 3 days, the 7th, the 8th, and the 9th days, have been offered to Gula, d'IGI.DU, (in) the *bīt-hilši*, and to Ušur-amāssu, in connection with the *kinūnu* ritual in the Eanna temple." The ritual *LKU* 51 also mentions the performance of the *kinūnu* rituals of the Lady-of-Uruk, Ušur-amāssu, and Urkayītu, as well as the *kinūnu* ritual of all the gods, in the month Kislīmu (Appendix 2).

## 4.4.8.4. Varia

NCBT 251 is a receipt of beer for a ceremony involving the jewelry of Ušur-amāssu and Urkayītu: 1. 3 BÁN KAŠ *a-na par-'su'* 2. *ina* UGU *šu-'kut'-ti* 3. *šá* d'URI-INIM-su 4. u d'UNUG<sup>ki</sup>-a-a-i-tú "3 *sātus* of beer for the selection concerning (the ritual involving) the jewelry of Ušur-amāssu and Urkayītu." As seen earlier disbursements of sesame oil hint at the existence of a bi-monthly lighting ceremony in the *bīt-hilši* of the temple of Ušur-amāssu (§ 4.4.4.6). YOS 6, 192 records the allocation of sacred vessels in the

<sup>155</sup> The heading of this document reads as follows: 1. KUD-as *šá* ITI GAN U<sub>4</sub> 3-KAM 2. U<sub>4</sub> 6-KAM "Selection of the month Kislīmu, 3rd (and) 6th days."

temple of Ušur-amāssu for the *šalām bīti* ceremony of the 8th day of the month Kislīmu (§ 4.4.1). The goddess also appears several times in various rituals described in *LKU* 51, often with her companion Urkayītu (Appendix 2).

## 4.4.9. Toponyms

The name of the goddess appears in the watercourse Harru-ša-Ušur-amāssu; YOS 6, 92: 5. *id'har-ri šá* d'URI-INIM-su (also line 7); and YBC 6933: 2. '*id'har-ri*' *šá* d'URI'-a-mat-su. It is possibly identical with the Nāru-ša-Ušur-amāssu, mentioned in NCBT 1003: 8. *ÍD šá* d'ú-'*šur*'-a-mat-su.

## 4.5. Urkayītu

The name of this deity is a feminine substantive meaning "the Urukean." This substantive also occurs as a female personal name in a text from the archive (GCCl 2, 233: 11. d'UNUG<sup>ki</sup>-a-a-i-ti). The name Urkayītu probably originated as an epithet of Ištar-of-Uruk, as reflected in Ištar's self-praise in LANGDON 1913, 8: 20. *mu-tin mēn me-e unug<sup>ki</sup>-ga-na* [mēn] 21. *ar-da-tu<sub>4</sub> ana-ku ú-ru-ka-[i-tu<sub>4</sub> ana-ku]* "I am the maid, I am the Urukaean."<sup>156</sup> The god list An = Anum IV 117 explains Urkayītu as a name of Ištar-of-Uruk: d'INNIN UNUG<sup>ki</sup> = *aš-[ka-i-tu]*.<sup>157</sup> Urkayītu also appears as an epithet of Uruk's patron goddess in a Neo-Babylonian lament for the god Dumuzi: 2. UNUG<sup>ki</sup>-a-a-i-tu<sub>4</sub> *tab-ku* "The Urukean (goddess) wept."<sup>158</sup> In spite of this evidence, however, there is no doubt that in Uruk during the Neo-Babylonian period Ištar-of-Uruk and Urkayītu were two distinct goddesses with separate cults. The earliest attestation of Urkayītu goes back to the Old Babylonian period. BIN 7, 211, a text from Kish, lists a pontiff of Urkītu (3. *sanga d'ur-ki-tum*), which indicates that the cult of Urkītu was transferred from Uruk to Kish after the abandonment of southern sites during the reign of Samsuiluna.<sup>159</sup> BIN 7, 211 thus provides indirect evidence that she was already worshiped at Uruk during the early second millennium, although it is unclear whether Urkītu was already a separate goddess or just a name for Ištar-of-Uruk. In the Neo-Assyrian period the goddess is attested in female personal names<sup>160</sup> and some literary texts.<sup>161</sup> Assurbanipal claims to

<sup>156</sup> LANGDON 1913, pp. 18-21, no. 8 (copy pls. 8-9). This passage is also quoted in *CAD* A/II, p. 272, s.v. *arkaītu*, lex. section.

<sup>157</sup> LITKE 1998, p. 156.

<sup>158</sup> Edition in LAMBERT 1984, p. 212; new translation with commentary by HALLO 1997.

<sup>159</sup> CHARPIN 1986, pp. 403-405. An Old Babylonian seal in the collection of Mr. Jonathan Rosen, New York City, bears the following inscription: 1. *šil-lil-ur-ki-tum* 2. DUMU *l-din-MAR.TU* 3. *IR MAR.TU* "Šilli-Urkītum, son of Iddin-Amurru, servant of Amurru" (reference courtesy of Prof. William W. Hallo). The provenience of the seal, however, cannot be ascertained.

<sup>160</sup> See TALLQVIST 1918, p. 243; the name of the goddess in these names is spelled *ur-kit* or *ur-kit-ti*. For a discussion of these theophoric names see FALES 1979, p. 64.

<sup>161</sup> These texts are edited in LIVINGSTONE 1989. The Nanaya Hymn of Assurbanipal seems to equate Urkayītu with that goddess: no. 5, 8. *[ga]b!-bi! KUR.KUR ú-na-'u-u'-du ur-kit-[tú]* "All the lands are praising Urkītū." The equation with Nanaya is also implicit in the Dialogue between Assurbanipal and Nabû, in consideration of the close relationship between Nabû and Nanaya: no. 13, obv. 13. *PA iq-ṭa-nab-bi ma-a pi-i-ka am-mi-u ša DUG.GA* 14. *ša it-ta-na-aḫ-ḫa-ra a-na ur-kit-tu* 15. *la-an-ka ša ab-nu-u-ni it-ta-na-aḫ-ḫar-an-ni a-na i-tu-us-si ina É.MAŠ.MAŠ* "Nabû continues: 'That pleasant mouth of yours which constantly

have returned to Uruk Nanaya, Ušur-amāssu, and Urkayītu.<sup>162</sup> The goddess is attested many times in Neo-Babylonian texts from Uruk. Her last mention in a text from the archive is in YBC 7437: 48, dated to the 28th year of Darius I. In the Seleucid period she still belonged to Ištar's circle according to the "Fête d'Ištar:" obv. 6'. <sup>d</sup>āš-ka-[a-a-i-tú].<sup>163</sup> At Uruk in the Neo-Babylonian period Urkayītu is often paired with Ušur-amāssu and was probably a resident of her sanctuary in the Eanna temple. A female and a male personal theophoric name formed with Urkayītu appear in texts from the archive:<sup>164</sup> Urkayītu-ībat "Urkayītu is benevolent" (YOS 6, 201: 3 and 9. <sup>d</sup>āš-ka-i-tu<sub>4</sub>-īa-bat; YOS 6, 219: 2. <sup>d</sup>āš-ka-i-ti-īa-ba-at), and Ina-šilli-Urkayītu "Under the protection of Urkayītu" (VS 20, 60: 4. <sup>l</sup>ina-GISSU-<sup>d</sup>āš-ka-a-a-<sup>r</sup>tu<sub>4</sub>).

The spelling of the name Urkayītu displays considerable variation in texts from Uruk, as the following examples show:

#### 1. Forms with the logogram UNUG<sup>ki</sup>

<sup>d</sup>UNUG<sup>ki</sup>-i-tú (GCCI 2, 372: 6; YBC 9486: 3)

<sup>d</sup>UNUG<sup>ki</sup>-i-ti (GCCI 2, 261: 6; AUWE 5, 89: 3; NBC 4801: 11; NBC 8363: 6, 11; YOS 17, 247: 2\*)

<sup>d</sup>UNUG<sup>ki</sup>-a-ti (NCBT 380: 4; YBC 9039: 7)

<sup>d</sup>UNUG<sup>ki</sup>-a-a-i-tú (NBC 4769: 7; NCBT 251: 4; NCBT 1178: 4)

<sup>d</sup>UNUG<sup>ki</sup>-a-a-i-ti (BIN 1, 170: 20)

#### 2. Forms with initial graphemic (a)

<sup>d</sup>āš-ka-i-ti (BIN 1, 152: 20\*; NCBT 442: 3; YOS 17, 31: 2)

<sup>d</sup>āš!-ka-i-tú (AnOr 9, 2: 55)

<sup>d</sup>āš-ka-i-tu<sub>4</sub> (YOS 6, 201: 3, 9 in PN)

<sup>d</sup>āš-ka-<sup>r</sup>-i-ti (NCBT 605: 3; YBC 7437: 48)

<sup>d</sup>āš-ka-<sup>r</sup>-i-tú (AnOr 8, 2: 2; NCBT 779: 12; YOS 17, 252: 2\*)

<sup>d</sup>āš-ka-a-a-tú (NCBT 1132: rev. 10')

<sup>d</sup>āš-ka-a-a-tu<sub>4</sub> (VS 20, 60: 4 in PN)

<sup>d</sup>āš-ka-a-a-i-tu<sub>4</sub> (GCCI 2, 121: 4; GCCI 2, 365: 3; VS 20, 96: 4'; YOS 7, 20: 18)

#### 3. Form with initial graphemic (u)

<sup>d</sup>uš-ka-a-a-i-tu<sub>4</sub> (YOS 19, 104: 10)

The mutation /r/ > /š/ before /k/ is well attested in Neo-Babylonian and occurs in such words as *pirku* (also *pišku*) and *širku* (also *šišku*).<sup>165</sup> The variation between ⟨a⟩ and ⟨u⟩

prays to Urkittu; your figure, which I created, prays incessantly to me in Emašmaš'." See also the same composition, rev. 3. *šā ina qa-an-ni ša ur-kit-tu ka-mus la i-lu-ad ina UKKIN ha-da-nu-te-šū* "May he who sits next to Urkittu not come to shame in the assembly of those who wish him ill."

<sup>162</sup> STRECK 1916, vol. II, p. 186, lines 16–17; copy in III R, pl. 38, rev. 16. ŠU.MIN <sup>na</sup>na-na-a <sup>d</sup>URI-INIM-sa <sup>d</sup>UNUG<sup>ki</sup>-a-a-i-tu at-mu-uh-ma [o o] 17. *ú-še-rib ú-še-šib ina É.AN.[NA o o]* "I took the hands of Nanaya, Ušur-amāssu, (and) Urkayītu [o o] (and) I caused them to enter and dwell (again) in the Eanna temple [o o]."

<sup>163</sup> See LACKENBACHER 1977, p. 40; she considers the restoration uncertain because traces in the break are compatible with neither ⟨a⟩ nor ⟨i⟩. However, Urkayītu is the only divine name which seems possible here.

<sup>164</sup> Neo-Babylonian theophoric names with Urkayītu are also attested outside Uruk: e.g. Urkayītu-ēreš (*Nbn.* 700: 2. <sup>d</sup>āš-ka-<sup>r</sup>-i-ti-KAM) and Urkayītu-ībat (*Dar.* 379: 46. <sup>d</sup>ār-kāt-tu<sub>4</sub>-DUG.GA-at)

<sup>165</sup> See GAG, p. 35.

as initial grapheme might suggest the presence of a phoneme /o/, which appears indeed in the Greek name of Uruk, Ὀρχόνη.<sup>166</sup> The word *arkû* undergoes in Neo-Babylonian a similar phonological process, appearing in the following forms: *uš-ku-ú* (GCCI 2, 283: 9), *uš-ku-tu* (YOS 7, 173: 6; CT 56, 353: 2), *ur-ku-ú* (GCCI 2, 193: 3), *ār-ku-ú* (CT 56, 153: 2; CT 55, 580: 7), and *ār-ku-tú* (CT 57, 370: 3).

#### 4.5.1. Paraphernalia

According to NCBT 442 the pedestal of the statue of the goddess may have been plated with gold: 1. 2 GÍN *hūn-mu-šū* LÁ KÙ.GI 2. *a-na bat-qu šā* KI.GAL 3. *šā* <sup>d</sup>āš-ka-i-ti "2 shekels minus 1/5 shekel of gold for repairing the pedestal of Urkayītu." The blanket (*taḥapšu*) is mentioned in NBC 8363 (§ 4.4.1). A letter from Belshazzar to Nabû-šar-ušur mentions the balustrade (*tallu*) of Urkayītu, YOS 19, 104: 9. <sup>gi</sup>štal-lu *šā* 10. <sup>d</sup>uš-ka-a-a-i-tu<sub>4</sub>. A libation bowl (*maqqu*) occurs in BIN 1, 152: 4. *ma-aq-qu-u šā* <sup>d</sup>GAŠAN-TIN <sup>d</sup>\*āš\*-ka-i-ti 5. É <sup>d</sup>MAŠ "a libation bowl for Bēlet-balāti, Urkayītu, and the temple of Ninurta."

#### 4.5.2. Ornaments

##### 4.5.2.1. Tiara

The tiara of Urkayītu occurs in GCCI 2, 261: 4. 36 *šu-la-pu* KÙ.GI 5. *šā pu-uk-ku-<sup>r</sup>ru šā\** *šī<sup>r</sup>-ḫi-i-ti* 6. *šā* AGA *šā* <sup>d</sup>UNUG<sup>ki</sup>-i-ti "36 *šulāpus* of gold for affixing the *šihittu*-plant ornament(?) of the tiara of Urkayītu."

##### 4.5.2.2. Crown

The crown of the goddess is mentioned in YOS 17, 247: 1. 170 <sup>na</sup>4<sup>r</sup>GUG<sup>r</sup> *a-na* GURUN\*.ME 2. *šā ku<sup>r</sup>-lu-lu šā* <sup>d</sup>UNUG<sup>ki</sup>\*-*i*-<sup>r</sup>\*-*ti*\* "170 beads of carnelian for the fruit-shaped ornaments of the crown of Urkayītu;" and in FLP 1609: 1. 1/3 3 GÍN KÙ.GI SA<sub>5</sub> 2. 620 *sa-an-ḫa-na* 3. *šā* ⟨*šā*⟩ *kul-lu-lu šā* <sup>d</sup>UNUG<sup>ki</sup>-i-ti "1/3 (mina) and 3 shekels of red gold, (the weight of) 620 catches belonging to the crown of Urkayītu."

##### 4.5.2.3. Breast Ornament

The breast ornament of Urkayītu is mentioned in GCCI 2, 372: 4. 210 <sup>na</sup>4IGI.MIN.ME 30 <sup>na</sup>4KIŠIB.ME 5. 52 <sup>na</sup>4NUNUZ ZA.GIN *a-na* GABA KÙ.GI 6. *šā* <sup>d</sup>UNUG<sup>ki</sup>-i-ti *ina* IGI *la-qiš-d*ME.ME 7. <sup>lu</sup>KAB.SAR "210 eye-stones, 30 cylinder-seal-shaped beads, 52 egg-shaped beads of lapis lazuli for the golden breast ornament of Urkayītu, at the disposal of Taqīš-Gula, the jeweler."

<sup>166</sup> It must be stressed, however, that the only example of a writing with initial graphemic ⟨u⟩ occurs in the letter YOS 19, 104, which very probably originates in Babylon since it was sent by the crown prince Belshazzar. This might therefore reflect a dialectal pronunciation with initial /u/, typical of Babylon, while the local Uruk pronunciation may have leaned towards initial /a/.

## 4.5.2.4. Jewelry

VS 20, 96 records the theft of three rosettes of *sādu* gold (3'. 3 *a-a-ru* KÙ.GI *sa-a-'du'*) belonging to Urkayītu and Ušur-amāssu (§4.4.2.4). The golden framed ornaments (*kumāru*) of the goddess are mentioned in NCBT 380: 3. 1 5/6 MA.NA KÙ.GI *ša ku-ma-rat* KÙ.GI 4. *a-ri-de-e-ti ša* <sup>d</sup>UNUG<sup>ki</sup>-*a-ti* "1 5/6 minas of gold belonging to the removed golden framed ornaments of Urkayītu." YBC 9039 mentions deliveries of gold for an object belonging to Urkayītu, possibly a piece of jewelry: 6. 2 GÍN KÙ.GI 2-*ta kam-x'*[o o] 7. *ša* <sup>d</sup>UNUG<sup>ki</sup>-*a-ti* [o] "2 shekels of gold for 2 'x'[o o] belonging to Urkayītu."

## 4.5.3. Clothing

A few texts record disbursements of textiles, threads, and various fabrics for the sacred wardrobe of Urkayītu. The following items are mentioned in these texts: *ḥullānu* "wrap," *ḥuṣannu* "sash," the *lubāru* garment, *naḥlaptu* "outer garment," *paršīgu* "turban," the *šibtu* garment, and the *šalḥu* cloth.

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col. II, obv.

15. 1 *gadašal-ḥu*
16. 1 <sup>u</sup>gGÚ.Ē <sup>slg</sup>ZA.GÌN.KUR.RA
17. 1 <sup>u</sup>gKI.MIN <sup>slg</sup>UÉ.ME.DA
18. 2 <sup>u</sup>gMÁŠ.ME
19. 1 <sup>u</sup>gḥul-la-n[u]

lo.e.

20. 1 <sup>u</sup>gḥu-bar
21. PAP <sup>u</sup>gmi-iḥ-š[u]
22. *ša* <sup>d</sup>āš-ka-a-a-<sup>r</sup>i'-[tú]

1 *šalḥu* cloth, 1 outer garment of blue-colored wool, 1 of the same of red-colored wool, 2 *šibtu* garments, 1 wrap, 1 *lubāru* garment. Total (of the) woven cloth belonging to Urkayītu.

## GCC I 2, 121

1. 1 5/6 MA.NA 10 <sup>u</sup>gNÍG.ÍB.LÁ.ME
2. 50 GÍN <sup>u</sup>gmi-iḥ-š[i] *ša* <sup>slg</sup>UÉ.ME.DA *ša* <sup>u</sup>in-za-ḥu-re-e-tú
3. 1 <sup>u</sup>gpar-ši-gu
4. PAP *ša* <sup>d</sup>āš-ka-a-a-i-tu<sub>4</sub>

<sup>167</sup> The heading of this text reads: 1. <sup>u</sup>gmi-iḥ-š[u] <sup>r</sup>te'-nu-ú *ša* a-na <sup>u</sup>gNÍG.'LÁM' *ša* ITI GAN 2. a-na <sup>u</sup>DÚ-<sup>u</sup>15 <sup>u</sup>AZLAG na-ad-nu "Spare woven cloth allotted to Ibni-Ištar, a cleaner, for the clothing ceremony of the month Kislimu."

1 5/6 minas (of ... for) 10 sashes, 50 shekels of woven cloth of red-colored wool (dyed) with *inzaḥurētu* (for) 1 turban. Total (of the garments) of Urkayītu.

The *lubāru* garment is mentioned in PTS 2282: 12. 26 1/3 MA.NA <sup>u</sup>gmi-iḥ-š[i] *ša* <sup>slg</sup>UÉ.ME.DA 13. *ša* <sup>u</sup>in-za-ḥu-re-e-tu<sub>4</sub> 1 <sup>u</sup>gḥu-ba-ru 14. *ša* <sup>d</sup>āš-ka-a-a-i-tu<sub>4</sub> "26 1/3 minas of woven cloth of red-colored wool dyed with *inzaḥurētu* (for) 1 *lubāru* garment for Urkayītu." The turban is mentioned in PTS 2282: 20. 1 *par-ši-gu* *ša* <sup>d</sup>āš-ka-a-a-i-tu<sub>4</sub> "1 turban belonging to Urkayītu;"<sup>168</sup> and Totten 32: 9. 5/6 MA.NA 5 GÍN *mi-iḥ-š[i]* 10. *ša* <sup>slg</sup>UÉ.ME.DA *ša* <sup>u</sup>in-za-ḥu-re-e-tú 11. 1 *par-ši-gu* 12. *ša* <sup>d</sup>āš-ka-a-a-i-tu<sub>4</sub> "5/6 mina (and) 5 shekels of woven cloth of red-colored wool dyed with *inzaḥurētu* (for) 1 turban for Urkayītu." Sashes occurs in GCC I 2, 365: 1. 1 2/3 MA.NA <sup>u</sup>gmi-iḥ-š[u] 'BABBAR\*-ú\*' 2. 10 <sup>u</sup>gNÍG.ÍB.LÁ.MEŠ 3. PAP *ša* <sup>d</sup>āš-ka-a-a-i-tu<sub>4</sub> "1 2/3 minas of white woven cloth (for) 10 sashes, total (of the garments) of Urkayītu;" and Totten 32: 3. 1 5/6 MA.NA (*mi-iḥ-š[i]* BABBAR-ú) 10 <sup>u</sup>gNÍG.ÍB.LÁ.MEŠ 4. *ša* <sup>d</sup>āš-ka-a-a-i-tu<sub>4</sub> "1 5/6 minas (of white woven cloth for) 10 sashes for Urkayītu." An unidentified garment occurs in IBK 8, 165 (§4.4.3). Threads and dyes occur in GCC I 1, 388 (§4.4.3); and YOS 17, 252: 1. 10 MA.NA *ḥa-at-ḥu-re-e-ta* 2. a-na *lu-ba!-ru* *ša* <sup>d</sup>āš-ka-<sup>r</sup>i'-tú\* "10 minas of *ḥaṭḥūru* dye for the clothing of Urkayītu."

## 4.5.4. Offerings

## 4.5.4.1. Salt

Disbursements and withdrawals of salt for the offerings of Urkayītu are mentioned in five texts. In all of them Urkayītu is paired with Ušur-amāssu. They give an average of 1 1/2 minas as the monthly allowance for the two goddesses.

AUWE 5, 89: 1–4 (1 1/2 talent, *ginū* of the month Ṭebētu for Ušur-amāssu and Urkayītu, withdrawn by Ina-šilliya).

NCBT 74: 1–5 (3 talents, *ginū* of Ušur-amāssu and Urkayītu for the months Ṭebētu and Šabātu, withdrawn by Šibqi-Ištar).

NCBT 155: 1–4 (90 minas, for the month Kislimu, as *ginū* of Ušur-amāssu and Urkayītu, Ina-šilliya).

NCBT 605: 1–7 (4 1/2 talents for the *ginū* of Ušur-amāssu and Urkayītu for the months Ṭebētu, Šabātu, and Addaru, Ištar-ana-bītišu).

NCBT 779: 11–12 (4 talents, *ginū* for the months Nisannu, Ayaru, and Simānu, for Ušur-amāssu and Urkayītu, Nabû-taklak).

## 4.5.4.2. Dates

Four texts record disbursements of dates for the offerings of Urkayītu. In two of them dates *makkasu* are offered in connection with meals or ceremonies; the clothing ceremony in YBC 4021: 40. 1 (PI) 1 BÂN 2 ŠĪLA *ša* <sup>u</sup>in-za-ḥu-re-e-tu<sub>4</sub> 41. *ša* <sup>d</sup>āš-ka-a-a-i-tu<sub>4</sub>

<sup>168</sup> This occurs in a list of ten *paršīgu*s for which are disbursed, line 15: 9 1/3 MA.NA *mi-iḥ-š[i]* *ša* <sup>slg</sup>UÉ.ME.DA *ša* <sup>u</sup>in-za-ḥu-re-e-tú "9 1/3 minas of woven cloth of red-colored wool dyed with *inzaḥurētu*."

u d<sup>r</sup>IGI<sup>1</sup>.DU “1 *pānu*, 1 *sūtu*, (and) 2 *qūs* for the clothing ceremony of Urkayītu and d<sup>r</sup>IGI.DU;”<sup>169</sup> and the preparation of *siltu* for the sacred meal in YBC 7437: 48. ‘x’ 1 BĀN 3 SĪLA šá KI.MIN (= *si-il-tu<sub>4</sub>*) d<sup>r</sup>áš-ka-’-i-ti “‘x’ 1 *sūtu* (and) 3 *qūs* (of dates *makkasu*) for the *siltu* of Urkayītu.”<sup>170</sup> BIN 1, 170 is an allotment of dates to the bakers as *maššartu*: 19. 1 1/2 SĪLA šá U<sub>4</sub> 20-KAM U<sub>4</sub> 21-KAM U<sub>4</sub> 22-KAM *ina* É a-ki-tu<sub>4</sub> 20. a-na d<sup>r</sup>UNUG<sup>ki</sup>-a-a-i-ti i-qar-ru-bu 1DÜ-ia “1 1/2 *qūs* (of dates) which are offered on the 20th, 21st, (and) 22nd days in the *bīt-akīti* to Urkayītu, Bāniya.” *SWU* 1: rev. 8’ mentions deliveries to Urkayītu in a broken context, and as the text records disbursements of both dates and emmer to the bakers it is impossible to determine which ingredient is involved.

## 4.5.4.3. Barley

Allotments of barley to the brewers for Urkayītu are mentioned in *SWU* 27: rev. 4’. d<sup>r</sup>áš-ka-a-i-tu<sub>4</sub>; and to the bakers in *SWU* 75: rev. 9. [o o o a-na d<sup>r</sup>áš-ka-a]-’a-i-tu<sub>4</sub>’ i-qar-’ru’-bu “[o o o] are offered [to Urk]ayītu.” The barley is allotted probably to both brewers and bakers in *SWU* 124: rev. 10. [o o o a-na d<sup>r</sup>áš-ka-a-a-i-t]u<sub>4</sub> i-qar-ru-bu 1dNĀ-MU-GIŠ “[o o o] are offered [to Urkayī]tu, Nabû-šumu-līšir;” and *SWU* 128: rev. 9. [o o o a-na d<sup>r</sup>áš-ka]-’a?-a?-i?-tu<sub>4</sub>’ i-qa[r-ru-bu] “[o o o] are of[fered to Urk]ayītu(?)”

## 4.5.4.4. Emmer

Deliveries of dates or emmer for the offerings to Urkayītu are recorded in *SWU* 1: rev. 8’. [o o o] a-na d<sup>r</sup>áš-ka-[a-a-i-tu<sub>4</sub>].

## 4.5.4.5. Beer

Offerings of beer to Urkayītu and Ušur-amāssu are mentioned in connection with the prebend of *ērib-bītis* before the two goddesses in *SWU* 117: obv. 1, 22’. GIŠ.ŠUB.BA.ME šá l<sup>u</sup>KU<sub>4</sub>-É.ME šá d<sup>r</sup>ŪRI<sup>1</sup>-INIM-su u d<sup>r</sup>UNUG<sup>ki</sup>-a-i<sup>1</sup>-[tu<sub>4</sub>] 23’. ‘3 SĪLA’ NINDA.ĤÁ 3 SĪLA ‘KAŠ.SAG’ “Prebends of the *ērib-bītis* of Ušur-amāssu and Urkayītu, 3 *sātus* of bread, 3 *sātus* of beer.”

## 4.5.4.6. Sesame

Allocations of sesame (oil) for Urkayītu are recorded in BIN 1, 152: 4. *ma-aq-qu-u šá* d<sup>r</sup>GAŠAN-TIN d<sup>r</sup>\*áš\*-ka-i-ti 5. É d<sup>r</sup>MAŠ “a libation bowl (of sesame oil) for Bēlet-balāṭi, Urkayītu, (and) the temple of Ninurta.”

<sup>169</sup> The heading of YBC 4021 reads: 1. ZÚ.LUM.MA šá a-na ma-ak-ka-su 2. šá ITI ‘ZÍZ’ MU 29-’KAM 3. BĀN šá šul-lu-mu 3. l<sup>u</sup>ŠĀ.TAM É.AN.NA ‘šá’ l<sup>u</sup>60-ŠEŠ.MEŠ-SU 4. a-na l<sup>u</sup>MUĤALDIM.MEŠ i-din-nu “Dates which Anu-abhē-erība allotted for *makkasu* to the bakers in the month Šabātu of the 29th year, from the *ferme générale* of Šullumu, the *šatammu* of Eanna.” This text possibly belongs to the reign of Darius I.

<sup>170</sup> The heading of this text reads as follows: 1. ZÚ.LUM.MA re-ḫi-tu<sub>4</sub> ma-ak-ka-su šá 2. MU 28-KAM ‘da-a-ri-muš LUGAL ‘ḫa-nu-nu 3. a-na l<sup>u</sup>MUĤALDIM.ME i-din “Remainder of the dates *makkasu* of the 28th year of king Darius which ḫanūnu allotted to the bakers.” According to CAD S, p. 267, s.v. *siltu* A, this word refers to “a food used as offering,” and occurs mostly in Neo-Babylonian texts. This may indicate that dates *makkasu* were a component of the *siltu*.

## 4.5.4.7. Sweets and Cakes

Bread offerings to Ušur-amāssu and Urkayītu were part of the prebendary duties of the *ērib-bītis* of the two goddesses according to *SWU* 117: obv. 1, 22’. GIŠ.ŠUB.BA.ME šá l<sup>u</sup>KU<sub>4</sub>-É.ME šá d<sup>r</sup>ŪRI<sup>1</sup>-INIM-su u d<sup>r</sup>UNUG<sup>ki</sup>-a-i<sup>1</sup>-[tu<sub>4</sub>] 23’. ‘3 SĪLA’ NINDA.ĤÁ “prebends of the *ērib-bītis* of Ušur-amāssu and Urkayītu, 3 *sātus* of bread, 3 *sātus* of beer.” Deliveries of fresh *takkasū* confections to make bread for the two goddesses are mentioned in NCBT 1178: 1. 2 BĀN tak-ka-su-ú 2. NINDA.ĤÁ eš-šú ‘ITI’ SIG<sub>4</sub> 3. a-na d<sup>r</sup>ŪRI<sup>1</sup>-INIM-su 4. u d<sup>r</sup>UNUG<sup>ki</sup>-a-a-i-tú “2 *sātus* of fresh *takkasū* confections (to make) bread, month Simānu, for Ušur-amāssu and Urkayītu.”

## 4.5.4.8. Meat

In the offering lists of Group A Urkayītu is always paired with Ušur-amāssu. Oxen, sheep, lambs, turtledoves, ducks, and geese were offered to the two goddesses, each receiving a probable average of one of each animal on any given day for the basic regular offerings (*ginū*). Offerings of sacrificial animals to Urkayītu are also probably recorded in the following texts from Group B; *SWU* 161: 6’; *SWU* 162: 7’; and *ARRIM* 7, 47: 2–3 (with Ušur-amāssu). *SWU* 117 mentions two meat cuts of an unspecified animal, probably a sheep, to which the *ērib-bītis* of Urkayītu and Ušur-amāssu were entitled: obv. 1, 23’. 1-en u<sup>zu</sup>ZAG.LU u<sup>zu</sup>ba-me-e 2 [o o] “1 shoulder cut, (1) rib cage(?), 2 [o o]” (§ 4.4.4.8). AUWE 11, 179 is a fragment recording the allocation of hides and meat cuts to prebendaries, some of them from sacrificial animals presented to Urkayītu: rev. 3. *ina* ITI 20 U<sub>4</sub>.ME U<sub>4</sub> KUŠ šá 1 UDU.NÍTA ‘x’ [o IGI] 4. ‘d<sup>r</sup>áš-ka-i-ti l<sup>u</sup>NĀ-na-din-[o o]’ “each month, for 20 days, daily, a sheep hide [o o before] Urkayītu, Nabû-nādin-[o o].”

## 4.5.4.9. Varia

*SWU* 105: rev. 6 mentions deliveries of an unknown commodity for the offerings of Urkayītu. A similar mention occurs in VS 20, 91: rev. 3’. [o o] ‘a-na’ d<sup>r</sup>UNUG<sup>ki</sup>-i-ti [o o]. The occasional (*guqqū*) offerings of Urkayītu are mentioned in *NBDUM* 62: 3. *gu-uq-qu-ú* 4. IGI d<sup>r</sup>UNUG<sup>ki</sup>-i-ti “the occasional offerings before Urkayītu.”

## 4.5.5. Prebends

The prebend of meat carver (*ṭābiḫūtu*) before Urkayītu is mentioned in *NBDUM* 62, which records the receipt of silver as the sale price for that prebend: 2. KÙ.BABBAR ŠĀM l<sup>u</sup>GÍR.LÁ-ú-tu 3. ù *gu-uq-qu-ú* 4. IGI d<sup>r</sup>UNUG<sup>ki</sup>-i-ti “silver, the price of the meat carver prebend and the occasional offerings before Urkayītu.”

## 4.5.6. Personnel

*SWU* 117 mentions the *ērib-bītis* of Urkayītu: obv. 1, 22’. GIŠ.ŠUB.BA.ME šá l<sup>u</sup>KU<sub>4</sub>-É.ME šá d<sup>r</sup>ŪRI<sup>1</sup>-INIM-su u d<sup>r</sup>UNUG<sup>ki</sup>-a-i<sup>1</sup>-[tu<sub>4</sub>] “the prebends of the *ērib-bītis* of Ušur-amāssu and Urkayītu.”

## 4.5.7. Ceremonies

## 4.5.7.1. Sacred Meal

YOS 6, 239 is a protocol assigning prebendaries for the sacred meal (1. *nap-ta-nu*) of various deities, including Ušur-amāssu and Urkayītu (9. [d]ŪRI-a]-mat-su dāš-ka-a-a-[i-tu4]).

## 4.5.7.2. Clothing Ceremony

The following texts provide information on the clothing ceremony of Urkayītu. The dates for which this ceremony is mentioned are the 1st and the 16th days of the month Ulūlu (probably), the 3rd day of the month Kislīmu, and the 26th day of the month Šabātu. The commodity most frequently disbursed for that ceremony was sesame oil, usually delivered in libation bowls (*maqqu*), but one text also mentions dates.

## BIN 1, 152

19. 1 (PI) '4\* BĀN\* 3 1/2 SĪLA *lu-bu-uš-ti šá* U<sub>4</sub> 1-KAM U<sub>4</sub> 16-KAM *šá* ITI KIN  
20. *lu-bu-uš-ti šá* dUTU dāš-ka-i-ti

1 *pānu*, 4 *sātus*, and 3 1/2 *qûs* (of sesame oil?) for the clothing ceremony of the 1st and the 16th days of the month Ulūlu, the clothing ceremony of Šamaš and Urkayītu.

## NBC 4769

7. 2 *a-na* ūgNÍG.LÁM *šá* dŪRI-INIM-su u dUNUG<sup>ki</sup>-a-a-i-tú

2 (*maqqu*s of sesame oil) for the clothing ceremony of Ušur-amāssu and Urkayītu.

PTS 2783<sup>171</sup>

3. 2 UDU.NÍTA *a-na* ūgNÍG.LÁM.MA  
4. *šá* dŪRI-INIM-su u dUNUG<sup>ki</sup>-i-tú  
5. ITI GAN U<sub>4</sub> 3-KAM

2 sheep for the clothing ceremony of Ušur-amāssu and Urkayītu, month Kislīmu, 3rd day.

NCBT 1132<sup>172</sup>

- rev. 9'. 1 KI.MIN ITI ZÍZ [U<sub>4</sub>] '26'-KAM *a-na* 'lu-bu-uš-ti'  
10'. *šá* dāš-ka-a-a-tú

<sup>171</sup> The heading of this document reads as follows: 1. KUD-as *šá* ITI GAN U<sub>4</sub> 3-KAM 2. U<sub>4</sub> 6-KAM "ritual selection of the month Kislīmu, 3rd and 6th days."

<sup>172</sup> Published in BEAULIEU 1993c, pp. 81–84.

1 (*maqqu* of sesame oil) for the 26th day of the month Šabātu for the clothing ceremony of Urkayītu.

## YBC 9486

1. '1 BĀN' 1 SĪLA ŠE.GIŠ.Ì  
2. *šá* 2 ūgNÍG.LÁM'.MEŠ *šá* 'ITI' KIN  
3. ù ūgNÍG.LÁM *šá* dUNUG<sup>ki</sup>-i-tú  
4. dgu-la u dIGI.DU

1 *sūtu* (and) 1 *qû* of sesame oil for 2 clothing ceremonies of the month Ulūlu and for the clothing ceremony of Urkayītu, Gula, and dIGI.DU.

## YBC 4021

40. 1 (PI) 1 BĀN 2 SĪLA *šá* lu-bu-uš-tu<sub>4</sub>  
41. *šá* dāš-ka-a-a-i-tu<sub>4</sub> u d'IGI'.DU

1 *pānu*, 1 *sūtu*, (and) 2 *qûs* (of dates *makkasu*) for the clothing ceremony of Urkayītu and dIGI.DU.

The dates of the clothing ceremony as well as correlations with texts recording disbursements of textiles and other operations involving the garments of the deities of Eanna are discussed in chapter 1 (§ 1.7.1; § 1.7.2; § 1.12.1).

## 4.5.7.3. The Procession

The following text records a deposition concerning a religious procession (*tebû*) involving Urkayītu:

## YOS 7, 20

- 1–10.) (list of PNs)  
11. lūDUMU\*.MEŠ-ba-ni-ia lūki-na-al-tu<sub>4</sub> *šá* É.AN.NA  
12. *šá* U<sub>4</sub> 9-KAM *šá* ITI SIG<sub>4</sub> MU 2-KAM lūku-ra-āš LUGAL KUR.KUR  
13. ina 1 KASKAL.GÍD u<sub>4</sub>-mu *a-na* lūNÀ-ŠEŠ-MU LÚ SAG LUGAL  
14. lūEN pi-qit-tu<sub>4</sub> É.AN.NA iq-bu-ù  
15. um-ma ina GUB.ZU-i-ni ina UKKIN *šá* URU gab-bi  
16. lūna-ši-ru lūPA.KAB.DU *šá* dGAŠAN *šá* UNUG<sup>ki</sup>  
17. lūmu-saḫ-ḫi-ri *šá* KÁ ina UGU ta-bé-e  
18. *šá* dāš-ka-a-a-i-tu<sub>4</sub> ina 1 KASKAL.GÍD u<sub>4</sub>-mu *šal-la-tu<sub>4</sub>*  
19. GAL-tu<sub>4</sub> *a-na* DINGIR.MEŠ *šá* É.SAG.ÍL É.ZI.DA  
20. TIN.TIR<sup>ki</sup> ù urubar-sip<sup>ki</sup> i-te-ru-ub

The *mār-banīs* and the *kinaltu* of Eanna who, in the 1st (double)-hour of the day, on the 9th day of the month Simānu in the 2nd year of Cyrus, king of the lands, declared to Nabû-ah-iddin, a royal servant, the commissioner of Eanna, as follows: "In our presence, in the entire assembly of the city, Nāširu, a temple slave of the Lady-of-Uruk, the agent at the gate in charge of the



procession of Urkayītu, most sacrilegiously entered (into the presence) of the gods of Esagil and Ezida of Babylon and Borsippa at the 1st (double)-hour of the day.”

According to *LKU* 51 a string of ritual activities involving the goddesses Ušur-amāssu and Urkayītu took place in the Eanna temple during the early part of the month Simānu (Appendix 2). It even specifies that one of these two goddesses came out from the *bīt-hilši* on the (first double)-hour of the 9th day of that month to participate in a ritual during which the sacred meal was served: obv. 7'. U<sub>4</sub> 9-KAM *ina bē-ri u<sub>4</sub>-mu ul-tu É hi-il-ši uš-ša-a[m-ma o o o] 8'*. [o o o *nap*]-*ta-nu i-qar-ru-ub* “On the 9th day, on the (first double)-hour of the day she comes [out] of the *bīt-hilši* [and o o o the sacred meal is offered.” The incident described in YOS 7, 20 took place at the same hour on the very same day, on which basis one may conclude that the “procession of Urkayītu” refers in this text to her ritual progress from the *bīt-hilši* back to the temple where her meal was served and other cultic events took place according to *LKU* 51. An important additional element mentioned in YOS 7, 20 is the presence of the gods of Babylon and Borsippa. This is the only direct hint in the entire archive at the possibility that either Marduk and Nabû, or other gods of the capital, traveled to Uruk to participate in the rituals of the Eanna temple.

#### 4.5.7.4. Visits to Other Sanctuaries

*SWU* 150 mentions offerings of an unknown substance to Urkayītu in the *bīt-hilši* on the 8th day of an unspecified month, probably the month Simānu,<sup>173</sup> in which case these offerings would be related to the ritual activities discussed in the preceding section: rev. 5'. [o o] 'U<sub>4</sub> 8'-KAM *ina É 'hi'-il-šu a-na dUNUG<sup>ki</sup>-i-ti i-qé-ru-bu dNÀ-PAP-ÛRI* “[o o] are offered on the 8th day to Urkayītu in the *bīt-hilši*, Nabû-aḥ-ušur.” *LKU* 51 implies that the goddess Urkayītu did spend the 8th day of the month Simānu in the *bīt-hilši* (Appendix 2).

According to *SWU* 62 Urkayītu received offerings in the temple of Adad on the 10th day of the month Ṭebētu; these offerings may have consisted primarily of beer since the text records allotments of barley to the brewers and mentions offerings in *damm* vats: rev. 16. [o o] 'U<sub>4</sub> 10-KAM *ša ITI AB a-na dāš-ka-a-a-i-ti ina É dIM i-qar-ru-bu* [o o] “[o o] are offered on the 10th day of the month Ṭebētu to Urkayītu in the temple of Adad.” This visit to the temple of Adad in the month Ṭebētu is also mentioned in the ritual *LKU* 51: rev. 20'. 'U<sub>4</sub> 10-KAM *ina UGU tar-den-nu dāš-ka-a-a-i-ti a-na É [dIM i-ru-ub]* “On the 10th day Urkayītu [enters] the temple of [Adad] for the second sacred meal” (Appendix 2).

BIN 1, 170 mentions *maššartu* deliveries of dates in the month Ulūlu for the offerings of Urkayītu in the *bīt-akīti*: 19. 1 1/2 SĪLA *ša U<sub>4</sub> 20-KAM U<sub>4</sub> 21-KAM U<sub>4</sub> 22-KAM ina É a-ki-ti* 20. *a-na dUNUG<sup>ki</sup>-a-a-i-ti i-qar-ru-bu dDÜ-ia* “1 1/2 *qūš* which are offered to Urkayītu on the 20th, 21st, and 22nd days in the *bīt-akīti*, Bāniya.” The ritual *LKU* 51 is poorly preserved for the month Ulūlu, but it is interesting to note that it mentions a ritual which started on the 20th day of that month and involved Ušur-amāssu and possibly other goddesses.

<sup>173</sup> The 2nd day of the month Simānu is mentioned in the preceding line in connection with an offering to Ušur-amāssu.

#### 4.5.7.5. Varia

NCBT 251 alludes to a ceremony involving the jewelry of the goddesses Ušur-amāssu and Urkayītu: 1. 3 BÂN KAŠ *a-na par-'su'* 2. *ina UGU šu-kut-ti* 3. *ša dÛRI-INIM-su* 4. *u dUNUG<sup>ki</sup>-a-a-i-ti* “3 *sātus* of beer for the selection concerning (the ritual involving) the jewelry of Ušur-amāssu and Urkayītu.” The ritual *LKU* 51 contains several more references to religious ceremonies in which Ušur-amāssu and Urkayītu took part (Appendix 2).

#### 4.5.8. Toponyms

The goddess Urkayītu gave her name to two watercourses, the Ḫarru-ša-Urkayītu (AnOr 8, 2: 2. KI-ti *dḫar-ri ša dāš-ka-'i-ti*; AnOr 9, 2: 55. *dḫar-ri ša dāš-ka-i-ti*; and PTS 2076: 66'. *dḫar-ri ša dāš-'ka'-a-a-'i'-[tu<sub>4</sub>]*; and 70'. *dḫar-ri ša dāš-ka-a-a-i-tu<sub>4</sub>*) and the Nāru-ša-Urkayītu (YOS 17, 31: 2. KI-ti *ĪD ša dāš-ka-'i-ti'*), which are perhaps one and the same.

## 5. OTHER DEITIES OF GROUP A

This chapter is devoted to the deities which appear in Group A of offering lists but do not belong to the ruling pentad composed of Ištar and her companion goddesses. They are studied here in the same order as they appear in the lists. Some of these deities resided in Uruk and its immediate vicinity, either in the Eanna temple (symbols of Bēl and Nabû, Gula, and <sup>d</sup>IGI.DU) or in the smaller independent sanctuaries, the *ekurrātu* (Marduk, Sîn, Nergal and Ereškigal, Ninurta, Nusku, and probably the Divine Chariot), while others resided in satellite towns, such as Larsa (Šamaš and Aya) and Udannu (<sup>d</sup>IGI.DU and Bēlet-Eanna of Udannu).

### 5.1. The Symbols of Bēl and Nabû

According to Group A of offering lists, animals were sacrificed to the goddesses Ištar-of-Uruk and Nanaya in conjunction with the altars (*šubtu*) of Bēl and Nabû. The word *šubtu* is written syllabically in NBC 4801: 4. IGI *šu-bat* <sup>d</sup>EN, and 6. IGI *šu-bat* <sup>d</sup>NA; in NCBT 670: 2. IGI [*šu-bat* <sup>d</sup>EN], and 4. IGI *šu-<sup>r</sup>bat* <sup>d</sup>NA; in NCBT 1213: 3. IGI *šu-[bat* <sup>d</sup>EN], and 5. IGI *šu-bat* <sup>d</sup>NA; and in YBC 9445: 4. IGI *šu-bat* <sup>d</sup>EN, and 6. IGI *šu-bat* <sup>d</sup>NA. It is written logographically, sometimes with the divine determinative, in NCBT 862: 4. IGI KI.<sup>r</sup>TUŠ <sup>d</sup>EN, and 6. IGI <sup>r</sup>KI.TUŠ <sup>d</sup>NA; in PTS 2042: 4. IGI <sup>d</sup>KI.TUŠ <sup>d</sup>EN, and 6. IGI KI.TUŠ <sup>d</sup>NA; and in PTS 3003: 2. IGI KI.TUŠ <sup>d</sup>EN, and 3. IGI KI.TUŠ <sup>d</sup>NA. It is written with the determinative GIŠ in YBC 9238: 4. IGI GIŠKI.TUŠ <sup>d</sup>EN, and 6. IGI GIŠKI.TUŠ <sup>d</sup>NA, indicating that these altars could be made of wood.<sup>1</sup> In YBC 9135 the word *šubtu* is replaced by *kakku* (GIŠTUKUL), which refers to the symbol of the god: 4. IGI GIŠTUKUL <sup>d</sup>EN, and 6. IGI GIŠTUKUL <sup>d</sup>NA. It is therefore quite clear that these texts refer to divine symbols standing on small altars.

Numerous representations of altars with divine symbols are found on kudurrus and on Neo-Babylonian stamp and cylinder seals. They typically depict a male worshiper facing one or several divine symbols placed on small altars which often have the appearance of pillared pedestals.<sup>2</sup> That such scenes must be correlated with texts mentioning *šubtu* altars and *kakku* symbols is proven by the curse formula of a kudurru found at Susa which refers to the altars and symbols depicted on the kudurru as follows: *šubātūšunu udlâ kakkūšunu kullumū* “(all the great gods whose names are mentioned on this stela),

<sup>1</sup> See *CAD* Š/III, pp. 174–175, s.v. *šubtu*, with several examples of the writing *š<sup>r</sup>šubtu* and references to some of these altars being made of wood.

<sup>2</sup> On the *šubtus* as altars see GEORGE 1992, pp. 9–10. Extensive discussion by SEIDI. 1989, pp. 110–115. Other references to these *šubtus* in the archive are as follows; NCBT 1069: 25. 1 *š<sup>r</sup>šat-lu a-na šub-ti šá* <sup>d</sup>EN; YBC 7383: 3. *qi-il-pi šá* <sup>d</sup>KI.TUŠ *šá* <sup>d</sup>G[AŠAN *šá* UNUG<sup>ki</sup>] (inventory of jewelry); YOS 6, 156: 10, 12, 16, 22 (offerings of sacrificial sheep to <sup>d</sup>KI.TUŠ.MEŠ); *ŠWU* 162: obv.? 2. [o o o o IGI *š<sup>r</sup>u-bat* <sup>d</sup>[NA]; GCCI 2, 49: 8. 2/3 GIN 4-ti KÙ.GI *šá* IGI *š<sup>r</sup>šat-lum* 9. *š<sup>r</sup>š<sup>r</sup>š<sup>r</sup>u-ba-ta<sup>me</sup> šá* <sup>d</sup>15 u *š<sup>r</sup>na-na-a*; and NCBT 321: 4. *š<sup>r</sup>DAG šá* *š<sup>r</sup>na-na-a*.

whose altars are depicted, whose symbols are shown.”<sup>3</sup> The two symbols which stood on the *šubat Bēl* and the *šubat Nabû* in the Eanna temple were almost certainly the spade (*marru*) of Marduk and the wedge-shaped point of the reed stylus (*qan ṭuppi*) of Nabû. The former was presumably located in Enirgalanna, the sanctuary of Ištar, and the latter in Ehilianna, the sanctuary of Nanaya. The presence they denoted was probably more than metaphorical, since symbols could be consecrated by the *mīs pī* ritual which transformed the cult statue into a living god.<sup>4</sup> This indicates that the deity was believed to be substantially present in its symbol.<sup>5</sup> The theological and political significance of the presence of these two symbols in the Eanna temple was discussed earlier (§ 2.1.2).

According to Group A of offering lists the symbol of Bēl shared with Ištar-of-Uruk sacrifices of sheep, lambs, turtledoves, ducks, and geese, at a ratio of two of each animal on any particular day for the regular offerings (*ginū*) of the two deities. The same animals and quantities were offered to Nanaya and the symbol of Nabû. As discussed earlier these offerings had probably been increased to that level during the reign of Nebuchadnezzar II (§ 2.1.3). Offerings of sacrificial animals to the altar of Nabû are also recorded in *SWU* 162: 2', belonging to Group B of offering lists. YOS 6, 156 mentions offerings of sacrificial sheep to the “altars” (𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎶.MEŠ = *šubātu*), but it is not specified whether these were the same altars that were surmounted with the symbols of Bēl and Nabû.

The ritual *LKU* 51 briefly mentions the god Bēl in the section devoted to the month Tašritu: rev. 8. U<sub>4</sub> 8-KAM *lu-bu-uš-ti ina bu-un-ṣ'x'* [o o o 𐎶𐎶𐎶-𐎶𐎶-𐎶𐎶 u 𐎶𐎶𐎶-𐎶𐎶-𐎶𐎶] 9. *a-na 𐎶𐎶 i-tar-ra-ša nap-ta-nu i-qar-ru-ub* “On the 8th day there is a clothing ceremony; in 'x x' [o o Ušur-amāssu(?) and Urkayītu(?)]<sup>6</sup> come into the presence of Bēl, the meal is served.” It is uncertain whether *LKU* 51 refers in this case to the god himself or to its symbol worshiped in the Eanna temple. It is also possible that some texts which mention the gods Bēl and Nabû in the Eanna archive may refer in fact to the symbols of the two gods (§ 7.6 and § 7.22).

## 5.2. Marduk

The scribes of the Eanna temple during the Neo-Babylonian period made a careful distinction in the writing between the god Marduk, the god Marduk-of-the-Courtyard (§ 7.20), and the symbol of the god Bēl (§ 5.1). The names of the former two gods are always written 𐎶𐎶𐎶 (𐎶𐎶𐎶.UD and 𐎶𐎶𐎶), and they always appear in conjunction with their temple, namely the temple of Marduk (𐎶𐎶𐎶.UD/𐎶𐎶𐎶) and the temple of

<sup>3</sup> MDP 2, pl. 23, col. VII, 30. *šu-ba-tu-šū-nu ud-da-a* 31. 𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶.MEŠ-*šu-nu* 32. *ku-ul-lu-mu* “whose altars are depicted, whose symbols are shown;” also pl. 17, col. III, 20. 𐎶𐎶𐎶𐎶-*šu-nu kul-lu-mu* 21. *ū šu-ba-tu-šū-nu* 22. *ud-da-a* “whose symbol(s) are shown and whose altars are depicted.”

<sup>4</sup> For the “washing” and “opening of the mouth” of various insignias and cult objects, see WALKER, DICK 2001, pp. 10–15, and especially p. 14 for a brief discussion of K 63a and K 3367, in which the ritual of the opening of the mouth specifically applies to the *uskaru* symbol of the moon god; these two duplicate manuscripts include parts of Tablet III of *mīs pī*, and are edited on pp. 136–143 (manuscripts F and G).

<sup>5</sup> This is also shown by the letter edited by PARPOLA 1993, no. 30, lines 3–7, in which it is reported that a cross (*izpallurtu*) set up in a temple in Ešnunna was said to be the living presence of the god Nabû (*Nabû šū* “it is Nabû”). See RINGER 1980–1983, pp. 308–309.

<sup>6</sup> The names of the two goddesses are restored on the basis of the fact that this ritual mostly centers on them.

Marduk-of-the-Courtyard (𐎶𐎶𐎶.UD *šá* KISAL/𐎶𐎶𐎶.KISAL). The name of the third manifestation of the god is always written 𐎶𐎶𐎶 (𐎶𐎶𐎶) and usually preceded by *šubat* (*šu-bat*, KI.TUŠ, 𐎶𐎶𐎶.KI.TUŠ, 𐎶𐎶𐎶.KI.TUŠ) or *kakki* (𐎶𐎶𐎶.TUKUL). The few texts in which the god Bēl appears without mention of the *šubtu* or the *kakku* probably refer to the god Bēl of Babylon, although the identity of the god remains uncertain in a few cases (§ 7.6).

This section is devoted to the cultic manifestation of Marduk worshiped in the temple of Marduk. The last mentions of this temple date to the 28th and 29th years of Darius I (YBC 7437: 39 and PTS 2180: 67), but the god was still worshiped at Uruk in Hellenistic times. In that period Marduk occupied the 8th position in the hierarchy of deities residing in the Rēš and Irigal temples.<sup>7</sup> The cult of Marduk is not attested at Uruk before the Neo-Babylonian period.

### 5.2.1. Paraphernalia

A withdrawal of silver for the *ḫuttus*<sup>8</sup> of the chariot of the temple of Marduk is recorded in NBC 4631: 1. 1 GÍN KÙ.BABBAR *a-na* 2. *ḫu-ut-te-e šá* (𐎶𐎶𐎶)GIGIR 3. *šá* 𐎶𐎶𐎶.UD “1 shekel of silver for the *ḫuttus* of the chariot of the temple of Marduk.” This chariot is presumably distinct from the Divine Chariot mentioned in Group A of offering lists (§ 5.7).

### 5.2.2. Offerings

PTS 2097, which records a partial reform of the offering system of Eanna introduced by Nabonidus in the first year of his reign, fixes the monthly amount of barley, dates, and emmer for the temple of Marduk and the small sanctuaries of Uruk as follows: 26. 46 5/6-*ú ma-ši-ḫu šá* ITI U<sub>4</sub>.MEŠ 27. *šá* 𐎶𐎶𐎶.UD *u* 𐎶𐎶.KUR.MEŠ “46 5/6 *mašīḫus* (of barley, dates, emmer, and Telmun dates) each month for the (offering) days of the temple of Marduk and the (small) temples.”<sup>9</sup> Various other texts record deliveries of offerings to the temple of Marduk which were often presented by a prebendary named Sūqayu or one of his deputies.

#### 5.2.2.1. Salt

The following texts record allocations of salt to various individuals for the temple of Marduk:

YBC 9292: 6 (1 talent for the temple of Marduk, Nabû-šum-udammiq?).

YBC 9296: 7 (3 minas for the temple of Marduk, withdrawn by Kudurrānu).

YOS 19, 193: 6–7 (20 minas for the temple of Marduk, Nanaya-iddin).

YOS 19, 194: 3 (10 minas for the temple of Marduk, Nabû-ēṭir).

<sup>7</sup> See BEAULIEU 1992a, p. 55.

<sup>8</sup> The word *ḫuttu* means “storage jar” (*CAD* U, p. 264, s.v. *ḫuttu*), but this meaning does not fit the context of the present text.

<sup>9</sup> FRAME 1991, pp. 38–41.

## 5.2.2.2. Dates

Three texts record allotments of dates *makkasu* to the bakers for the temple of Marduk; YOS 7, 197: 32. 2 (PI) 3 BÂN šá É ʾAMAR.UD “2 *pānus* (and) 3 *sātus* (of dates *makkasu*) for the temple of Marduk;” YBC 4021: 32. 1 (GUR) 4 (PI) 5 BÂN 1 SILA šá É ʾŠÚ u É ʾ30 ʾlat-tan-nu “1 *kurru*, 4 *pānus*, 5 *sātus*, (and) 1 *qû* (of dates *makkasu*) for the temple of Marduk and the temple of Sîn, Tattannu;” and YBC 7437: 39. 1 (GUR) 4 (PI) 5 BÂN 1 SILA šá É ʾAMAR.UD u É ʾ30 ʾlat-tan-nu “1 *kurru*, 4 *pānus*, 5 *sātus*, (and) 1 *qû* (of dates *makkasu*) for the temple of Marduk and the temple of Sîn, Tattannu.”

Three *SWU* texts record deliveries of dates to the bakers for the offerings in the temple of Marduk; *SWU* 5: rev. 11. [o o ZÚ].ʾLUM.MA šá É ʾAMAR.UD šá ʾSILA-a-a ʾNÀ-[o o] “[o o d]ates for the temple of Marduk, (prebend) of Sūqayu, (offered by) Nabû-[o o];” *SWU* 6: rev. 18. [o o] ZÚ.LUM.MA šá É ʾAMA[R.UD o o] “[o o] dates for the temple of Mar[duk o o];” and *SWU* 25: rev. 4. [o o]+2 (PI) 3 BÂN ZÚ.LUM.MA šá É ʾAMAR.UD ʾSILA-[a-a o o] “[o o]+2 *pānus* (and) 3 *sātus* of dates for the temple of Marduk, Sūqa[yu o o].”

## 5.2.2.3. Barley

Offerings of barley for the temple of Marduk are mentioned in NCBT 528: 10. 1 BÂN šá É ʾAMAR.UD ʾI-ʾAMAR.UD “1 *sūtu* (of barley) for the temple of Marduk, Naʾid-Marduk;” and in YBC 4038: 12. [o]+16 GUR a-na ŠÁ.DU<sub>11</sub> šá É ʾAMAR.UD “[o]+16 *kurrus* (of barley) for the regular offerings of the temple of Marduk.” A few *SWU* texts mention deliveries of barley to the brewers for the offerings in the temple of Marduk; *SWU* 26: rev. 6. 4 GUR 2 (PI) 3 BÂN šá É ʾAMAR.UD šá ʾI[o o] “4 *kurrus*, 2 *pānus*, (and) 3 *sātus* (of barley) for the temple of Marduk, (prebend) of [o o];” *SWU* 33: rev. 8. 4 (GUR) 2 (PI) 3 BÂN šá É ʾAMAR.UD “4 *kurrus*, 2 *pānus*, (and) 3 *sātus* (of barley) for the temple of Marduk;” *SWU* 44: rev. 5. [o o]+3 GUR šá É ʾAMAR.UD ʾNÀ-SUR “[o o]+3 *kurrus* (of barley) for the temple of Marduk, Nabû-ēṭir;” *SWU* 45: rev. 5. 4 (GUR) 2 (PI) 3 BÂN šá É ʾAMAR.UD šá ʾsu-qa-a-a “4 *kurrus*, 2 *pānus*, (and) 3 *sātus* (of barley) for the temple of Marduk, (prebend) of Sūqayu;” *SWU* 46: rev. 6. 1 GUR 2 (PI) 3 BÂN šá É ʾAMAR.UD ʾxʾ[o o] “1 *kurru*, 2 *pānus*, (and) 3 *sātus* (of barley) for the temple of Marduk, [o o].”

Three more texts mention deliveries of barley to the bakers for the temple of Marduk; *SWU* 64: rev. 10. 7 (GUR) 2 (PI) 3 BÂN šá É ʾAMAR.UD šá ʾSILA-a-a ʾa-nu-ʾxʾ[o o] “7 *kurrus*, 2 *pānus*, (and) 3 *sātus* (of barley) for the temple of Marduk, (prebend) of Sūqayu, (offered by) Anu-[o o];” *SWU* 78: rev. 7. [o o É] ʾAMAR.UD šá ʾSILA-a-a “[o o for the temple] of Marduk, (prebend) of Sūqayu;” and PTS 2180: 67. 16 (GUR) 3 (PI) 1 BÂN [šá] É ʾAMAR.UD u É ʾ30 “16 *kurrus*, 3 *pānus*, (and) 1 *qû* (of barley) [for] the temple of Marduk and the temple of Sîn.” Allotments of barley to both brewers and bakers for the temple of Marduk are mentioned in YBC 11901: 12. [o o o]-e šá É ʾAMAR.UD ʾNÀ-TIN-su-iq-bi GIŠ “[o o of barley o o] for the temple of Marduk, withdrawn by Nabû-balāssu-iqbi.”

## 5.2.2.4. Meat

According to Group A of offering lists, sheep, lambs, turtledoves, ducks, and geese were offered to the temple of Marduk, at a ratio of one of each animal on any particular day for the basic regular offerings (*ginû*). There is a probability that these offerings had been increased to that quantity during the middle years of the reign of Nebuchadnezzar II (§2.1.3). Offerings of sacrificial animals for the temple of Marduk are also probably recorded in three texts belonging to Group B of offering lists: *SWU* 161: 3ʾ; *SWU* 162: 5ʾ; and *ARRIM* 7, 47: 6. Offerings of sheep (UDU.NÍTA) are mentioned in YOS 17, 345: 4; and offerings of calves (GU<sub>4</sub>.NÍNDA) in YOS 17, 346: 6. Offerings of sheep to the temple of Marduk may also be the subject of the letter order NCBT 990, although the animal mentioned in it could have been allocated for other purposes: 1. a-na ʾNÀ-ŠEŠ-MU ŠEŠ-ia 2. ʾIʾ-en UDU ḥa-di-ri bab-ba-nu-ú BAR-ka 3. a-na É ʾAMAR.UD i-din “To Nabû-aḥ-iddin, my brother. Allot one fine *ḥadiru* sheep, half your (contribution),<sup>10</sup> to the temple of Marduk.”

## 5.2.2.5. Varia

Delivery of an unknown commodity for the offerings in the temple of Marduk is mentioned in *SWU* 105: rev. 7. [o o šá] ʾÉ ʾAMAR.UD ʾdʾr x xʾ[o o].

## 5.2.3. Temple

As mentioned above, all references to the god Marduk in the Eanna archive are to the temple of Marduk (É ʾAMAR.UD/ʾŠÚ). This temple was the most important of the small sanctuaries (*ekurrātu*) of Uruk (§2.1.1).

## 5.2.4. Personnel

PTS 2391 is a list of 12 craftsmen, including 2 builders (*arad ekalli*), 3 leather workers (*aškāpu*), 2 *mušallimānus*, and 5 tanners (*šārip dušē*), all assigned to the temple of Marduk (14. PAP 12 ina UGU É ʾAMAR.UD). We do not know whether these craftsmen were permanently attached to the temple of Marduk or were just temporarily assigned to perform work there.

## 5.3. Sîn

The earliest evidence for the worship of the moon god at Uruk goes back to Old Babylonian times.<sup>11</sup> An offering list from that period records regular offerings (sá-du<sub>11</sub>)

<sup>10</sup> Line 2 ends with the sign MAŠ or BAR followed by KA written partly over the edge, and a break on the reverse in which there might originally have been one, at most two additional signs. Of all possibilities a reading *mišilka* “your half” seems the most plausible. Another, much less likely explanation is that the scribe wrote MAŠ with its value SA<sub>9</sub> as a phonetic substitution for ŠÁ in the common logogram ŠÁ.DU<sub>11</sub> (*ginû*) “regular offerings.”

<sup>11</sup> See the discussion by RICHTER 1999, pp. 267–268.

for the god Nanna,<sup>12</sup> and an administrative document lists the god Sîn among several deities venerated at Uruk.<sup>13</sup> In Neo-Babylonian texts from the Eanna archive the name of the moon god is always written with the logogram <sup>d</sup>30. The form <sup>d</sup>EN.ZU occurs only in the kudurru of Ibni-Ištar. The god Sîn was worshiped at Uruk until the Seleucid period, at which time he occupied the 5th rank in the hierarchy of deities residing in the Rēš and Irigal temples.<sup>14</sup>

There were three cultic manifestations of the god Sîn in Neo-Babylonian Uruk: the god *Sîn*, the god *Sîn ša šamē* “Sîn-of-Heaven” (§ 7.25), and the god *Sîn ša kisalli* “Sîn-of-the-Courtyard” (§ 7.26). In addition, some references to the god Sîn in texts from the archive, especially letters, must be to Sîn of Ur (§ 7.27). Only the first of these manifestations of the god Sîn is the subject of this section.

### 5.3.1. Offerings

Deliveries of various commodities and foodstuffs for the offerings of Sîn are mentioned in several texts from the archive. A man named Sūqayu often appears as recipient of these deliveries and may thus have held some office connected with the sanctuary of Sîn. This is very probably the same prebendary in charge of offerings in the temple of Marduk (§ 5.2.2).

#### 5.3.1.1. Salt

Offerings of salt for the regular offerings of Sîn appear in GCCI 1, 337: 1. 1/2 GUN MUN.ĤÁ 2. ŠÁ.DU<sub>11</sub> šá <sup>d</sup>30 3. šá ITI SIG<sub>4</sub> u ITI ŠU “1/2 talent of salt for the regular offerings of Sîn for the months Simānu and Dûzu.”

#### 5.3.1.2. Dates

The following texts record deliveries of dates for preparing food for the offerings of Sîn. *SWU* 1 is an allotment of dates to the bakers: rev. 4'. [o o] 'x' 3 BÂN ZÚ.LUM.MA ... šá É <sup>d</sup>30 'su-qa-a-a [o o o] “[o o] 3 sātus (of dates) ... for the temple of Sîn, Sūqayu.” Three texts are allotments of regular dates or Telmun dates to the bakers as *maššartu*; YBC 3988: 30. 1 GUR É <sup>d</sup>30 “1 kurru (of dates) for the temple of Sîn;” YOS 6, 39: 32. 5 BÂN šá É <sup>d</sup>30 šá 'SILA-a-a 'šá-la\*-<sup>d</sup>EN-man-na-'ma' “5 sātus (of Telmun dates for the month Ṭebētu) for the temple of Sîn, Ša-lā-Bēl-manāma;” and YOS 19, 138: 31. 5 BÂN šá <sup>d</sup>30 'su-qa-a-a “5 sātus (of Telmun dates) for Sîn, Sūqayu.” Three more texts are allotments of dates *makkasu* to the bakers; YBC 4021: 32. 1 (GUR) 4 (PI) 5 BÂN 1 ŠILA šá É <sup>d</sup>ŠU u É <sup>d</sup>30 'tat-tan-nu “1 kurru, 4 pānus, 5 sātus, (and) 1 qū (of dates *makkasu*) for the temple of Marduk and the temple of Sîn, Tattannu;” YBC 7437: 39. 1 (GUR) 4 (PI) 5 BÂN 1 ŠILA šá É <sup>d</sup>AMAR.UD u É <sup>d</sup>30 'tat-tan-nu “1 kurru, 4 pānus, 5 sātus, (and) 1 qū (of dates *makkasu*) for the temple of Marduk and the temple of Sîn, Tattannu;” and YOS 7, 197: 33. 1 GUR šá É <sup>d</sup>30 “1 kurru (of dates *makkasu*) for the temple of Sîn.”

<sup>12</sup> FALKENSTEIN 1963, p. 32, n. 143, text W 20256.

<sup>13</sup> Ibid., p. 32, n. 145, text W 20197.

<sup>14</sup> See BEAULIEU 1992a, p. 55.

### 5.3.1.3. Barley

Deliveries of barley to the brewers are mentioned in *SWU* 26: rev. 16'. [o o] <sup>d</sup>30 šá 'su-qa-a-a “[o o] (of barley) for the temple of Sîn, Sūqayu;” and *SWU* 32: rev. 14'. [o o] 'É?' <sup>d</sup>30 'SILA-a-a “[o o] (of barley) for the temple of Sîn, Sūqayu;” and to the bakers in *SWU* 87: rev. 2'. šá É <sup>d</sup>30 šá 'l[o o o] “(barley) for the temple of Sîn, (prebend) of [o o o].” Allotments of barley to the bakers for the temple of Sîn are mentioned in PTS 2180: 67. 16 (GUR) 3 (PI) 1 BÂN [šá] É <sup>d</sup>AMAR.UD u É <sup>d</sup>30 “16 kurrus, 3 pānus, (and) 1 sūtu (of barley) [for] the temple of Marduk and the temple of Sîn.”

### 5.3.1.4. Emmer

Emmer is delivered to the bakers in *SWU* 1: rev. 4'. [o o] 'x' ... 7 GUR 2 (PI) 3 BÂN ŠE.ZÍZ.ĀM šá É <sup>d</sup>30 'su-qa-a-a [o o o] “[o o] 'x' ... 7 kurrus, 2 pānus, (and) 3 sātus of emmer for the temple of Sîn, Sūqayu [o o o];” and *SWU* 3: rev. 19'. [o o o] ŠE.ZÍZ].ĀM šá <sup>d</sup>30' [o o šá] 'la-nu-MU-DU [o o o of emm]er for Sîn, [o o (prebend) of] Anu-šum-ibni.”

### 5.3.1.5. Beer

Offerings of fine *billatu*-beer (*billatu damiqtu*) occur in *SWU* 35: rev. 9. [KA]Š.Ú.SA SIG<sub>5</sub>-tì šá É <sup>d</sup>30 šá 'su-qa-a-a 'x' [o o o] “fine [*bil*]/atu-beer for the temple of Sîn, (prebend) of Sūqayu [o o o].”

### 5.3.1.6. Sesame

AnOr 8, 35 records a disbursement of silver for sesame for the regular offerings (*ginū*) of Sîn: 12. 40 MA.NA a-na ŠE.GIŠ.Ì ina ŠÁ.DU<sub>11</sub> šá É <sup>d</sup>30 “40 minas (of silver) for sesame, from the regular offerings in the temple of Sîn.”

### 5.3.1.7. Meat

Offerings of sacrificial animals to Sîn and the temple of Sîn are recorded in two texts belonging to Group B of offering lists; *SWU* 160: rev. 1' and *SWU* 161: 4'. GCCI 2: 327 records the receipt of ewes for the god Sîn, who is possibly Sîn of Ur, but it is unlikely that these ewes were intended as offerings since female animals were rarely sacrificed: 1. 5 U<sub>8</sub> Û.TU.ME 2. 5 U<sub>8</sub> BAR.SAL.ME 3. PAP 10 U<sub>8</sub>.UDU.ĤÁ 4. 'ia-ḡa-la-a'\* 5. a-na <sup>d</sup>30 6. IGI-er “5 ewes that have given birth, 5 female lambs. Total: 10 sheep, received by Yaḡalā for the god Sîn.”

### 5.3.1.8. Varia

Additional references to Sîn and his temple are found in two *SWU* texts, but the nature of the delivery is unknown; *SWU* 102: rev. 4'. [o o o] šá É <sup>d</sup>30 šá 'su-qa-a-a 'x' [o o o] “[o o o] for the temple of Sîn, (prebend) of Sūqayu;” *SWU* 104: rev. 3'. [o o] 'É' <sup>d</sup>30 'SILA'-a-a “[o o for] the temple of Sîn, Sūqayu.”

## 5.3.2. Temple

One may add YOS 6, 39: 32 and YOS 7, 197: 33 to the references to the temple of Šin (É d30) listed above. The last mention of this temple in the archive is in YBC 7437, dated to the 28th year of Darius I. The ceremonial name of the temple of Šin is unknown. It was called É.DUMU.NUN.NA according to a ritual from the Seleucid period.<sup>15</sup> Whether this is the same building as the É d30 of Neo-Babylonian texts is unknown.

## 5.4. Gula

The earliest evidence for a cult of Gula at Uruk dates to the time of the 3rd dynasty of Ur.<sup>16</sup> During the Old Babylonian period the goddess is not directly mentioned in documents from Uruk, although king Šin-kāšid left an inscription recording the restoration of Egalmah, the sanctuary of Nin-Isinna (Lady-of-Isin) in Uruk, a healing goddess syncretized with Gula.<sup>17</sup> In Neo-Babylonian texts from the Eanna archive the name of the goddess Gula is spelled either syllabically (*ḡgu-la*) or with the logogram ME.ME. Two cultic manifestations of the goddess Gula were worshiped in the Eanna temple in the 6th century B.C.: Gula, and Gula-of-the-Courtyard (*Gula ša kisalli*). There is also some evidence that another manifestation of Gula was worshiped in a separate temple located in the vicinity of Uruk in a town named Bīt-Gula. In her home town of Nippur Gula was the consort of the god Ninurta, but she appears as the wife of other gods in theological texts and god lists, notably Pabilsag, the main god of Isin and husband of the healing goddess Nin-Isinna.<sup>18</sup> In the syncretistic hymn to Gula attributed to the Babylonian exorcist Bullussa-rabi she assimilates the personality of a number of goddesses, including Nanše, Ninkarrak, Ba'u, Ninsun, Ninlil, and others, and in turn becomes the wife of Ningirsu, Ninazu, Zababa, Utulu, and Lugalbanda, in addition to Ninurta.<sup>19</sup>

The identification of the consorts of the various manifestations of Gula worshiped in Neo-Babylonian Uruk presents some difficulties. In Group A of offering lists and many other texts Gula is paired with the god dIGI.DU. The evidence indicates that Gula and dIGI.DU both resided in the Eanna temple, occupying separate chapels. Matters are further complicated by YOS 6, 145, which mentions another consort of Gula named Bēl-SA-našru, a god who is otherwise unknown: 1. NÍG.GA dEN-SA-na-aš-ru 2. u ḡgu-la “the property of Bēl-SA-našru and Gula.” If the form of Gula mentioned in this text was the same as the one worshiped in the Eanna temple, then Bēl-SA-našru would just be an epithet of dIGI.DU. It must be pointed out, however, that in YOS 6, 145 Gula occurs in second position after Bēl-SA-našru, while in Group A of offering lists and other texts

she is consistently listed before dIGI.DU. This appears to weaken the identification of Bēl-SA-našru with dIGI.DU, whose identity is not even yet securely established (§ 5.5).

The other manifestation of Gula residing in Eanna was Gula-of-the-Courtyard. Since a god named Ninurta-of-the-Courtyard was worshiped in the Eanna temple, we might expect the two deities to have formed a divine couple. Yet they are never associated with one another in our sources. On the other hand, the fact that no chapel of Gula-of-the-Courtyard is mentioned in the archive leads one to postulate that she was a resident of the chapel of Ninurta-of-the-Courtyard, and was therefore the consort of that god. The god Ninurta was also worshiped at Uruk in one of the small independent sanctuaries (*ekurrātu*), and one can therefore presume that another cultic manifestation of Gula was worshiped there with him, but there is not a single mention of the consort of that form of Ninurta in the extant documentation. There is also evidence in NCBT 19 for the existence of a separate manifestation of Gula worshiped outside Uruk in a town named Bīt-Gula. This other manifestation of Gula might be identical with the one paired with the god Bēl-SA-našru, but this is at present purely hypothetical. All this information is assembled in Table 15.<sup>20</sup>

Table 15. Manifestations of Gula in the Eanna Archive

Manifestation of Gula	Probable Consort	Discussion
Gula (in Eanna temple)	dIGI.DU (in Eanna temple)	§ 5.4 and § 5.5
Gula-of-the-Courtyard (in Eanna temple)	Ninurta-of-the-Courtyard (in Eanna temple)	§ 6.8 and § 7.24
–	Ninurta-of-Uruk (in temple of Ninurta)	§ 5.9
Gula (location unknown)	dBēl-SA-našru (location unknown)	§ 7.8
Gula (of Bīt-Gula)	–	§ 6.7

With the few exceptions listed above it is assumed here that all mentions of the goddess Gula in the archive refer to the goddess Gula worshiped in the Eanna temple. This goddess Gula was often paired with the god dIGI.DU, also a resident of the Eanna temple, although it is not absolutely certain that they were worshiped as a divine couple. The present section is devoted solely to this manifestation of Gula.

## 5.4.1. Paraphernalia

YBC 3715 mentions the door curtain (*gidlū*) hanging at the gate of the inner cellas of Gula and other deities: 8. 5 *gadagi-da-la-né-e šá KÁ É pa-pa-ḡu* 9. [š]á dGAŠAN

<sup>20</sup> In the address formula of the letter YOS 3, 67 the god Lord-of-Dēr appears as the consort of Gula: 3. dEN šá de-ri 4. u ḡgu-la šu-lum u TIN 5. šá EN.MEŠ-e-a liq-bu-ū “May the Lord-of-Dēr and Gula decree the health and well-being of my lords.” This, however, probably involves gods worshiped outside Uruk. Another possibility would be to read EN šá-ṭe-ri “the lord of Šaṭeru,” instead of the Lord-of-Dēr.” For the town Šaṭeru see RGTC 8, pp. 290–291.

<sup>15</sup> See GEORGE 1993, no. 214.

<sup>16</sup> SALLABERGER 1993, vol. 2, p. 191, s.v. dGu-la (Uruk).

<sup>17</sup> FRAYNE 1990, E4.4.1.11. On Nin-Isinna at Uruk during the Old Babylonian period see RICHTER 1999, pp. 265–266.

<sup>18</sup> For instance in LITKE 1998, An = Anum V, 125. dpa.bil.sag = dam.bi.nita dam ḡgu.‘la’-[ke<sub>4</sub>]. On the goddess Gula see EDZARD 1965, pp. 77–79, FRANKENA 1957–1971; and the lengthy discussion of Nin-Isinna and her circle by KRAUS 1949, pp. 62–88.

<sup>19</sup> LAMBERT 1967, p. 109.

šá UNUG<sup>ki</sup> <sup>d</sup>na-na-a 10. [dú]-šur-INIM-su <sup>d</sup>gu-la u <sup>d</sup>IGI.DU “The 5 door curtains for the gate(s) of the inner cella(s) of the Lady-of-Uruk, Nanaya, Ušur-amāssu, Gula, and <sup>d</sup>IGI.DU.”

Vessels and various implements for the cult of Gula are mentioned in five texts. The water basin (*mê-qātī*) occurs in YBC 9237: 1. 1-et <sup>gi</sup>BÁN UD.KA.BAR 2. šá a-na me-e ŠU.MIN a-na 3. É <sup>d</sup>gu-la SUM.NA-ti “1 *sūtu* of copper allotted for the water basin for the temple of Gula.” The inventory YOS 19, 266 mentions the following vessels: 26. 1 *dan-nu* KÙ.BABBAR 1 *kan-kan-na* KÙ.BABBAR 27. 1 *ma-li-tú* KÙ.GI 2 *lib-bé-e* KÙ.GI 28. 2 *šu-la-pu* KÙ.GI *ina* É <sup>d</sup>ME.ME 29. *ina* IGI <sup>d</sup>NÀ-DU-A ‘A’ <sup>l</sup>é-an-na-lip-ŪRI “1 silver vat, 1 pot stand of silver, 1 golden bowl, 2 golden heart-shaped vessels, (and) 2 golden blades(?), in the temple of Gula, at the disposal of Nabû-mukīn-apli, son of Eanna-līp-ušur.” The vat is mentioned again together with the bowl (*makkasu*) in YBC 9434: 1. [o o M]A.NA KÙ.BABBAR *ana ma-ak-kás-‘su’* 2. *a-ri-du šá* IGI <sup>d</sup>gu-la 3. *a-na muḫ-ḫi* 1-en *ku-šur* 4. šá *dan-nu* KÙ.BABBAR “[o o m]inas of silver for the removed bowl which is before Gula, for 1 ingot for the silver vat.”

The archive also contains two records of legal proceedings related to thefts of sacred paraphernalia in the sanctuary of Gula. Theft of a *šappu* container on a stand (*šappu karū*) is the subject of YOS 7, 170: 15. *ki-i la i-tab-ku-nim-ma la it-tan-nu* 16. 1 MA.NA KÙ.BABBAR *ku-mu šap-pu ka-ru-ú* KÙ.BABBAR 17. šá *ina* É <sup>d</sup>gu-la *ḫal-qa a-na* É.AN.NA *i-nam-din-u’* 18. *u ta-ab-la-nu ub-ta-’u* “if they fail to bring and deliver him, they will pay 1 mina of silver to Eanna in replacement for the *šappu* container of silver (on a) stand which is missing from the temple of Gula, and the thief will be sought after.” YOS 15, 10 records an investigation (*maš’altu*) into a theft of sacred paraphernalia in the temple of Gula. It mentions that the bowl (*kallu*) and the water sprinkler (*ša-salā’-mē*) were stolen by a certain Nādin-aḫi, who buried them in the ground: 16. <sup>l</sup>SUM-ŠEŠ *kal-lu* KÙ.BABBAR *ù šá sa-la-me šá* <sup>d</sup>gu-la *šá ul-tu* É.AN.NA *it-ba-lu-ma i-na ku-tal* BĀD 17. šá <sup>ur</sup>KAR-<sup>d</sup>na-na-a *i-na qaq-qa-ru iq-bi-ri* “Nādin-aḫi buried in the ground behind the wall of the town of Kar-Nanaya the silver bowl and the water sprinkler of Gula which he had stolen from Eanna.” According to the heading of the document it seems that this bowl belonged to the water basin kit, and these two implements were probably used for the hand washing ritual: 1. [o o *kal-lu* šá] A.MEŠ ŠU<sup>l</sup>.MIN *ù ‘šá sa’-[la-me]* “[o o a bowl fo]r the water basin, and the water spri[nkler].”<sup>21</sup> The text further mentions the golden basket (*masab ḫurāši*) in a poorly preserved passage: 10. *ma-sá-ab* KÙ.GI [o o o].<sup>22</sup>

#### 5.4.2. Breast Ornament

The breast ornament of Gula is mentioned in GCCI 2, 261: 1. ‘35?’ *sa-an-ḫa-ni* KÙ.GI šá GABA 2. [šá] <sup>d</sup>gu-la *a-‘tar’* “35(?) suspension rings of gold in supplement(?) for the breast ornament of Gula;” and 7. ‘2\*’ *ār-zal-a-ni* KÙ.GI šá GABA 8. šá <sup>d</sup>gu-la “2 *arzallu* jewels of gold for the breast ornament of Gula.”

<sup>21</sup> *Dar.* 373 mentions a *kallu* belonging to the *mê-qātī* vessel: 7. *kal-la šá me-e* ŠU.MIN šá *ziq-qur-ra-tu<sub>4</sub>* “the *kallu* belonging to the *mê-qātī* vessel for the ziggurat.”

<sup>22</sup> It is not entirely certain from the context that this object belonged to Gula.

#### 5.4.3. Clothing

A few texts record disbursements of textiles, threads, and various fabrics for the sacred wardrobe of Gula. The following garments appear in the texts: *ḫullānu* “wrap,” *ḫušannu* “sash,” the *kusītu* garment, the *lubāru* garment, *naḫlaptu* “outer garment,” *paršīgu* “turban,” the *šibtu* garment, and the *šalḫu* cloth.

#### PTS 2094<sup>23</sup>

col. II, rev.

29. 1 <sup>ga</sup>dašal-ḫu
30. 1 <sup>u</sup>gGŪ.È <sup>sl</sup>gZA.GĪN.KUR.RA
31. 1 <sup>u</sup>g‘KI’.[MIN] <sup>sl</sup>gĪÉ.ME.DA
32. 1 <sup>u</sup>g‘MÁŠ’
33. 1 <sup>u</sup>[gḫ]ul-la-nu
34. 1 <sup>u</sup>[gḫ]u-bar
35. PAP <sup>u</sup>gmi-iḫ-šu šá <sup>d</sup>ME.ME

1 *šalḫu* cloth, 1 outer garment of blue-colored wool, 1 of the same of red-colored wool, 1 *šibtu* garment, 1 wrap, 1 *lubāru* garment. Total (of the) woven cloth belonging to Gula.

#### YOS 7, 183

26. 50 GĪN <sup>u</sup>gmi-iḫ-ši BABBAR-ú 5 <sup>u</sup>gNÍG.ÍB.LÁ.ME
27. 50 GĪN <sup>u</sup>gmi-iḫ-ši šá <sup>sl</sup>gĪÉ.ME.DA šá *in-za-ḫu-re-e-ti* 1 <sup>u</sup>gpar-ši-gu
28. PAP šá <sup>d</sup>gu-la

50 shekels of white woven cloth (for) 5 sashes, 50 shekels of woven cloth of red-colored wool (dyed) with *inzaḫurētu* (for) 1 turban. Total (of the clothing) of Gula.

The turban occurs in PTS 2282: 21. 1 *par-ši-gu šá* <sup>d</sup>gu-la “1 turban (of woven cloth of red-colored wool dyed with *inzaḫurētu*)<sup>24</sup> belonging to Gula.” The *kusītu* garment occurs in YBC 9431: 3. <sup>u</sup>g‘BAR.DUL<sub>8</sub>.ME 4. ‘šá’ <sup>d</sup>GĀŠAN šá UNUG<sup>ki</sup> ‘ù šá <sup>d</sup>gu-la’ “The *kusītu* garments of the Lady-of-Uruk and Gula.” The *lubāru* garment occurs in YBC 9030: 5. ‘1 <sup>u</sup>glu-bar šá?’ <sup>d</sup>ME?ME? ‘1 *lubāru* garment of Gula.” Sashes are mentioned in YOS 17, 301: 19. 50 GĪN 5 <sup>u</sup>gNÍG.ÍB.LÁ.ME šá <sup>d</sup>gu-la “50 shekels (of blue-colored braids for) 5 sashes of Gula;” and YOS 19, 271: 13. 50 GĪN 5 <sup>u</sup>gNÍG.ÍB.LÁ.MEŠ šá <sup>d</sup>gu-[la] “50 shekels of (white woven cloth for) 5 sashes for Gula.” Miscellaneous fabrics occur in NCBT 200: 1–4 (§ 3.6.1), which mentions a <sup>u</sup>gmi-iḫ-šu; and YBC 9030: 13. 5 GĪN ‘*lu’-man-nu šá ina* <sup>u</sup>glu-bar<sup>mc</sup> šá <sup>d</sup>ME.ME “5 shekels of linen cloth from the clothing allowance of Gula.”

<sup>23</sup> The heading of this text reads: 1. <sup>u</sup>gmi-iḫ-šu ‘*te’-mu-ú šá a-na* <sup>u</sup>gNÍG.‘LÁM’ šá ITI GAN 2. *a-na* <sup>l</sup>DŪ<sup>l</sup>15 <sup>u</sup>AZLAG *na-ad-nu* “Spare woven cloth allotted to Ibni-Ištar, a cleaner, for the clothing ceremony of the month Kislimu.”

<sup>24</sup> This occurs in a list of ten *paršīgu*s for which are disbursed, line 15: 9 1/3 MA.NA *mi-iḫ-ši šá* <sup>u</sup>gĪÉ.ME.DA šá *in-za-ḫu-re-e-ti* “9 1/3 minas of woven cloth of red-colored wool dyed with *inzaḫurētu*.”

## 5.4.4. Offerings

## 5.4.4.1. Salt

Offerings of salt to Gula are mentioned in no fewer than 11 texts in which the goddess is often paired with <sup>d</sup>IGI.DU. In several cases the salt is withdrawn by Eanna-līp-ušur, son of Rīmūt, and by Nabû-mukīn-apli, who was the son of Eanna-līp-ušur according to YOS 19, 266 (§ 5.4.1). With the exception of GCCI 2, 287, which substitutes Nusku for <sup>d</sup>IGI.DU, and NCBT 74, which records a moderately larger quantity, it appears that the joint monthly allowance of salt for Gula and <sup>d</sup>IGI.DU was 30 minas.

AUWE 5, 88: 1–6 ([o]+10 minas, [gi]nû of Gula and <sup>d</sup>IGI.DU for the month Addaru, withdrawn by Nabû-mukīn-apli and Bāniya).

AUWE 5, 89: 5–7 (30 minas, ginû of the month Ṭebētu for Gula and <sup>d</sup>IGI.DU, withdrawn by Nabû-mukīn-apli).

GCCI 2, 287: 5–7 (30 minas, ginû of month Dûzu, for Gula and Nusku, withdrawn by Nabû-mukīn-apli).

NCBT 74: 6–10 (1 talent and 20 minas for Gula and <sup>d</sup>IGI.DU, for the months Ṭebētu and Šabātu, withdrawn by Nabû-mukīn-apli).

NCBT 155: 5–7 (30 minas for Gula and <sup>d</sup>IGI.DU, month Kislīmu, Nabû-mukīn-apli).

NCBT 277: 3–6 (2 talents for Gula and Nusku, Eanna-līp-ušur).

NCBT 779: 5–7 (1 1/2 talents for <sup>d</sup>[IGI.DU?] and Gula, months Nisannu, Ayaru, and Simānu, Eanna-līp-ušur).

PTS 3112: 4–5 (30 minas, ginû of month Abu, for Gula and <sup>d</sup>IGI.DU, withdrawn by Nabû-mukīn-apli).

YBC 9452: 4–7 (1 3/4 talents for Ušur-amāssu and Gula, withdrawn by Nabû-taklak).

YOS 17, 350: 3 (1 talent for 2 months for Gula and <sup>d</sup>IGI.DU, withdrawn by Eanna-līp-ušur, son of Rīmūt!).

YOS 19, 284: 19–20 (1 1/2 talent for Gula and <sup>d</sup>IGI.DU, Nabû-mukīn-apli).

## 5.4.4.2. Dates

Offerings of dates to Gula are mentioned in AUWE 5, 84: 1. 2 *ma-ši-ḫu* šá ZÚ.LUM.MA 2. *guq-ú* šá <sup>d</sup>gu-la 3. *u* <sup>d</sup>IGI.DU šá ITI GAN 4. <sup>ld</sup>NĀ-di-ni-e-pu-uš 5. A? <sup>ld</sup>U.GUR-<sup>x</sup>1-[o o] “2 *mašīḫus* of dates, occasional (*guqqū*) offerings of Gula and <sup>d</sup>IGI.DU for the month Kislīmu, Nabû-dīn-epuš, son(?) of Nergal-[o o];” NBC 4680: 4. 2 BĀN ZÚ.LUM.MA *a-na* 5. <sup>d</sup>MAŠ <sup>d</sup>gu-la 6. <sup>d</sup>IGI.DU *u* <sup>Ē</sup>ḫi-il-ṣu “2 *sātus* of dates for Ninurta, Gula, <sup>d</sup>IGI.DU, and the *bīt-ḫilši*,” and YBC 9285: 9. [o o] 1 BĀN ZÚ.LUM.MA 10. <sup>x</sup>šá ITI<sup>1</sup> AB U<sub>4</sub> 20–1-LĀ-KAM 11. *a-na* <sup>d</sup>gu-la *ú-qar-ra-bi* “[o o] 1 *sūtu* of dates which he offers to Gula on the 19th day of the month Ṭebētu.” According to YBC 9365, occasional (*guqqū*) offerings of dates were made to Gula, <sup>d</sup>IGI.DU, in the *bīt-ḫilši*, and to Ušur-amāssu in conjunction with the *kinūnu* ritual in Eanna (§ 4.4.8.3). Deliveries of dates and/or emmer to the bakers for Gula are also mentioned in *SWU* 21: rev. 5’, in a very damaged context.

## 5.4.4.3. Barley

Deliveries of barley for the occasional (*guqqū*) offerings of Gula are mentioned in NCBT 869: 20. 3 IGI <sup>d</sup>gu-la <sup>lg</sup>i-mil-lu “3 (vats of barley on *adaru* stands) before Gula, Gimillu.”<sup>25</sup> Barley is allotted to the brewers for Gula in *SWU* 27: rev. 4’. <sup>d</sup>IGI.DU <sup>d</sup>gu-la *ù ba-a-a-ta-[nu o o]* “(barley) for <sup>d</sup>IGI.DU, Gula, and the night vigils;” and to the bakers in *SWU* 70: rev. 6’. [o o U<sub>4</sub> x]-KAM šá ITI SIG<sub>4</sub> *a-na* <sup>d</sup>gu-la “[o o on the xth] day of the month Simānu, for Gula.”

## 5.4.4.4. Beer

Offerings of beer for Gula occur in two texts. The types of beer presented to the goddess were fine *billatu*-beer (*billatu damiqtu*) and normal beer (*šikaru*). Textual references are *SWU* 38: rev. 6’. <sup>5</sup>BĀN<sup>1</sup> šá 1 BĀN KAŠ.Ú.SA SIG<sub>5-ti</sub> šá ITI DU<sub>6</sub> *a-na* <sup>d</sup>gu-l[*a*] “5 *sātus* (of barley?) for 1 *sūtu* of fine *billatu*-beer for the month Tašrītu to Gula;” and UCP 9/2, 56: 7. 1 BĀN ŠE.BAR 1 BĀN ZÚ.LUM.MA *ina* GAL-*tú* šá KAŠ.SAG 8. U<sub>4</sub> 22-KAM šá ITI AB *a-na* 9. <sup>d</sup>gu-la *iq-ru-ub* 10. <sup>ld</sup>NĀ-TIN-su-iq-bi A <sup>ld</sup>DÙ-a GIŠ “1 *sūtu* of barley (and) 1 *sūtu* of dates, by the big (measure), (to prepare) beer, has been offered to Gula on the 22nd day of the month Ṭebētu, (and was) withdrawn by Nabû-balāssu-iqbi, son of Ibnā.”

## 5.4.4.5. Sweets and Cakes

NBC 4731 mentions deliveries of fresh barley to make bread for Gula: 1. <sup>x</sup>BĀN<sup>2</sup> SĪLA ŠE.BAR šá NINDA.ḪĀ *eš-šú* 2. IGI <sup>d</sup>GAŠAN šá <sup>ld</sup>UNUG<sup>[ki]</sup> *u* IGI <sup>d</sup>[*gu*]-*la* “x *sātus* (and) 2 *qūs* of fresh barley for (making) bread before the Lady-of-Uruk and Gula.” NCBT 1178 records the allotment of *takkasû* confections for Gula and <sup>d</sup>IGI.DU: 5. 1 BĀN (*takkasû*) *a-na* <sup>ld</sup>gu-la<sup>1</sup> 6. *u* <sup>d</sup>IGI.DU “1 *sūtu* (of *takkasû* confections) for Gula and <sup>d</sup>IGI.DU.”

## 5.4.4.6. Meat

According to the offering lists of Group A, the following animals were sacrificed to the goddess Gula: oxen, sheep, lambs, turtledoves, ducks, and geese. Her basic average allowance seems to have been one of each animal on any given day for the regular offerings (*ginû*). Offerings of sacrificial animals are also probably recorded in the following lists from Group B; *SWU* 160: rev. 2’; *SWU* 161: 7’; *SWU* 162: 8’; and *ARRIM* 7, 47: 4 (paired with <sup>d</sup>IGI.DU). Offerings of oxen (GU<sub>4</sub>.NĪNDA) to Gula are mentioned in YOS 17, 346: 3, which also belongs to Group B.

<sup>25</sup> The heading of the text reads: 1. ŠE.BAR šá *a-na* 2. <sup>ld</sup>dan-nu-tu *gu-uq-qu-ú* 3. šá ITI KIN ITI DU<sub>6</sub> “barley for the *dannu* vats (and) the *guqqū* offerings of the months Ulūlu and Tašrītu.”



## 5.4.4.7. Varia

Unspecified commodities for the occasional offerings (*guqqû*) of Gula are mentioned in YOS 17, 193: 1. 2 <sup>gi</sup>ma-ši-ḫu gu-uq-qû-<sup>r</sup>ú<sup>1</sup> 2. šá U<sub>4</sub> 26-KAM šá ITI APIN IGI <sup>d</sup>gu-<sup>r</sup>la<sup>1</sup> 3. <sup>l</sup>gi-mil-lu A <sup>1</sup>NUMUN-ia GIŠ “2 *mašīḫus* of occasional offerings for the 26th day of the month Araḫsamnu before Gula, withdrawn by Gimillu, son of Zēriya.” Offerings of uncertain or unknown commodities to Gula are also mentioned in *SWU* 104: rev. 6’, and to the temple of Gula in YBC 9932: 17. 1 É <sup>d</sup>gu-la, the latter belonging to Group B of offering lists. Offerings of an unknown commodity to Gula and <sup>d</sup>IGI.DU are mentioned in AUWE 5, 81: obv. 12’ and rev. 11’.

## 5.4.5. Temple

YOS 15, 10 provides evidence that the temple of Gula was part of Eanna. According to line 11 the theft was committed in the temple of Gula: *tab-lu ina É <sup>d</sup>gu-la tab-<sup>r</sup>lu* “the theft committed in the temple of Gula;” while according to lines 7 and 16 it occurred in Eanna: 7. *tab-li šá <sup>d</sup>g[u-la]* 8. *šá ina É.AN.NA tab-lu* “the theft committed against Gula in the Eanna temple;” 16. *kal-lu KÙ.BABBAR ù šá sa-la-me šá <sup>d</sup>gu-la šá ul-tu É.AN.NA it-ba-lu-ma* “the silver bowl and water sprinkler of Gula which they stole from the Eanna temple.”<sup>26</sup> The same text mentions the gate of the inner cella of Gula: 2. KÁ É *pa-pa-ḫa šá <sup>d</sup>gu-la*.

## 5.4.6. Ceremonies

## 5.4.6.1. The Sacred Meal

YOS 15, 10 informs us that the *ērib-bītis* of <sup>d</sup>IGI.DU were in charge of presenting the sacred meal to Gula: 4. <sup>l</sup>ku<sub>4</sub>-É.ME <sup>d</sup>IGI.DU *šá nap-ta-nu a-na <sup>d</sup>gu-la ú-qar-ra-bi* “the *ērib-bītis* of <sup>d</sup>IGI.DU who bring the sacred meal to Gula;” and 12. <sup>l</sup>na-na-a-MU ù <sup>l</sup>R-<sup>d</sup>gu-la DUMU.MEŠ *šá <sup>l</sup>NA-<sup>1</sup>NUMUN-SI.SÁ <sup>l</sup>ku<sub>4</sub>-<sup>r</sup>É <sup>d</sup>IGI.DU* 13. [*šá na*]p-<sup>r</sup>ta<sup>1</sup>-nu a-na <sup>d</sup>gu-la ú-qar-ra-bu “Nanaya-iddin and Arad-Gula, sons of Nabû-zēr-ušallim, the *ērib-bītis* of <sup>d</sup>IGI.DU who bring the sacred meal to Gula.”

## 5.4.6.2. The Clothing Ceremony

This ceremony is mentioned in three texts which inform us that it was performed on the 24th and 25th days of Araḫsamnu, and probably on the 1st day of Addaru. In addition there is a mention of a clothing ceremony in the month Ulūlu.

<sup>26</sup> According to GEORGE 1993, no. 321, the temple of Nin-Isinna in Uruk was É.GAL.MAJ “Exalted Palace,” rebuilt by Sîn-kāšid. In the Epic of Gilgamesh, Tablet III, 15, Egalmah is the name given to the temple of Ninsun in Uruk. According to the Seleucid archival text BRM 2, 36: 6, the temple of Bēlet-balāṭi at Uruk was É.GAL.EDIN, which according to George might be a mistake for É.GAL.MAJ (GEORGE 1993, no. 313). However, Bēlet-balāṭi was a distinct goddess who is mentioned a few times in the Eanna archive (§6.5).

## NBC 4769

3. 1 U<sub>4</sub> 25-KAM šá ITI APIN a-na <sup>u</sup>gNÍG.LÁM
4. šá <sup>d</sup>gu-la

1 (*maqqu* libation bowl of sesame oil for) the 25th day of the month Araḫsamnu for the clothing ceremony of Gula.

NCBT 1132<sup>27</sup>

rev.

- 4’. [o o o IT]I ‘APIN U<sub>4</sub> 24-KAM’ a-na lu-<sup>r</sup>bu-uš-ta<sub>5</sub>-am’
- 5’. šá <sup>d</sup>gu-la ...
- 14’. 1 KI.MIN ITI ŠE U<sub>4</sub> 1-KAM a-na <sup>r</sup>gu<sup>1</sup>-la

(*maqqu* libation bowls of sesame oil) [o o o mon]th Araḫsamnu, 24th day, for the clothing ceremony of Gula ... 1 of the same, month Addaru, 1st day, for (the clothing ceremony of) Gula.

## YBC 9486

1. ‘1 BÁN’ 1 SÍLA ŠE.GIŠ.]
2. šá 2. <sup>u</sup>g<sup>r</sup>NÍG.LÁM’.MEŠ šá ‘ITI’ KIN
3. ù <sup>u</sup>gNÍG.LÁM šá <sup>d</sup>UNUG<sup>ki</sup>-i-tú
4. <sup>d</sup>gu-la u <sup>d</sup>IGI.DU

1 *sūtu* (and) 1 *qu* of sesame oil for 2 clothing ceremonies of the month Ulūlu and the clothing ceremony of Urkayītu, Gula, and <sup>d</sup>IGI.DU.

The dates of the clothing ceremony and the correlations with texts recording operations involving the sacred garments of the gods are discussed in chapter 1 (§ 1.7.1; § 1.7.2; § 1.12.1).

## 5.4.6.3. The Kinūnu Ritual

YBC 9365, dated to the 12th day of the month Kislīmu, mentions withdrawals of dates for the occasional (*guqqû*) offerings to Gula, <sup>d</sup>IGI.DU, in the *bīt-ḫilši*, and to Ušur-amāssu in connection with the *kinūnu* ritual in Eanna: 2. *gu<sub>8</sub>-uq-qu-ú šá 3 u<sub>4</sub>-mu U<sub>4</sub> 7-KAM U<sub>4</sub> 8-KAM U<sub>4</sub> 9-(KAM)* 3. ‘a-na’ <sup>d</sup>gu-la <sup>d</sup>IGI.DU 4. ‘E’ *ḫi-il-ši u a-na* 5. <sup>r</sup>ŪRI-INIM-su’ *ina UGU ‘KI.NE.NE’* 6. *ina É.AN.NA iq-ru-ub* “occasional offerings for 3 days, (namely) the 7th, the 8th, and the 9th days, have been presented to Gula, <sup>d</sup>IGI.DU, (in) the *bīt-ḫilši*, and to Ušur-amāssu in connection with the *kinūnu* ritual in the Eanna temple.” This text can be correlated with the ritual *LKU* 51, which mentions the performance of the *kinūnu* rituals of the Lady-of-Uruk, Ušur-amāssu, and Urkayītu, as well as the *kinūnu* ritual of all the gods, in the month Kislīmu (Appendix 2).

<sup>27</sup> Published in BEAULIEU 1993c, pp. 81–84.

5.5. <sup>d</sup>IGI.DU

In Neo-Babylonian personal names the logogram <sup>d</sup>IGI.DU denotes the god Nergal.<sup>28</sup> The same equation is found in the god list CT 24, pl. 36, where <sup>d</sup>IGI.DU appears at the beginning of a list of forms of Nergal: 52. <sup>d</sup>U.GUR <sup>d</sup>IGI.DU.<sup>29</sup> The theological identification of the god in texts from the Eanna archive, however, presents difficulties. As discussed above (§ 5.4), the fact that <sup>d</sup>IGI.DU of Uruk is almost always paired with the goddess Gula suggests that they formed a divine couple, in which case it seems more probable that <sup>d</sup>IGI.DU was a form of Ninurta. This is supported by another god list, CT 25, pl. 12, in which <sup>d</sup>IGI.DU appears as a name for Ninurta in Elam: 17. <sup>d</sup>IGI.DU = MIN (<sup>d</sup>nin-urta ina NIM).<sup>30</sup> Both Nergal and Ninurta were worshiped in smaller independent sanctuaries (*ekurrātu*) in Neo-Babylonian Uruk, and they appear in the Eanna archive under the names <sup>d</sup>U.GUR and <sup>d</sup>MAŠ/<sup>d</sup>nin-urta, respectively. However, it is clear from the contexts in which they occur that neither of them can be equated with <sup>d</sup>IGI.DU. In the offering lists of Group A, for instance, the three gods <sup>d</sup>IGI.DU, <sup>d</sup>U.GUR, and <sup>d</sup>MAŠ appear side by side as distinct deities.

There is a possible clue as to the identity of <sup>d</sup>IGI.DU in YOS 6, 145, which mentions a god named Bēl-SA-našru as the consort of Gula (1. NÍG.GA <sup>d</sup>EN-SA-na-aš-ru 2. <sup>d</sup>gu-la). As discussed below (§ 7.8), this name might point to the character of this god as divine healer and therefore explain his association with Gula, the goddess of medicine and healing. It would also favor the identification of <sup>d</sup>IGI.DU with Ninurta. There is no conclusive indication, however, that Bēl-SA-našru and <sup>d</sup>IGI.DU of Uruk were one and the same god. As discussed above, there is in fact one argument which militates against it: while Gula always takes precedence over <sup>d</sup>IGI.DU, she is listed after Bēl-SA-našru in the one text which mentions them together (§ 5.4).

Another god named <sup>d</sup>IGI.DU appears in the archive: the god <sup>d</sup>IGI.DU of the city Udannu, a satellite town of Uruk (§ 5.6). This god is generally referred to as “<sup>d</sup>IGI.DU of Udannu” in order to distinguish him from <sup>d</sup>IGI.DU of Uruk (e.g. YOS 7, 137: 8. <sup>d</sup>IGI.DU šá <sup>uru</sup>ú-dan-nu). There are cases, however, where it is obvious that <sup>d</sup>IGI.DU of Udannu is meant, but the god’s city of origin is not specified. Only references to <sup>d</sup>IGI.DU which are demonstrably or probably to <sup>d</sup>IGI.DU of Uruk are included in the present section. The earliest mention of <sup>d</sup>IGI.DU appears in the list of gods of Uruk carried off by Sennacherib in the fall of 693 B.C. (OIP 2, p. 87, 32. <sup>d</sup>IGI.DU). The deity is still mentioned in the “Fête d’Ištar,” datable to the Seleucid period: obv. 7’. <sup>d</sup>IGI.DU.<sup>31</sup>

## 5.5.1. Paraphernalia

The Neo-Assyrian letter PARPOLA 1993, 349, mentions the repair work to be done in the temple workshop of Uruk for [Kurunn]ītu, Anunītu, and <sup>d</sup>IGI.DU: 19. *dul-lu*

<sup>28</sup> See VON WEIHER 1971, p. 93.

<sup>29</sup> See TADMOR 1973, p. 147, n. 32, who argues for the separate identities of Palil and Nergal on the basis of the fact that they appear side by side in the god lists of Assyrian vassal treaties.

<sup>30</sup> According to a commentary to the series *Šurpu*, the name of the god Ninurta of Elam was Laḫuratil: REINER 1958, p. 50, commentary B, line 4. <sup>d</sup>[a-ḫu-r]a-til = <sup>d</sup>MAŠ NIM<sup>ki</sup>.

<sup>31</sup> LACKENBACHER 1977, p. 40.

[šá <sup>d</sup>KAŠ.D]IN-i-ti 20. <sup>d</sup>a-nu-ni-tu<sub>4</sub> ù <sup>d</sup>IGI.DU [šá É <sup>d</sup>]mu-um-mu.<sup>32</sup> The door curtain (*gidlū*) of <sup>d</sup>IGI.DU is mentioned in YBC 3715: 8. 5 <sup>ga</sup>da-gi-da-la-né-e šá KÁ É pa-pa-ḫu 9. [šá <sup>d</sup>GAŠAN šá UNUG<sup>ki</sup> <sup>d</sup>na-na-a 10. [<sup>d</sup>ú]-šur-INIM-su <sup>d</sup>gu-la u <sup>d</sup>IGI.DU “The 5 door curtains for the gate(s) of the inner cella(s) of the Lady-of-Uruk, Nanaya, Ušur-amāssu, Gula, and <sup>d</sup>IGI.DU.” Another piece of textile hanging at the entrance of the inner cella of <sup>d</sup>IGI.DU, the braided curtain (*šuppu*), is mentioned in PTS 2491: 4. 2-ta <sup>ga</sup>da-ṣu-up-pa-a-ta 5. a-na KÁ pa-pa-ḫu 6. ‘šá’ <sup>d</sup>IGI.DU “2 braided curtains for the gate of the inner cella of <sup>d</sup>IGI.DU.”

## 5.5.2. Clothing

A few texts record disbursements of textiles, thread, and various fabrics for the sacred wardrobe of <sup>d</sup>IGI.DU. The following pieces of clothing are mentioned: *ḫullānu* “wrap,” *ḫuṣannu* “sash,” the *lubāru* garment, *naḫlaptu* “outer garment,” *paršīgu* “turban,” perhaps the *sūnu* “loincloth,” and the *šalḫu* cloth.

## GCC I 2, 105

1. 1/3 MA.NA 5 GÍN <sup>u</sup>mi-iḫ-ṣu BABBAR-ú
2. 5 <sup>u</sup>gNÍG.ÍB.LÁ.ME
3. 50 GÍN <sup>u</sup>mi-iḫ-ṣu <sup>sg</sup>HÉ.ME.DA
4. šá in-za-ḫu-re-e-tu<sub>4</sub> 1 <sup>u</sup>gBAR.SI
5. 10 GÍN ṭi-mu šá pe-ši-i
6. 10 GÍN ṭi-mu <sup>sg</sup>HÉ.ME.DA šá in-za-ḫu-re-e-tu<sub>4</sub>
7. 10 GÍN gu-ḫal-ša-a-ta <sup>sg</sup>HÉ.ME.DA
8. PAP šá <sup>d</sup>IGI.DU

1/3 mina (and) 5 shekels of white woven cloth (for) 5 sashes, 50 shekels of woven cloth of red-colored wool (dyed) with *inzaḫurētu* (for) 1 turban, 10 shekels of white thread, 10 shekels of thread of red-colored wool (dyed) with *inzaḫurētu*, 10 shekels of braids of red-colored wool. Total (of the clothing) of <sup>d</sup>IGI.DU.

## GCC I 2, 121

10. 50 GÍN 5 <sup>u</sup>gNÍG.ÍB.LÁ.ME
11. 50 GÍN <sup>u</sup>mi-iḫ-ṣi šá <sup>sg</sup>HÉ.ME.DA
12. šá in-za-ḫu-re-e-ti 1 <sup>u</sup>gpar-ši-gu
13. PAP šá <sup>d</sup>IGI.DU

50 shekels<sup>33</sup> (for) 5 sashes, 50 shekels of woven cloth of red-colored wool (dyed) with *inzaḫurētu* (for) 1 turban. Total (of the clothing) of <sup>d</sup>IGI.DU.

<sup>32</sup> For the reading of the broken divine name see below § 6.12.

<sup>33</sup> The nature of the fabric weighed here is uncertain.

PTS 2094<sup>34</sup>

col. II, rev.

36. 1 *gadašal-ḥu*37. 1 *úgGÚ.È s<sup>g</sup>ĤÉ.ME.DA*38. 1 *úgḥul-la-nu*39. 1 *úglu-bar*40. PAP *úgmi-iḥ-ṣu šá d*IGI.DU

1 *šalḥu* cloth, 1 outer garment of red-colored wool, 1 wrap, 1 *lubāru* garment. Total (of the) woven cloth belonging to *d*IGI.DU.

## UCP 9/2, 13

1. 2 MA.NA 1/3 GÍN *úgmi-iḥ-ṣu*2. *pe-ṣu-ú* 3 *úgÚR!.ME*3. 5 *úgNÍG.ÍB.LÁ.MEŠ šá d*IGI.DU

2 minas and 1/3 shekel of white woven cloth (for) 3 *sīnu* garments (and) 5 sashes for *d*IGI.DU.

Sashes occur in GCCI 2, 365: 6. 50 GÍN KI.MIN 5 *úg\**[NÍG.ÍB.LÁ.ME] 7. *šá d*IGI.DU “50 shekels of the same (white woven cloth) (for) 5 [sashes] for *d*IGI.DU.” The turban occurs in PTS 2282: 22. 1 *par-ši-gu šá d*IGI.DU “1 turban (of woven cloth of red-colored wool dyed with *inzaḥurētu*)<sup>35</sup> belonging to *d*IGI.DU.” The *lubāru* garment occurs in IBK 8, 165: 32'. 16 MA.NA *s<sup>g</sup>ĤÉ.ME.DA g<sup>is</sup>rĤAB* 1 TÚG.ĤÁ *'šá' d*IGI.DU “16 minas of red-colored wool (dyed) with *ḥūratu* (for) 1 *lubāru* garment of *d*IGI.DU;” and YBC 9030: 6. *úglu-bar šá d*IGI.DU; 12. *'úglu-bar šá d*IGI.DU “the *lubāru* garment of *d*IGI.DU.” Fabrics and threads are mentioned in YOS 19, 277: 1. 50 GÍN *'x'*[o o o] 2. 10 GÍN *ṭi-mu* 3. 13 GÍN *ṭi-mu s<sup>g</sup>ĤÉ.ME.DA 'g<sup>is</sup>rĤAB* 4. 8 GÍN *gu-ḥal-ṣu šá s<sup>g</sup>ĤÉ.ME.'DA* 5. *šá d*IGI.DU “50 shekels of [o o o], 10 shekels of thread, 13 shekels of red-colored thread (dyed) with *ḥūratu*, 8 shekels of red-colored braids, for *d*IGI.DU.” Garments for *d*IGI.DU are also mentioned in NCBT 51, although it seems more likely that this text relates to the god *d*IGI.DU of Udannu (§ 5.6.3).

## 5.5.3. Offerings

## 5.5.3.1. Salt

The following texts record deliveries of salt for the regular offerings of Gula and *d*IGI.DU. As discussed earlier these quantities were often withdrawn by Eanna-līp-ušur

or his son Nabû-mukīn-apli, and it appears that the two deities received a joint allocation of 30 minas of salt every month (§ 5.4.4.1).

AUWE 5, 88: 1–6 ([o]+10 minas, [*gi*]*nū* of Gula and *d*IGI.DU for the month Addaru, withdrawn by Nabû-mukīn-apli and Bāniya).

AUWE 5, 89: 5–7 (30 minas, *ginū* of the month Ṭebētu for Gula and *d*IGI.DU, withdrawn by Nabû-mukīn-apli).

NCBT 74: 6–10 (1 talent and 20 minas for Gula and *d*IGI.DU, for the months Ṭebētu and Šabātu, withdrawn by Nabû-mukīn-apli).

NCBT 155: 5–7 (30 minas for Gula and *d*IGI.DU, month Kislīmu, Nabû-mukīn-apli).

NCBT 779: 5–7 (1 1/2 talents for *d*[IGI.DU?] and Gula, months Nisannu, Ayaru, and Simānu, Eanna-līp-ušur).

PTS 3112: 4–5 (30 minas, *ginū* of month Abu, for Gula and *d*IGI.DU, withdrawn by Nabû-mukīn-apli).

YOS 17, 350: 3 (1 talent for 2 months for Gula and *d*IGI.DU, withdrawn by Eanna-līp-ušur, son of Rīmūt!).

YOS 19, 284: 19–20 (1 1/2' talent for Gula and *d*IGI.DU, Nabû-mukīn-apli).

## 5.5.3.2. Dates

Dates for the occasional (*guqqū*) offerings of *d*IGI.DU and Gula are mentioned in YBC 9365 (§ 5.5.6.3), and AUWE 5, 84: 1. 2 *ma-ši-ḥu šá ZÚ.LUM.MA* 2. *guq-ú šá dgu-la* 3. *u d*IGI.DU *šá ITI GAN* 4. *10NÁ-di-ni-e-pu-uš* 5. A? *1'd*U.GUR-*'x'*-[o o] “2 *mašīḥu* of dates, the occasional offerings of Gula and *d*IGI.DU for the month Kislīmu, Nabû-dīn-e-puš, son(?) of Nergal-[o o].” Offerings of dates are also mentioned in NBC 4680: 4. 2 BÂN ZÚ.LUM.MA *a-na* 5. *d*MAŠ *dgu-la* 6. *d*IGI.DU *u É ḥi-il-ṣu* “2 *sātus* of dates for Ninurta, Gula, *d*IGI.DU, and the *bīl-ḥilši*.”

## 5.5.3.3. Barley

Deliveries of barley for the regular offerings (*ginū*) of *d*IGI.DU are mentioned in NCBT 729: 1. 1/2 *g<sup>is</sup>ma-ši-ḥu ŠE.BAR* 2. *a-na 'SÁ.DU<sub>11</sub>* 3. *šá 'd*IGI.D[U] “1/2 *mašīḥu* of barley for the regular offerings of *d*IGI.DU.” Allotments of barley to the brewers for the deity are mentioned in *SWU* 27: rev. 4'. *d*IGI.DU *dgu-la ù ba-a-a-ta-[nu o o]* “(barley) for *d*IGI.DU, Gula, and the night vigils.”

## 5.5.3.4. Sesame Oil

A delivery of sesame oil for the temple of *d*IGI.DU is mentioned in GCCI 2, 166: 2. 1/2 ŠĪLA (Ī.GĪŠ) *a-na É d*IGI.DU “1/2 *qū* of (sesame oil) for the temple of *d*IGI.DU.”

## 5.5.3.5. Sweets and Cakes

NBC 4731 mentions deliveries of fresh barley to make bread for various deities, including *d*IGI.DU: 1. ŠE.BAR *šá NINDA.ĤÁ eš-šú* ... 5. [o] ŠĪLA IGI *d*IGI.DU “Fresh barley (to make) bread ... [o] *qūš* (for the offerings) of *d*IGI.DU.” NCBT 1178 records the allotment

<sup>34</sup> The heading of this text reads: 1. *úgmi-iḥ-ṣu 'te'-nu-ú šá a-na 'úgNÍG.ÍB.LÁ.ME' šá ITI GAN* 2. *a-na 'DÚ.ú* 15 *10AZLAG na-ad-nu* “Spare woven cloth allotted to Ibni-lštar, a cleaner, for the clothing ceremony of the month Kislīmu.”

<sup>35</sup> This occurs in a list of ten *paršīgus* for which are disbursed, line 15: 9 1/3 MA.NA *mi-iḥ-ši šá s<sup>g</sup>ĤÉ.ME.DA šá in-za-ḥu-re-e-tú* “9 1/3 minas of woven cloth of red-colored wool dyed with *inzaḥurētu*.”

of *takkasû* confections for Gula and <sup>d</sup>IGI.DU: 5. 1 BÂN (*takkasû*) *a-na* <sup>d</sup>gu-la<sup>7</sup> 6. *u* <sup>d</sup>IGI.DU “1 *sûtu* (of *takkasû* confections) for Gula and <sup>d</sup>IGI.DU.”

## 5.5.3.6. Meat

According to the offering lists of Group A, oxen, sheep, lambs, turtledoves, ducks, and geese were sacrificed to the god <sup>d</sup>IGI.DU, who received a basic allowance of one of each animal on any given day for the regular offerings (*ginû*). As discussed earlier (§2.1.3) these offerings were probably increased during the reign of Nebuchadnezzar II. Offerings of sacrificial animals are also probably recorded in four lists of Group B; *SWU* 160: rev. 4'; *SWU* 161: 8'; *SWU* 162: 9'; and *ARRIM* 7, 47: 4 (paired here with Gula). *YOS* 17, 346: 4, another text from Group B, mentions offerings of calves (*GU<sub>4</sub>.NÍNDA*) to <sup>d</sup>IGI.DU.

## 5.5.4. Temple

The temple of <sup>d</sup>IGI.DU (<sup>É</sup> <sup>d</sup>IGI.DU) is mentioned in *GCCI* 2, 166: 2 (§5.5.3.4). *YBC* 9414 mentions a quantity of silver delivered from that temple: 1. 11 2-*ta* ŠU.MIN.ME KÙ.GI 2. *bat-qa* šá *ul-tu* É 3. <sup>d</sup>IGI.DU *ú-ri-di* “11 2/3 shekels of gold (for) repair work removed from the temple of <sup>d</sup>IGI.DU.” The gate of the inner cella of <sup>d</sup>IGI.DU is mentioned in *PTS* 2491: 5. *KÁ pa-pa-hu* 6. 'šá' <sup>d</sup>IGI.DU. Because of the close relation between <sup>d</sup>IGI.DU and Gula it seems almost certain that the temple of <sup>d</sup>IGI.DU was, like that of Gula, a chapel in the Eanna temple complex.

## 5.5.5. Personnel

*YOS* 15, 10, a text concerning theft of sacred paraphernalia in the temple of Gula, informs us that the *ērib-bītis* of <sup>d</sup>IGI.DU were in charge of presenting the sacred meals to that goddess: 4. <sup>l</sup>ku<sub>4</sub>-É.ME <sup>d</sup>IGI.DU šá *nap-ta-nu a-na* <sup>d</sup>gu-la *ú-qar-ra-bi* “the *ērib-bītis* of <sup>d</sup>IGI.DU who bring the sacred meal to Gula;” and 12. <sup>l</sup>na-na-a-MU *ù* <sup>l</sup>IR-<sup>d</sup>gu-la DUMU.MEŠ šá <sup>l</sup>NA-NUMUN-SI.SÁ <sup>l</sup>ku<sub>4</sub>-É <sup>d</sup>IGI.DU 13. [šá na]p-<sup>l</sup>ta<sup>7</sup>-nu *a-na* <sup>d</sup>gu-la *ú-qar-ra-bu* “Nanaya-iddin and Arad-Gula, sons of Nabû-zēr-ušallim, the *ērib-bītis* of <sup>d</sup>IGI.DU who bring the sacred meal to Gula.”

## 5.5.6. Ceremonies

## 5.5.6.1. Sacred Meal

The sacred meal of <sup>d</sup>IGI.DU is mentioned in *YOS* 15, 10 (§5.5.5) and *YOS* 6, 239, which is a protocol assigning prebendaries for the sacred meal (1. *nap-ta-nu*) of various deities, including <sup>d</sup>IGI.DU: 10. [*a-na*] <sup>d</sup>IGI.DU *ú*-[*qar-ra-bu*].

## 5.5.6.2. Clothing Ceremony

Five texts mention the clothing ceremony (*lubuštu*) of <sup>d</sup>IGI.DU. The following items were delivered for this ceremony: sesame oil in libation bowls (*maqqu*), dates, and sacrificial

sheep. The specific days for which the clothing ceremony of <sup>d</sup>IGI.DU is recorded are: *Ayaru* 8, *Dûzu* 17, *Kislîmu* 28, and *Šabātu* 26.

## NBC 4769

14. 1 *a-na* <sup>l</sup>gNÍG.LÁM šá <sup>d</sup>IGI.DU šá ITI GAN

1 (*maqqu* libation bowl of sesame oil) for the clothing ceremony of <sup>d</sup>IGI.DU in the month *Kislîmu*.

NCBT 1132<sup>36</sup>

obv.

3. 1 *ma-aq-qu-ú* šá <sup>l</sup>GIŠ
4. *a-na lu-bu-uš-tu<sub>4</sub>* šá <sup>d</sup>IGI.DU
5. ITI GU<sub>4</sub> U<sub>4</sub> 8-KAM ...
10. [1 K]I.MIN *a-n*[*a lu-bu-uš-tu<sub>4</sub>* šá] <sup>d</sup>IGI.'DU ITI' ŠU U<sub>4</sub> 17-[KAM] ...

rev.

- 7'. 1 K1.MIN ITI GAN [U<sub>4</sub>] 28-KAM *a-na lu-bu-uš-tú*
- 8'. šá <sup>d</sup>IGI.DU ...
- 11'. 1 K1.MIN ITI ZÍZ [U<sub>4</sub>] 26-KAM *a-na lu-bu-uš-tu<sub>4</sub>*
- 12'. šá <sup>d</sup>IGI.DU

1 libation bowl of sesame oil for the clothing ceremony of <sup>d</sup>IGI.DU, month *Ayaru*, 8th day ... [1 of the] same for [the clothing ceremony of] <sup>d</sup>IGI.DU, month *Dûzu*, 17th day ... 1 of the same, month *Kislîmu*, 28th day, for the clothing ceremony of <sup>d</sup>IGI.DU ... 1 of the same, month *Šabātu*, 26th [day], for the clothing ceremony of <sup>d</sup>IGI.DU.

## YBC 4021

40. 1 (PI) 1 BÂN 2 SÌLA šá *lu-bu-uš-tu<sub>4</sub>*
41. šá <sup>d</sup>š-ka-a-a-i-tu<sub>4</sub> *u* <sup>d</sup>IGI'.DU

1 (*pānu*), 1 *sūtu*, (and) 2 *qûs* (of dates) for the clothing ceremony of *Urkayītu* and <sup>d</sup>IGI.DU.

## YBC 9486

1. '1 BÂN' 1 SÌLA ŠE.GIŠ.Ì
2. šá 2 <sup>l</sup>gNÍG.LÁM'.MEŠ šá 'ITI' KIN
3. *ù* <sup>l</sup>gNÍG.LÁM šá <sup>d</sup>UNUG<sup>ki</sup>-i-tú
4. <sup>d</sup>gu-la *u* <sup>d</sup>IGI.DU

1 *sūtu* (and) 1 *qû* of sesame (oil) for 2 clothing ceremonies of the month *Ulūlu* and the clothing ceremony of *Urkayītu*, Gula, and <sup>d</sup>IGI.DU.

<sup>36</sup> Published in BEAULIEU 1993c, pp. 81–84.

## NCBT 1233

13. PAP 16 UDU.NÍTA  
 14. KUD-as šá U<sub>4</sub> 28-[KAM]  
 15. šá ITI GAN  
 16. EN 1 šá úgNÍG.LÁ[M]  
 17. šá dIGI.DU

Total: 16 sheep, ritual selection of the 28th day of the month Kislīmu, together with 1 (sheep) for the clothing ceremony of dIGI.DU.

Correlations between the dates of the clothing ceremony and texts recording operations involving the garments of the gods were discussed in chapter 1 (§ 1.7.1; § 1.7.2). It appears that the clothing ceremony of the 28th day of the month Kislīmu was devoted exclusively to the god dIGI.DU (§ 1.12.1).

## 5.5.6.3. The Kinūnu Ritual

YBC 9365, dated to the 12th day of the month Kislīmu, mentions withdrawals of dates for the occasional (*guqqū*) offerings to Gula, dIGI.DU, in the *bīt-hilši*, and to Ušur-amāssu in connection with the *kinūnu* ritual in Eanna: 2. *gu<sub>8</sub>-uq-qu-ú šá 3 u<sub>4</sub>-mu U<sub>4</sub> 7-KAM U<sub>4</sub> 8-KAM U<sub>4</sub> 9-(KAM) 3. 'a-na' dgu-la dIGI.DU 4. 'É' hī-il-ši u a-na 5. d'URI-INIM-su' ina UGU 'KI.NE.NE' 6. ina É.AN.NA iq-ru-ub "occasional offerings for 3 days, the 7th, the 8th, and the 9th days, have been offered to Gula, dIGI.DU, (in) the *bīt-hilši*, and to Ušur-amāssu in connection with the *kinūnu* ritual in the Eanna temple." YBC 9365 can be correlated with the ritual LKU 51, which also mentions the performance of *kinūnu* rituals during the month Kislīmu for the Lady-of-Uruk, Ušur-amāssu, Urkayītu, and "all the gods" (Appendix 2).*

5.5.6.4. Varia (*sarāqu*, *šalām bīti*, etc ...)

NCBT 123, dated to the 1st day of the month Tēbētu, mentions deliveries of flour for the ceremonies of (flour) sprinkling (*sarāqu*) and "greeting of the temple" (*šalām bīti*) of dIGI.DU: 1. 1 (PI) 3 BĀN ZĪD.DA a-na sa-ra-'qu' 2. 'ù' šá-lam É šá dIGI.DU "1 pānu (and) 3 sātus of flour for the ceremonies of flour sprinkling and greeting of the temple of dIGI.DU." The verb *sarāqu* means "to scatter, sprinkle offering materials (including flour) in rituals."<sup>37</sup> The *sarāqu* ritual may have been a part of the *šalām bīti* ceremony since a few texts mention deliveries of flour for that ceremony.<sup>38</sup>

According to the ritual LKU 51, the god dIGI.DU was involved in a ceremony on the 17th day of the month Dūzu, obv. 27. U<sub>4</sub> 17-KAM dIGI.DU i-[o o o]. As just discussed (§ 5.5.6.2), we also know that there was a clothing ceremony of dIGI.DU on that very

<sup>37</sup> See CAD S, pp. 172–174, s.v. *sarāqu* A.

<sup>38</sup> See CAD Š/I, pp. 202–203, s.v. *šalām bīti*, which quotes a few texts recording deliveries of flour for that ceremony. In the Eanna archive such deliveries occur in GCCI 1, 203: 5. 8 GUR 3 (PI) '2 BĀN' ZĪD.DA 6. a-na šá-lam É 7. šá U<sub>4</sub> 8-KAM "8 kurrus, 3 pānus, (and) 2 sātus of flour for the *šalām bīti* ceremony of the 8th day;" and GCCI 1, 379: 1. 1 GUR 1 (PI) 4 BĀN ŠE.BAR 2. a-na ZĪD.DA šá-lam É "1 kurru, 1 pānu, (and) 4 sātus of barley for the flour of the *šalām bīti* ceremony."

same day, but the restoration i-[lab-biš] in the ritual seems problematic, as we should expect the N-stem form *il-lab-biš* "is (ritually) clothed."<sup>39</sup>

## 5.5.7. Varia

Offerings of an unknown commodity to Gula and dIGI.DU are mentioned in AUWE 5, 81: obv. 12' and rev. 11'. NCBT 811 records an allotment of flour for the temple slaves sent to the temple of dIGI.DU: 1. 3 BĀN ZĪD.DA a-na 2. lūši-ra-ki šá a-na 3. IGI dIGI.DU 4. šap-ru "3 sātus of flour for the temple slaves sent before dIGI.DU." The god also appears in the salutation formula of BIN 1, 37: 3. d30 u dIGI.DU. Since this letter was probably sent from Ur, however, the manifestation of dIGI.DU invoked in it was not necessarily the one worshiped in Uruk.

## 5.6. Bēlet-Eanna and dIGI.DU of Udannu

These two deities resided in the town of Udannu. The name of this town may be written syllabically, with or without the determinative URU, or with the compound logogram EZENxKASKAL (= UBARA), followed by the determinative KI.<sup>40</sup> The equation UBARA<sup>ki</sup>=Udannu is further proven by the late Babylonian bilingual excerpt YOS 11, 95, which contains the compound EZENxKASKAL glossed with *ú-da-an* and equated with *u-da-nam-ma* in the Akkadian version: 5. a-zi-ga ú-da-an EZENxKASKAL<sup>ki</sup> ta im-ma-ni-in-gi-in-nigin: *mi-lum u-da-nam-ma is-sú-da* "the flood waters have surrounded Udannu." The location of Udannu is uncertain.<sup>41</sup> In the Neo-Babylonian period the city was evidently an administrative dependence of Uruk, receiving from it supplies of animals for its sacrificial offerings, as well as deliveries of garments, paraphernalia, and jewelry for the cult of its deities.

The earliest mention of a deity of Udannu occurs in YBC 11546, a text dated to the reign of Marduk-bēl-zēri, an obscure Babylonian king of the first half of the 8th century:<sup>42</sup> 3. dIGI.DU 4. urú-ú-da-ni. The latest mention is in the "Fête d'Ištar," suggesting that the cult of Bēlet-Eanna of Udannu survived well into the Hellenistic period: obv. 13'. dNIN-É.AN.NA šá u<sub>4</sub>-[dan-nu]; rev. 11'. dNIN-É.AN.NA šá u<sub>4</sub>-dan-nu.<sup>43</sup> The

<sup>39</sup> The N durative *illabbiš* is the expected form; see CAD L, pp. 20–21, s.v. *labāšu* 4. a) and b), with many examples cited. It is found also in the late ritual from Babylon BM 78076, published in GEORGE 2000, p. 282, lines 1 and 2, and in the Neo-Babylonian letter from Larsa NCBT 58, published in BEAULIEU 1993c, pp. 77–78, line 9. In all these cases the phoneme //l/ is reduplicated in the script.

<sup>40</sup> BEAULIEU 1991c and 1992b. Much of the material presented in this section was already discussed at length in these two articles.

<sup>41</sup> A city Udānu is mentioned in a letter from Mari published by BIROR 1993, no. 161, lines 33–37, which states that Udānu was located 3 leagues (*bēru*), about 30 kilometers, from Larsa (33. *iš-tu ú-da-nim<sup>ki</sup>* 34. *3 bi-ri a-d[i] la-ar-sa<sup>ki</sup>*). It is not certain, however, that Old Babylonian Udānu and Neo-Babylonian Udannu are one and the same city. According to the Sargon Geography, recently edited by HOROWITZ 1998, pp. 72–73, Udannu was located at the "border of Sumer:" A 47. KUR *ú-da-ni-ī<sup>ki</sup> mi-šir šu-me-ra*, and B. rev. 6'. KUR *ú-d[a-ni]-ī<sup>ki</sup> mi-šir šu-me-ri*. Since the material included in the Sargon Geography could be quite old, it is possible that the Udannu mentioned here is one and the same with Old Babylonian Udānu.

<sup>42</sup> The tablet was published prior to its acquisition by the Yale Babylonian Collection in CLAY 1921, p. 313. Discussion by BRINKMAN 1968, p. 214, n. 1334.

<sup>43</sup> See also the following reference in LITKE 1998, p. 47, An=Anum Tablet I, line 228. *uraš*: MIN (=

remaining attestations are all from the 6th century and are all found in texts from the Eanna archive, with the exception of a possible mention of Bēlet-Eanna in the Nabonidus Chronicle: GRAYSON 1975, Chronicle 7, IV 5. [dGAŠAN] É.AN.NA šá UBARA<sup>ki</sup>. Bēlet-Eanna was very probably a local manifestation of Ištar,<sup>44</sup> and the deity named dIGI.DU a form of Nergal. According to YOS 3, 91 there were in fact two gods named dIGI.DU in Udannu (23. dIGI.DU.MEŠ *ki-lal\*-le-e*). They recall the gods Lugalirra and Meslamtaea, the twin hypostases of Nergal worshiped at Dūrum near Uruk in the early periods. It is possible that these two gods later migrated to Udannu, whose foundation possibly does not antedate the early first millennium. The fact that both Dūrum (EZENxBAD<sup>ki</sup>) and Udannu (EZENxKASKAL<sup>ki</sup>) are written with EZEN compounds is suggestive of a possible link between the two sites.

## 5.6.1. Paraphernalia

YBC 11546 mentions various items delivered to the temple of dIGI.DU of Udannu: 1. 88 gišŠA.KAL.MEŠ EN 1-en 'BAR' 2. 1 giš<sup>ma</sup>-šad-du 3. paq-du 4. É dIGI.DU uruú-dan-ni "88 šakkullu logs, together with 1 piece of plating (and) 1 wagon-pole, entrusted for the temple of dIGI.DU of Udannu." These implements possibly belonged to the chariot of dIGI.DU of Udannu, especially considering the mention of a wagon-pole (*mašaddu*). The letter YOS 3, 191 mentions the bronze kettle used to prepare the food offerings of dIGI.DU of Udannu: 25. mu-šaḡ-ḫi-nu UD.KA.BAR 26. šá gi-né-e "the bronze kettle for the regular offerings." This kettle had apparently sprung a leak, prompting the religious authorities of Udannu to request a new one from the administration of the Eanna temple in Uruk.<sup>45</sup>

## 5.6.2. Jewelry

Stones for the necklaces of the goddess Bēlet-Eanna occur in YOS 19, 290: 1. '5/6 MA'.NA '2 GÍN NA<sub>4</sub> la mit-ḫar' 2. [a-na] 'GÚ'.MEŠ šá 'gišpi'-šá-an-nu 3. [šá] 'dGAŠAN É.AN.NA' šá UBARA<sup>ki</sup> "5/6 minas and 2 shekels of stones of varied size [for] the necklaces in the chest [of] Bēlet-Eanna of Udannu."

## 5.6.3. Clothing

A few texts from the archive record allotments of fabrics and sacred garments for the clothing of the deities of Udannu; YOS 17, 307: 1. 1 šgHÉ.ME.DA na-bal-su 2. 4 ušMÁŠ.ME 3. 1 šgGÚ.É šá šgta-bar-ru 4. PAP ušmi-iḡ-šu šá a-na 5. dIGI.DU šá uruú-[dan-nu] 6. SUM.NA "1 (mina?) of red-colored wool<sup>46</sup> (for) 4 šibtu garments (and) 1 outer garment of red-colored wool. Total of the woven fabrics allotted for dIGI.DU

<sup>44</sup>nin-urta), which is glossed in CT 25, 9–14 (= K. 4339) as follows: col. II, 25. d<sup>u</sup>rašuraš: MIN (d<sup>n</sup>nin-urta) šá u<sub>4</sub>-da-né-e (see p. 47, n. 228).

<sup>45</sup> Since we have no syllabic spelling of the name of this goddess, the possibility of a reading Šarrat-Eanna remains open.

<sup>46</sup> Edition and discussion of this text in BEAULIEU 1991c, pp. 103–105.

<sup>47</sup> The word *na-bal-su* is perhaps a misspelling for *nabāsu* "red-colored wool." This word is rarely encountered in Neo-Babylonian documents, in which red-colored wool is usually denoted by the word *tabarru*

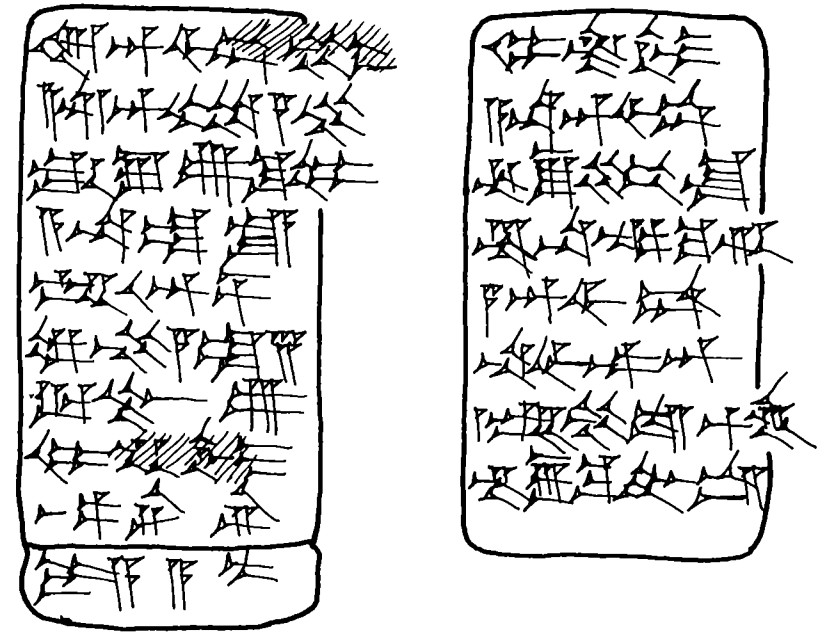


Plate 28. NCBT 51

of U[dannu];" FLP 1613: 12. 12 GÍN (*tumannu*) a-na lu-bu-uš-tú 13. šá dIGI.DU šá UBARA<sup>ki</sup> "12 shekels (of linen cloth) for the clothing (or clothing ceremony) of dIGI.DU of Udannu;"<sup>47</sup> and YOS 19, 290: 6. [o] GÍN šgta-kil-ti "[o] shekels of blue-colored wool (for Bēlet-Eanna)."

The following letter, NCBT 51, although it does not mention Udannu, was probably sent from there. The sender, dIGI.DU-zēr-ibni, is probably one and the same with a namesake listed as the *šangū* official of Udannu in the *Hofkalender* of Nebuchadnezzar II (§ 5.6.6). The recipient, Marduk-šākin-šumi, must in all likelihood be identified as Marduk-šākin-šumi, son of Bēl-šum-iškun (perhaps the same personage mentioned at the end of the letter), descendant of Dābibi, who was *šatammu* of the Eanna temple in the 10th year of Nabopolassar.<sup>48</sup> The god dIGI.DU mentioned in this letter is therefore probably dIGI.DU of Udannu, not dIGI.DU of Uruk.

## NCBT 51 (plate 28)

1. IM dIGI.DU-NUMUN!-DÙ
2. a-na dAMAR.UD-GAR-MU
3. AD-šú lu-ú šu-lum

(šgHÉ.ME.DA). Since in this case the logogram šgHÉ.ME.DA is followed by *nabāsu*, perhaps the latter denotes a further nuance of this color, unless it is a gloss.

<sup>47</sup> The text begins as follows: 1. 1 1/2 MA.NA tu-man-nu 2. šá a-na lu-bu-uš-ti 3. šá ITI ŠE a-na uš.BAR 4. SUM.NA "1 1/2 minas of linen cloth for the clothing ceremony of the month Addaru."

<sup>48</sup> On this official see KÜMMEL 1979, p. 142.

4. *a-na* AD-ia
5. <sup>d</sup>EN u <sup>d</sup>PA
6. *šul-mu šá* AD-ia
7. *liq-bu-ú*
8. *mi-iḫ-šu*
9. *ina pa-ni-ni*
10. *ia-a-nu*
11. *mi-iḫ-šu*
12. *a-na* <sup>d</sup>IGI.DU
13. EN *lu-še-bi-la*
14. 1-en *na-ka-ma-ri*
15. *šá* <sup>d</sup>IGI.DU
16. *na-ši ina pa-an*
17. <sup>u</sup>EN-MU-GAR-un
18. EN *lu-ba-'i-š*

Letter of <sup>d</sup>IGI.DU-zēr-ibni to Marduk-šākin-šumi, his father. May my father be well! May Bēl and Nabû decree the well-being of my father! We have no woven fabric at our disposal. May (my) lord send woven fabrics to <sup>d</sup>IGI.DU. One storage container (of woven fabrics) for <sup>d</sup>IGI.DU has been withdrawn! May (my) lord seek it from Bēl-šum-iškun.

Similar letters were sent from Larsa to Uruk requesting supplies of textiles for the deities of the Ebabbar temple. BIN 1, 10 is a request of dyed wool for the clothing of Bēlet (or Šarrat) Larsa; YOS 3, 49 a request of blue-colored wool for the clothing ceremony; and YOS 3, 94 a request of blue-colored wool for Šamaš.

#### 5.6.4. Offerings

##### 5.6.4.1. Barley

A few *SWU* texts record allotments of barley for the offerings of the gods of Udannu; *SWU* 62: rev. 6. [*a-na* <sup>d</sup>GA]ŠAN É.AN.NA *i-qa[r-ru-bu]* “(barley) offered to Bē]let-Eanna;” *SWU* 75: rev. 2. [*a-na* <sup>d</sup>GAŠAN É.A]N.NA *ù* <sup>d</sup>IGI.DU *šá* <sup>u</sup>[*ú-dan-nu*] “(barley) [for Bēlet-Ean]na and <sup>d</sup>IGI.DU of [Udannu];” and *SWU* 118: rev. 6. <sup>d</sup>GAŠAN É.AN.NA *u* <sup>d</sup>IGI.DU [o o o] “(barley for) Bēlet-Eanna and <sup>d</sup>IGI.DU [o o o].” They are also mentioned in *SWU* 45, which appears to record allotments of barley to the brewers to produce beer: rev. 8'. [*a-n*]a <sup>d</sup>IGI.DU *ù* <sup>d</sup>GAŠAN É.AN.NA *i-qar-ru-bu* “(barley) offered [t]o <sup>d</sup>IGI.DU and Bēlet-Eanna.” The sender of the letter YBC 11326 requests from the authorities of Eanna deliveries of barley for the cult of <sup>d</sup>IGI.DU:<sup>49</sup> 11. ŠE.(BAR) *a*<sub>4</sub> 12. 10 GUR *a-na* 13. <sup>d</sup>IGI.DU *lid-din-u* “May they deliver the bar(ley), namely 10 *kurrus*, for <sup>d</sup>IGI.DU.”

<sup>49</sup> The letter does not mention Udannu specifically. However, the sender Nanaya-ēreš is probably identical with the Nanaya-ēres who is the sender of YOS 3, 191, which was certainly sent from Udannu (see discussion in BEAULIEU 1991c, pp. 103–105). Therefore the god <sup>d</sup>IGI.DU mentioned here is probably <sup>d</sup>IGI.DU of Udannu.

##### 5.6.4.2. Beer

An allotment of silver for the beer offerings of <sup>d</sup>IGI.DU and Bēlet-Eanna is recorded in *SWU* 145: rev. 5. (silver) *šá* KAŠ.ḪÁ *šá* <sup>d</sup>IGI.DU <sup>u</sup>*u* <sup>d</sup>GAŠAN' [É.AN.NA] “(Silver) for the beer (offered) to <sup>d</sup>IGI.DU and Bēlet-Eanna.”

##### 5.6.4.3. Meat

According to the offering lists of Group A, sheep, lambs, turtledoves, and probably also ducks were sacrificed to Bēlet-Eanna and <sup>d</sup>IGI.DU of Udannu. Such sacrifices, however, seem to have been occasional. It is probable that the responsibilities of the Eanna administration for providing sacrificial animals for the two gods were limited to a certain number of days in the month. Seven monthly tables of sheep sacrifices contain notations that one or several sheep were sent either to <sup>d</sup>IGI.DU of Udannu, or to <sup>d</sup>IGI.DU and Bēlet-Eanna of Udannu, or simply to Udannu, on specific cultic dates.<sup>50</sup> AnOr 8, 65 only mentions the allocation of a sheep “for the cult of <sup>d</sup>IGI.DU,” but similarity of context suggests that this <sup>d</sup>IGI.DU is the one of Udannu rather than his namesake from Uruk:

AnOr 8, 65: 20. (sheep) *ina* ŠÀ 1+[o o] *ina* UGU *dul-lu šá* <sup>d</sup>IGI.DU (month Šabātu, day 15)

AnOr 8, 75: 12. (sheep) 2 *a-na* <sup>d</sup>IGI.DU *u* <sup>d</sup>GAŠAN É.AN.NA (month Addaru, day 8)

BIN 1, 167: 9. (sheep) *ina* ŠÀ 8 *a-na* *ú-dan-nu* (month lost, day 4)

YBC 3964: 18. (sheep) *ina* ŠÀ 2 *a-na* 19. <sup>d</sup>IGI.DU *u* <sup>d</sup>GAŠAN É.AN.NA (month Dûzu, day 14)

YBC 3974: 24. (sheep) *ina* ŠÀ 4 *a-na* <sup>d</sup>IGI.DU *šá* *ú-dan-nu* (month Kislīmu, day 22)

YBC 3976: 22. (sheep) *ina* ŠÀ 6 *a-na* <sup>u</sup>[*ú-da*]n-nu (month Araḫsamnu, day 18)

YOS 1, 46: 24. (sheep) *ina* ŠÀ 4 *a-na* <sup>d</sup>IGI.DU *šá* *ú-dan-nu* (month Kislīmu, day 22)

Other accounts of sacrificial animals mention deliveries to Udannu; YBC 7436: 50. 1 UDU.NÍTA <<(a-na)>> *ina* er-bi *a-na* <sup>d</sup>IGI.DU *u* <sup>d</sup>GAŠAN É.AN.NA “1 sheep from the income for <sup>d</sup>IGI.DU and Bēlet Eanna;” YOS 7, 8: 15. 96 UDU.NÍTA.ME *šá* MU 15-KAM MU 16-KAM *u* MU 17-KAM *a-na* <sup>d</sup>IGI.DU 16. *ù* <sup>d</sup>GAŠAN É.AN.NA *a-na* UBARAKi *šap-ru* “96 sheep for the 15th, 16th, and 17th years (of Nabonidus), sent to Udannu for <sup>d</sup>IGI.DU and Bēlet Eanna;” and YOS 7, 74: 21. (total of) 16 (sheep) *a-na* <sup>u</sup>[*ú-dan-nu*]. The sender of the letter YOS 3, 191, one Nanaya-ēreš, urges the high officials of the Eanna temple to send fattened sheep to Udannu for <sup>d</sup>IGI.DU:<sup>51</sup> 8. UDU.NÍTA *šá* ITI KIN *u* ITI DU<sub>6</sub> 9. *a-na* <sup>d</sup>IGI.DU 10. EN.MEŠ-ni *liš-pur-ru-nu* 11. UDU.NÍTA *kab-ru!-tu*<sub>4</sub> 12. *a-kan-na* *ia-a-nu* 13. UDU.NÍTA *kab-ru-tu*<sub>4</sub> 14. *a-na* <sup>d</sup>IGI.DU *šap-ra-a*<sub>4</sub> “May our lords send the sheep of the months Ulūlu and Tašrītu to <sup>d</sup>IGI.DU. There are no fattened sheep here. Send fattened sheep to <sup>d</sup>IGI.DU!” YOS 17, 90 mentions a delivery of sheep and ducks to Udannu for the *kinūmu* ritual: 1. 4 UDU.NÍTA ŠÁ.DU<sub>11</sub> 2 UZ.TUR<sup>mušen.me</sup>

<sup>50</sup> On these tables see ROBBINS 1996.

<sup>51</sup> Since the city Udannu is mentioned elsewhere in the letter there is no doubt that this <sup>d</sup>IGI.DU is the one from Udannu. See full discussion in BEAULIEU 1991c, pp. 103–105.

2. *a-na* KUD-as *šá ki-nu-nu* 3. *šá* dGAŠAN É.AN.NA *u* dIGI.DU 4. *šá* 'uru'*ú-dan-ni* "4 sacrificial sheep and 2 ducks for the ritual selection of the *kinūnu* ritual of Bēlet-Eanna and dIGI.DU of Udannu."

### 5.6.5. Temples

Several texts discussed above mention the temple of dIGI.DU in Udannu. The letter YOS 3, 91, which was sent from Udannu to the temple authorities of Uruk, provides additional information on the cultic landscape of the city, revealing that a temple named Eanna was located there: 24. *mam-ma* 25. *šá ma-aš-šar-ti ina* É.AN.NA 26. *u ina* É dIGI.DU *i-na-aš-šar* 27. *ia-a-nu* "there is nobody to keep the (cultic) watch in Eanna and in the temple of dIGI.DU." The patron deity of this Eanna temple, not to be confused with the Eanna of Uruk, was probably the goddess Bēlet-Eanna of Udannu. It is possibly also mentioned in a damaged portion of the Nabonidus Chronicle: GRAYSON 1975, p. 111, col. IV, 5'. [o o o] É.AN.NA *šá* UBARA<sup>ki</sup>, unless one restores [dGAŠAN] in the break.

### 5.6.6. Personnel

An anonymous holder of the charge of "taskmaster" (*urāšū*) of the temple of dIGI.DU of Udannu occurs in YOS 19, 13: 1. *lūi-raš* 'šá UGU' 2. É dIGI.DU *šá* uru'*ú-dan-nu* "the taskmaster in charge of the temple of dIGI.DU in Udannu." A temple slave is mentioned in YOS 7, 137: 8. *lūPA.KAB.DU šá* dIGI.DU *šá* uru'*ú-dan-nu* "a temple slave of the god dIGI.DU of Udannu." YOS 3, 91 records that, subsequent to a fire caused by lightning, the *ērib-bītis* of dIGI.DU have all fled, and that nobody is there to offer the sacred meal and keep the cultic watch in the temple: 17. *lūKU<sub>4</sub>-É šá* dIGI.DU 18. 'šá' uru'*ú-dan-nu gab-bi* 19. *iḫ-te-liq-u* "All the *ērib-bītis* of dIGI.DU of Udannu have fled." YBC 11546 and the *Hofkalender* of Nebuchadnezzar II mention the *šangū* official of Udannu; YBC 11546: 5. (l)EN-šū-nu (lū)É.MAŠ' 6. uru'*ú-da-ni* "Bēlšunu, the *šangū* of the city Udannu;" *Hofkalender* col. V, 9. dIGI.DU-*NUMUN-i-bi-in* lūÉ.MAŠ' uru'*ú-da-an-nū* "dIGI.DU-zēr-ibni, the *šangū* of the city Udannu."<sup>52</sup> This dIGI.DU-zēr-ibni, a contemporary of Nebuchadnezzar II, is probably identical with the sender of the letter NCBT 51 (§ 5.6.3).

### 5.6.7. Ceremonies

YOS 3, 91 mentions the sacred meal (*naptanu*) before the two dIGI.DU deities of Udannu: 22. *mam-ma šá nap-ta-nu* 23. *a-na* dIGI.DU.MEŠ *ki-lal\*-le-e* 24. *ú-qar-ra-bi* "whoever offers the sacred meal to the two dIGI.DU deities." YOS 17, 90 records a shipment of sheep and ducks to Udannu for the *kinūnu* ritual of Bēlet-Eanna and dIGI.DU of Udannu (§ 5.6.4.3); the text is dated to the 3rd day of the month Kislīmu, the same month during which the *kinūnu* rituals of the Lady-of-Uruk, Ušur-amāssu, and Urkayītu, as well as the *kinūnu* ritual of all the gods, were performed in Uruk according to the ritual *LKU* 51 (Appendix 2; and compare § 4.4.8.3, § 5.4.6.3, and § 5.5.6.3). Another correspondence between ritual dates at Uruk and Udannu is suggested by YOS 17, 307, which records

<sup>52</sup> UNGER 1931, p. 286, with photograph on pl. 56.

the allotment of woven cloth and garments for dIGI.DU of Udannu on the 27th day of the month Šabātu (§ 5.6.3); as proposed earlier this can be correlated with other texts mentioning the clothing ceremony of the god dIGI.DU of Uruk on the 26th day of that same month (§ 1.7.1; § 1.12.1).

### 5.7. The Divine Chariot

The Divine Chariot (*narkabtu*, written dGIGIR, gišGIGIR, and d.gišGIGIR) is mentioned in several texts from the archive, mostly offering lists. NCBT 1121 refers to a delivery of gold to the goldsmiths to repair pomegranate-shaped beads for the Divine Chariot: 2. (gold) *a-na bat-qa šá šu-kut-ti* KÙ.GI 3. *šá* dGAŠAN *šá* UNUG<sup>ki</sup> *u bat-qa* 4. *šá nu-ūr-ú šá* dGIGIR "(gold) to repair the gold jewelry of the Lady-of-Uruk and to repair the pomegranate-shaped beads of the Divine Chariot." Offerings of sesame for the (Divine) Chariot occur in NCBT 1132:<sup>53</sup> rev. 16'. [o o o] 'x x' ITI ŠE *a-na* gišGIGIR; and of barley, allotted to the brewers, in *SWU* 46: rev. 7'. [o o É].KISAL *dza-qip-(tu<sub>4</sub>)* dGIGIR *u* É dBE [d[o o o]]. An unspecified substance is mentioned in connection with the Divine Chariot in the offering list YBC 9932: 15. 1 dGIGIR. According to the offering lists of Group A, the following sacrificial animals were offered to the Divine Chariot: sheep, lambs, turtledoves, ducks, and geese. The basic allowance on any particular day seems to have been one of each animal for the regular offerings (*ginū*). It is possible that these sacrifices were increased to reach those quantities during the middle years of the reign of Nebuchadnezzar II (§ 2.1.3). Offerings of sacrificial animals to the Divine Chariot are also probably recorded in the following texts from Group B: *SWU* 160: rev. 5'; *SWU* 161: 9'; and *SWU* 162: 10'. Calves (GU<sub>4</sub>.NÍNDA) are mentioned in YOS 17, 346: 5, also from Group B. A kid for the *hitpu* ceremony occurs in YBC 3976: 32. 1 MÁŠ.TUR *hi-it-pi ana* É gišGIGIR "1 kid, *hitpu* sacrifice, for the temple of the (Divine) Chariot," although it is possible that this *bīt narkabti* was a structure different from the one where the Divine Chariot was worshiped.

### 5.8. Nergal and Ereškigal

The god Nergal, whose name is always spelled dU.GUR in texts of the Eanna archive, must be kept distinct from the god dIGI.DU since they occur side by side as separate deities in the offering lists of Group A. The earliest evidence for a cult of Nergal at Uruk dates from the Old Babylonian period.<sup>54</sup> The latest evidence is found in PTS 2180: 71, dated to the 29th year of Darius I. The nature of the relationship between Nergal and Uruk is expressed in a Sumerian *eršemma* hymn which calls him "the divine land registrar of Uruk" (en-d<sup>l</sup>SAG.DÜN-unu<sup>ki</sup>-ga),<sup>55</sup> while another hymn which van Dijk

<sup>53</sup> Published by BEAULIEU 1993c, pp. 81–84.

<sup>54</sup> FALKENSTEIN 1963, p. 32, n. 143, who mentions that Nergal (d<sup>l</sup>nergal) is included among the gods who receive *sá-du<sub>11</sub>* offerings in text W 20256 (unpublished). On Nergal at Uruk in the Old Babylonian period see RICHTER 1999, pp. 268–269.

<sup>55</sup> The text is CT 15, pl. 14, obv. 9. Edition by COHEN 1981, pp. 93–96. The passage is briefly discussed by VAN DIJK 1960, p. 52, and VON WEIHER 1971, p. 22. The word SAG.DÜN=Akkadian *šassukku* means



has characterized as an “Exaltation of Nergal” in Uruk depicts him exerting the power of Enlil (nam-<sup>d</sup>en-líl, Akkadian *enlilūtu*) in the city of the “Lady” (i.e. Inanna), that is to say, Uruk: 32. ki-nin ki-kal-kala nam-<sup>d</sup>en-líl ša-ba-ak-e “In the city of the Lady, in the exalted ground, you exert the power of Enlil.”<sup>56</sup>

## 5.8.1. Offerings

## 5.8.1.1. Salt

Three documents mention withdrawals of salt as offerings for Nergal by Nabû-nādin-šumi, pontiff (*šangû*) of the god:

NCBT 277: 7–9 (‘36’ minas, Nabû-nādin-šumi, the pontiff of Nergal).

NCBT 779: 20–21 ([x+]16 minas for the *ginû* of Nergal for the 41st year, Nabû-nādin-šumi).

YOS 19, 193: 2–3 (18 minas for the temple of Nergal, Nabû-nādin-šumi).

## 5.8.1.2. Barley

Allotments of barley to the bakers for the regular (*ginû*) and occasional (*guqqû*) offerings in the temple of Nergal appear in the following *SWU* texts; *SWU* 65: rev. 3. ‘šá É <sup>d</sup>U.[GUR] “(barley) for the temple of Nergal;” *SWU* 67: rev. 7. ‘u É <sup>d</sup>U.GUR i-q[ar-ru-bu] “(barley) is offered [for o o] and the temple of Nergal;” and *SWU* 75: rev. 5. [o o] ‘1 BÂN 3 SĪLA šá É <sup>d</sup>U.GUR šá LUGAL <sup>d</sup>DÜ-[iá] “[o o], 1 *sūtu*, (and) 3 *qûs* (of barley) for the temple of Nergal, (offering days) of the king, Bāni[ya]. “Allotments of barley to the bakers as *maššartu* for the temple of Nergal are mentioned in PTS 2180: 71. ‘2 (PI) 3 BÂN 4 SĪLA É <sup>d</sup>U.GUR “2 *pānus*, 3 *sātus*, (and) 4 *qûs* (of barley for) the temple of Nergal.”

## 5.8.1.3. Flour

Deliveries of flour in the temple of Nergal occur in NCBT 123: 3. 1 PI (ZĪD.DA) a-na É 4. <sup>d</sup>U.GUR “1 *pānu* (of flour) for the temple of Nergal.”

## 5.8.1.4. Meat

Offering lists of sacrificial animals belonging to Group A inform us that Nergal received a basic allowance for his regular (*ginû*) offerings of sheep, lambs, turtledoves, ducks, and geese, at a ratio not exceeding one of each animal for a normal cultic day. It is possible that these sacrifices to the god were increased, if not created in the middle of the reign of Nebuchadnezzar II (§ 2.1.3). Offerings of sacrificial animals for the temple of Nergal are also probably recorded in *SWU* 160: 4, belonging to Group B of offering lists.

“land registrar, recorder.”

<sup>56</sup> The hymn in question is TCL 15, no. 26 (pls. LXIV–LXV). Edition with collations by VAN DIJK 1960, pp. 35–56. For this text as an “exaltation of Nergal in Uruk” see VAN DIJK 1966–67, p. 61.

## 5.8.1.5. Varia

NCBT 183 mentions quantities of various grains for Nergal: 5. 2 (PI) 3 BÂN a-na <sup>d</sup>U.GUR “2 *pānus* (and) 3 *sātus* (of grain) for Nergal.” *SWU* 104 mentions allocations of unspecified foodstuffs for the temple of Nergal: rev. 4. ‘[o o] SĪLA šá É <sup>d</sup>U.GUR šá LUGAL <sup>d</sup>DÜ-[iá] “[o o] *qûs* for the temple of Nergal, (offerings) of the king, Bāniya.”<sup>57</sup> Delivery of an unspecified substance to the temple of Nergal is mentioned in the offering list YBC 9932: 11. 1/2 É <sup>d</sup>U.GUR, which belongs to Group B of offering lists.

## 5.8.2. Temple

The temple of Nergal (É <sup>d</sup>U.GUR) was one of the small independent sanctuaries (*ekurrātu*) of Uruk. In addition to the references given in the preceding and following sections, it also occurs in NBC 4866, which records the storage of barley in the temple of Nergal: 11. [o o]+78 GUR ina É <sup>d</sup>U.GUR “78 *kurrus* in the temple of Nergal.”<sup>58</sup> In the Old Babylonian period the temple of Nergal at Uruk may have been called É.ME.TE.IR<sub>9</sub>.RA “House, Worthy of the Mighty One,” but the evidence is inconclusive.<sup>59</sup> AnOr 9, 17 mentions a house located near the bridge of Nergal, but we do not know whether this bridge belonged to the cultic complex of the god: 25. É <sup>d</sup>U.GUR <sup>d</sup>ŠEŠ.MEŠ-MU šá ina ti-tur-ru 26. šá <sup>d</sup>U.GUR <sup>d</sup>ŠEŠ-ra-ku ina lib-bi a-šá-ab “The house of Nabû-ahhē-iddin, located near the bridge of Nergal, in which a temple slave resides.”

## 5.8.3. Prebends

The Eanna archive contains two interconnected documents drafted at Babylon which record the sale of the prebendary office of pontiff (*šangûtu*) of Nergal and Ereškigal of Uruk. The first one is YBC 6927, dated to the 22nd day of the month Kislīmu in the 15th year of Nebuchadnezzar II:<sup>60</sup> 1. *šup-pi is-qu SANGA-ul-ti ina IGI* 2. <sup>d</sup>U.GUR u *dereš-ki-gal šá qê-reb UNUG*<sup>ki</sup> “Document (concerning the sale) of the prebend of pontiff before Nergal and Ereškigal in Uruk.” The buyers are Iqīša-Marduk and Ea-zēr-iqīša, sons of Ardā, descendants of Rīmānu, and the seller is Nergal-šārid, son of Nādin, descendant of Andahar. They reappear in YOS 17, 4, dated to the 25th day of the month Nisannu in the 16th year of Nebuchadnezzar II, a document which finalizes the transaction described in YBC 6927: 10. IM.DUB is-qu ina IGI <sup>d</sup>U.GUR 11. u *dereš-ki-gal ina ŠU.MIN* 12. <sup>d</sup>U.GUR-šā-rid A-šū šá na-din 13. im-hur-ru “They received the document (concerning the sale) of the prebend (of pontiff) before Nergal and Ereškigal from Nergal-šārid, son of Nādin.”

<sup>57</sup> This Bāniya is possibly identical with Bāniya, pontiff (*šangû*) of Nergal, who is mentioned once in a text from the archive (§ 5.8.4).

<sup>58</sup> The heading of the document reads as follows: 1. ŠE.BAR šá ina ka-lak-kum<sup>es</sup> ina É GUR<sub>7</sub>.MEŠ 2. na-da-a-ta “the barley stored in the storerooms of the storehouse.”

<sup>59</sup> See GEORGE 1993, no. 782. It is uncertain whether this temple was located in Uruk.

<sup>60</sup> The year number might also be 16, but 15 is definitely more likely in consideration of the fact that the follow-up transaction YOS 17, 4 is dated Nisannu year 16.

## 5.8.4. Personnel

The pontiff (*šangû*) of Nergal appears as recipient of barley in YBC 4159, an account of *maššartu* deliveries of barley for the brewer's and baker's prebend: 28. 3 (PI) 4 BÂN 3 ŠĪLA <sup>1</sup>ba-ni-ia <sup>1</sup>É.MAŠ <sup>d</sup>U.GUR "3 *pānus*, 4 *sātus*, (and) 3 *qûs* (of barley for) Bāniya, the pontiff of Nergal;" and in NCBT 277 as recipient of salt: 7. '36' MA.NA 8. [<sup>d</sup>]NĀ-na-din-MU 8. [<sup>d</sup>]SANGA <sup>d</sup>U.GUR "36 minas (of salt allocated to) Nabû-nādin-šumi, the pontiff of Nergal."<sup>61</sup> This last document is dated to the 39th year of Nebuchadnezzar II. The same man appears in YOS 19, 14, dated to the 2nd year of Nabonidus: 3. <sup>d</sup>NĀ-na-din-MU A <sup>d</sup>NĀ-TIN-su-E 4. <sup>1</sup>SANGA <sup>šá</sup> É <sup>d</sup>U.GUR "Nabû-nādin-šumi, son of Nabû-balāssu-iqbi, the pontiff of Nergal." YOS 6, 148 mentions a temple slave of Nergal of Egyptian origin: 2. <sup>d</sup>U.GUR-nu-ri- 3. <sup>1</sup>šir-ki <sup>šá</sup> <sup>d</sup>U.GUR <sup>1</sup>u-umi-šir-a-a "Nergal-nūrī, a temple slave of Nergal, an Egyptian."

## 5.8.5. Ceremonies

According to the ritual *LKU* 51 some deities were brought in procession to the temple of Nergal on an unknown day of the month Ṭebētu: rev. 23'. [o o o] 'i'-tib-bu-ma a-na É <sup>d</sup>U.GUR i-tar-ra-aš u 'x'-[o o o] "They proceed and she/he goes to the temple of Nergal."

## 5.9. Ninurta

The god Ninurta appears under three different spellings in the archive: <sup>d</sup>MAŠ, <sup>d</sup>nin-urta, and <sup>d</sup>nin-urta <sup>šá</sup> UNUG<sup>ki</sup> (AnOr 9, 2: 63). Another manifestation of Ninurta was worshiped in the Eanna temple under the name Ninurta-of-the-Courtyard (§ 7.24). The earliest evidence for a cult of Ninurta at Uruk dates from the Old Babylonian period.<sup>62</sup> The latest mention is in PTS 2180: 70, dated to the 29th year of Darius I.

## 5.9.1. Paraphernalia

A libation bowl (*maqqu*) for the cult of Ninurta is mentioned in BIN 1, 152: 4. ma-aq-qu-u <sup>šá</sup> <sup>d</sup>GAŠAN-TIN <sup>d\*</sup>áš\*-ka-i-ti 5. É <sup>d</sup>MAŠ "The *maqqu* libation bowl of Bēlet-balā'i, Urkayītu, and the temple of Ninurta."

## 5.9.2. Offerings

## 5.9.2.1. Salt

Withdrawals of salt as offerings for the temple of Ninurta are mentioned in NCBT 903: 8. 30 MA.NA (MUN.ĤĀ) <sup>šá</sup> É <sup>d</sup>MAŠ 9. 'šá ul-tu' ITI AB 10. a-'di' ITI ŠE 10. <sup>1</sup>šu-la-a

<sup>61</sup> The same personage may appear without title in YOS 19, 193 as recipient of salt for the temple of Nergal (§ 5.8.1.1).

<sup>62</sup> See FALKENSTEIN 1963, p. 47, n. 225, where a text (W 20472, 190, 1–3) is quoted which records an allotment of 1/3 mina of gold for the weapon of Ninurta (<sup>u</sup>STUKUL i-mi-tum). The text is now published

A-šú <sup>šá</sup> <sup>1</sup>A-a 11. it-ta-ši "Šulā, son of Aplā, has withdrawn 30 minas (of salt) for the temple of Ninurta from the month Ṭebētu until the month Addaru."

## 5.9.2.2. Dates

Offerings of dates for Ninurta or the temple of Ninurta are mentioned in several texts. AUWE 5, 90: 1–5 records a payment in silver in lieu of dates for the *rikis lilissi* ceremony in the temple of Ninurta (5. É <sup>d</sup>MAŠ). NBC 4680 records a withdrawal of 2 *sātus* of dates for Ninurta, Gula, <sup>d</sup>IGI.DU, and the *bīt-ḫilši*: 4. 2 BÂN ZÚ.LUM.MA a-na 5. <sup>d</sup>MAŠ <sup>d</sup>gu-la 6. <sup>d</sup>IGI.DU u É <sup>ḫi-il-šu</sup> 7. <sup>d</sup>NĀ-ŠEŠ.MEŠ-MU 8. A <sup>1</sup>Ĥ.DU<sub>8</sub> GIŠ "2 *sātus* of dates for Ninurta, Gula, <sup>d</sup>IGI.DU, and the *bīt-ḫilši*, withdrawn by Nabû-aḫḫē-iddin, descendant of the doorkeeper." Allotments of dates to the bakers are recorded in *SWU* 3: rev. 20'. [o o 4 (GUR) 2 (PI)] 3 BÂN ZÚ.LUM.MA 4 (GUR) 2 (PI) 3 BÂN ŠE.ZIZ.ĀM <sup>šá</sup> É <sup>d</sup>MAŠ <sup>1</sup>lu-[ša-ana-ZĀLAG-<sup>d</sup>UTU] "[o o 4 *kurrus*, 2 *pānus*], (and) 3 *sātus* of dates; 4 *kurrus*, 2 *pānus*, (and) 3 *sātus* of emmer for the temple of Ninurta, Lūši-ana-nūri-Šamaš]." Allotments of dates to the bakers as *maššartu* appear in YBC 3988: 33. 1 (PI) 4 BÂN 'É' <sup>d</sup>MAŠ "1 *pānu* (and) 4 *sātus* (of dates for) the temple of Ninurta." Allotments of dates *makkasu* to the bakers occur in YBC 4021: 33. 1 (GUR) 2 (PI) 2 BÂN 2 ŠĪLA É <sup>d</sup>MAŠ "1 (*kurru*), 2 *pānus*, 2 *sātus*, (and) 2 *qûs* (of dates *makkasu* for) the temple of Ninurta;" in YBC 7437: 40. 1 (GUR) 2 (PI) 2 BÂN 2 ŠĪLA É <sup>d</sup>nin-urta "1 (*kurru*), 2 *pānus*, 2 *sātus*, (and) 2 *qûs* (of dates *makkasu* for) the temple of Ninurta;" and YOS 7, 197: 35. 'x GUR' x 2 (PI) 3 BÂN <sup>šá</sup> É <sup>d</sup>nin-urta "x *kurrus*, x, 2 *pānus*, (and) 3 *sātus* (of dates *makkasu*) for the temple of Ninurta."

## 5.9.2.3. Barley

Deliveries of barley to process beer for the offerings of Ninurta are mentioned in GCCI 1, 190: 1. 1 PI ŠE.BAR <sup>šá</sup> 2\* BÂN\* KAŠ.ĤĀ 2. <sup>šá</sup> U<sub>4</sub> 17-KAM <sup>šá</sup> ITI GAN a-na 3. <sup>d</sup>MAŠ u É <sup>ḫi-il-šu</sup> 4. ú-qar-rib "1 *pānu* of barley (to make) 2 *sātus* of beer which he offered on the 17th day of the month Kislīmu to Ninurta and in the *bīt-ḫilši*." Allotments of barley to the bakers as *maššartu* for the temple of Ninurta are mentioned in PTS 2180: 70. '3 (GUR)' 3 (PI) 3 BÂN <sup>šá</sup> É <sup>d</sup>nin-urta "3 (*kurrus*), 3 *pānus*, (and) 3 *sātus* for the temple of Ninurta."

A few *SWU* texts record allotments of barley to the brewers for the temple of Ninurta. The same man, Lūši-ana-nūri-Šamaš, appears as recipient of the barley in most of the texts. He is also the main recipient of dates and emmer for Ninurta in the *SWU* texts. The texts are *SWU* 26: rev. 18'. [o o o] <sup>d</sup>nin-urta x' [o o] <sup>1</sup>NĀ'-SUM-ŠEŠ "[o o o] (for) Ninurta, [o o] Nabû-nādin-aḫi;" 22'. 6 (GUR) <sup>šá</sup> É <sup>d</sup>MAŠ <sup>1</sup>lu-ša-ana-ZĀLAG-<sup>d</sup>UTU "6 *kurrus* for the temple of Ninurta, Lūši-ana-nūri-Šamaš;" *SWU* 29: rev. 14'. [o o šá] ITI GU<sub>4</sub> ina É <sup>d</sup>MAŠ i-qar-r[u-bu o o o] "[barley] o o for the month Ayaru is offered in the temple of Ninurta;" *SWU* 35: rev. 8. [o o] 'É' <sup>d</sup>nin-urta <sup>1</sup>lu-ša-a-na-ZĀLAG-<sup>d</sup>UTU "[o o for] the temple of Ninurta, Lūši-ana-nūri-Šamaš;" *SWU*

by SANATI-MÜLLER 1990, p. 152, no. 101: 1. 1/3 ma-na kū-sig<sub>17</sub> 2. a-na <sup>u</sup>STUKUL i-mi-tum 3. ša <sup>d</sup>nin'-urta. Discussion in RICHTER 1999, p. 278.

46: rev. 10'. [o o] 'x' 1 GUR šá É dMAŠ 'lu-uš-ana-ZÁLAG-d'UTU [TU o o] "[o o] 1 *kurru* for the temple of Ninurta, Lūši-ana-nūri-Šamaš;" and *SWU* 62: rev. 5. 6 GUR šá É dMAŠ 'lu-š[a-ana-ZÁLAG-d'UTU] "6 *kurru*s for the temple of Ninurta, Lūš[i-ana-nūri-Šamaš]." Two more *SWU* texts mention allotments of barley to the bakers; *SWU* 79: rev. 3'. [o o U<sub>4</sub>] 24-KAM šá ITI GU<sub>4</sub> ina É dMAŠ i-qar-r[u-bu o o] "[o o] is offe[red] on the 24th [day] of the month Ayaru in the temple of Ninurta;" and *SWU* 88: rev. 7'. 5 GUR šá dMAŠ 'lu-ša-ana-ZÁLAG-d'UTU] "5 *kurru*s for Ninurta, Lūši-ana-nūri-Šamaš."

## 5.9.2.4. Emmer

*SWU* 3 mentions allotments of emmer to the bakers for the offerings in the temple of Ninurta: rev. 20'. [o o 4 (GUR) 2 (PI)] 3 BÁN ZÚ.LUM.MA 4 (GUR) 2 (PI) 3 BÁN ŠE.ZÍZ.ÀM šá É dMAŠ 'lu-š[a-ana-ZÁLAG-d'UTU] "[o o 4 *kurru*s, 2 *pānus*], (and) 3 *sātus* of dates; 4 (*kurru*s), 2 *pānus*, (and) 3 *sātus* of emmer for the temple of Ninurta, Lūš[i-ana-nūri-Šamaš]."

## 5.9.2.5. Sesame

Offering of a libation bowl (*maqqu*) of sesame oil for the temple of Ninurta is mentioned in BIN 1, 152: 4. *ma-aq-qu-u šá dGAŠAN-TIN d\*áš\*-ka-i-ti* 5. É dMAŠ "The libation bowl of Bēlet-balāti, Urkayitu, and the temple of Ninurta."

## 5.9.2.6. Sweets and Cakes

NCBT 1172 enumerates ingredients withdrawn for the *riksu* offerings of Ištar and Ninurta. These ingredients may have entered in the preparation of the *mersu* cake (§3.7.7). The text is dated to the 15th day of the month Ayaru:

## NCBT 1172

1. 3 BÁN *as-né-e*
2. 1 BÁN 3 ŠILA <sup>gis</sup>GĒŠTIN.ĤÁD.'A'
3. ù <sup>gis</sup>PĒŠ.ĤÁD.A
4. 1 ŠILA LĀL
5. 1 ŠILA Ĥi-me-ti
6. *a-na ri-ik-si šá U<sub>4</sub> 15-KAM*
7. *a-na dGAŠAN šá UNUG<sup>ki</sup>*
8. ù U<sub>4</sub> 24-KAM *a-na dMAŠ*
9. <sup>lu</sup>U.GUR-PAP A <sup>lu</sup>a-qar-a GIŠ

3 *sātus* of Telmun dates, 1 *sūtu* (and) 3 *qūs* of raisins and dried figs, 1 *qū* of honey, 1 *qū* of butter, (all) for the *riksu* offering of the 15th day (of the month Ayaru) for the Lady-of-Uruk and of the 24th day for Ninurta, withdrawn by Nergal-nāšir.

An allotment of *takkasū* confections for Ninurta on the same cultic date is recorded in NCBT 1178: 9. 1 BÁN (*takkasū*) *a-na dMAŠ* 10. ITI GU<sub>4</sub> U<sub>4</sub> 24-KAM "1 *sūtu* (of

*takkasū*) for Ninurta, month Ayaru, 24th day." The purpose of the allotment was certainly also to provide for the *riksu* offering of the god, although this is not specified in the text.

## 5.9.2.7. Meat

According to Group A of offering lists the following animals were sacrificed to Ninurta: sheep, lambs, turtledoves, ducks, and geese. The maximum allowance for the god was one of each of these animals on any given day. It is possible that sacrifices to Ninurta were increased, or perhaps even instituted during the middle years of the reign of Nebuchadnezzar II (§2.1.3). Offerings of sacrificial animals for the temple of Ninurta are also probably recorded in *SWU* 160: rev. 7', belonging to Group B of offering lists, and possibly in *ARRIM* 7, 47: 14. 1 *a-na d'nin'-[urta?]*. Sacrificial animals for Ninurta are also mentioned in YBC 9338: 1. [1 U]DU.NÍTA 1-en UDU.SILA<sub>4</sub> 2. *a-na É dMAŠ* "[1 sh]eep, 1 lamb, for the temple of Ninurta." This text has the following subscription: 7. *pa-ras šá ITI GAN U<sub>4</sub> 18-KAM 8. MU 22-KAM* "Ritual selection of the month Kislīmu, 18th day, 22nd year." It is clearly related to the same operations mentioned in the offering lists of Group A and is consistent with the numbers of one sheep and one lamb they record as the maximum daily allowance for the temple of Ninurta.

## 5.9.2.8. Varia

Two texts mention delivery of unspecified or unknown commodities for Ninurta and the temple of Ninurta; NCBT 999: 5. 1 (GUR) šá dMAŠ "1 (*kurru*) for Ninurta;" and *SWU* 104: rev. 3'. 5 GUR 5 BÁN šá É dMAŠ 'É-ana-ZÁLAG-d'[UTU o o] "5 *kurru*s (and) 5 *sātus* for the temple of Ninurta, Lūši-ana-nūri-Marduk."

## 5.9.3. Temple

The temple of Ninurta (É dMAŠ/*d'nin-urta*) was one of the small independent sanctuaries (*ekurrātu*) of Uruk. AnOr 9, 2 (collated) records a donation of land to Ninurta of Uruk by king Assurbanipal of Assyria. Most of this land was located in the vicinity of the deity's temple:<sup>63</sup>

53. 1 ME UŠ 2 ME SAG.KI <sup>lu</sup>i-ba-a A <sup>lu</sup>d\*ir-ra-su-up-pi ina ku!-tal É dMAŠ DA\* BĀD
54. 2 ME UŠ 2 ME SAG.KI <sup>lu</sup>i-bar <sup>lu</sup>É.MAŠ dMAŠ ina ku!-tal É dMAŠ
55. 2 ME 10 UŠ 1 ME 24 SAG.KI <sup>lu</sup>mu-ū-ru A <sup>lu</sup>INÍG.DU ina UGU <sup>lu</sup>ĥar-ri šá d\*áš\*-ka-i-ti
56. 1 ME 50 (erasure)\* <sup>lu</sup>NA-ū-sal-li A <sup>lu</sup>ŠEŠ.MEŠ-eri<sub>4</sub>-ba
57. 1 ME 50 (erasure)\* <sup>lu</sup>na-na-a-DÜ-uš A <sup>lu</sup>ŠEŠ.MEŠ-SU
58. 1 ME 50 <sup>lu</sup>ŠEŠ.MEŠ-ĥu-mur A <sup>lu</sup>NA-MU\*-ib-ni
59. 1 ME 50 <sup>lu</sup>e-rib-šū A <sup>lu</sup>ŠEŠ.MEŠ-SU
60. 'PAP\*' 8 ME SAG.KI GÚ <sup>lu</sup>ĥa-ri-ši DA BĀD ku-tal É dMAŠ *a-na* EDIN (erasure\*)
61. 3 <sup>gis</sup>KIRI<sub>6</sub>.MEŠ ina qa-bal-ti URU ù 4 *a-na na-bal-kat-ti šá* BĀD GÚ ÍD *ĥa-ri-ši*
62. ù <sup>lu</sup>ĥar-ri dMAŠ šá AN.ŠĀR-DÜ-IBILA LUGAL <sup>kur</sup>aš-šur ina mas-naq-ti šá UNUG<sup>ki</sup>
63. ina ŠU.MIN <sup>lu</sup>UNUG<sup>ki</sup>-a-a ū-ter-ram-ma *a-na d'nin-urta šá* UNUG<sup>ki</sup> id-di-nu

<sup>63</sup> On the circumstances surrounding this land grant see BEAULIEU 2000b.

53. 100 (cubits) on the long side, 200 (cubits) on the short side: Ibâ, son of Erra-suppi, behind the temple of Ninurta alongside the fortification wall;  
 54. 200 (cubits) on the long side, 200 (cubits) on the short side: Ubar, the pontiff of Ninurta, behind the temple of Ninurta;  
 55. 210 (cubits) on the long side, 124 (cubits) on the short side: Mûru, son of Kudurru, in front of the Ījaru-Canal-of-Urkayîtu;  
 56. 150 (cubits): Nabû-ušalli, son of Aĸĸē-erība;  
 57. 150 (cubits): Nanaya-īpuš, son of Aĸĸē-erība;  
 58. 150 (cubits): Aĸĸē-lūmur, son of Nabû-šum-ibni;  
 59. 150 (cubits): Erībšu, son of Aĸĸē-erība;  
 60–63: 'Total:' 800 (cubits) on the short side along the bank of the ditch (and) adjoining the rear wall of the temple of Ninurta towards the countryside; 3 gardens inside the city and 4 toward the ramp of the wall (located) on the bank of the ditch and of the canal of Ninurta, which Assurbanipal, king of Assyria, after checking (the cadastre of properties) in Uruk, returned to the people of Uruk and gave to the god Ninurta-of-Uruk.

The same subscription is quoted verbatim in PTS 2076, a list of gardens located in various areas of Uruk and probably written in the second half of the 6th century:<sup>64</sup> 60'. [g<sup>is</sup>KI]r<sup>ri</sup>.MEŠ šā' 1AN.ŠĀR-DŪ-IBILA LUGAL kur<sup>a</sup>š-šur<sup>ki</sup> ina ma-as-[naq-ti] 61'. šā U[NUG<sup>ki</sup> ina Š]U.MIN lūUNUG<sup>ki</sup>-a-a ū-ter-ram-ma a-na dMAŠ šā 'UNUG<sup>ki</sup> [id-di-nu]. In the same text is preserved a notation that some of the gardens listed were located on the left side of the temple of Ninurta: 74'. [o o] a-na MIN.EŠ šā É d<sup>nin</sup>-urta [o o]. This land had perhaps been confiscated from institutional or private landowners during the period of political instability in the 8th century.<sup>65</sup> Returning this land to its previous owners would be cogent with the general Assyrian policy towards Uruk, which appears to have been rather conciliatory, seeking to create in the south a power base supportive of Assyrian hegemony.

Land belonging to the temple of Ninurta is also mentioned in PTS 3175:

1. [o o]+2 GUR ZŪ.LUM.MA SAG.DU 'ZAG'
2. 'šā' [A].ŠĀ šā ina É dMAŠ NĪG!.GA
3. 'dINNIN' UNUG<sup>ki</sup> ina muĸ-ĸi
4. dEN-DA A-šū šā lūmu-ū-ru

[o o] and 2 kurrus of dates, the principal of the rent [of] a field located on the (estates of) the temple of Ninurta, the property of Ištar-of-Uruk, owed by Bēl-lē'i, son of Mûru.

This field, although it belonged to the temple of Ninurta, is described as "the property of Ištar-of-Uruk." This suggests that the temple of Ninurta as an institutional landowner was still under the general supervision of the Eanna administration. Land belonging to the temple of Ninurta of Uruk is further mentioned in a text found at Ur, UET 4, 15: 2. KI-ti É d<sup>nin</sup>-urta šā q[é-reb UNUG<sup>ki</sup>] "(in) the domain of the temple of Ninurta i[n

<sup>64</sup> The text is not dated, but contains a reference to a field donated to an individual in the 15th year of Nabonidus.

<sup>65</sup> COCQUERILLAT 1984, pp. 69–70, gives another interpretation of this episode. She apparently assumes that the fields were taken from Uruk landowners and allotted to outsiders, perhaps residents of Nippur in view of the mention of Ninurta. The expression *ina qātī turru*, however, is better understood as "to return to" rather than as "to take away from."

Uruk]." The restoration of Uruk in this line is ensured by the facts that the text was drafted there (46. UNUG<sup>ki</sup>) and that the transaction was concluded in the presence of the governor of Uruk and the *šatammu* of the Eanna temple: 26. ina GUB-zu šā dNĀ-GĀL-šĵ lūGAR-[UŠ<sub>4</sub>] 'UNUG<sup>ki</sup> 27. ū dNĀ-BA-šā lūŠĀ.TAM É.'AN.NA' "in the (official) presence of Nabû-ušabši, the governor of Uruk, and Nabû-iqīša, the *šatammu* of Eanna."<sup>66</sup> The presence of the *šatammu* of the Eanna temple in this transaction seems again to underscore the subordinate status of the temple of Ninurta.<sup>67</sup>

#### 5.9.4. Personnel

The pontiff (*šangû*) of Ninurta appears in AnOr 9, 2: 54. 2 ME UŠ 2 ME SAG.KI lū-bar lūÉ.MAŠ dMAŠ ina ku!-tal É dMAŠ "200 (cubits) on the long side, 200 (cubits) on the short side: Ubar, the pontiff of Ninurta, behind the temple of Ninurta."

#### 5.9.5. Ceremonies

AUWE 5, 90 mentions the ceremony for the preparation of the ritual kettledrum (*rikis lilissi*) in the temple of Ninurta: 4. rik-su li-li-su 5. šā É dMAŠ "the ceremony of the preparation of the ritual kettledrum of the temple of Ninurta." This text is dated to the 27th day of the month Ayaru. Other texts discussed above which are dated to the same period of the month Ayaru or refer to cultic dates falling around that time are *SWU* 79, which mentions allotments of barley to the bakers for the offerings in the temple of Ninurta on the 24th day of Ayaru, and NCBT 1172 and 1178, which record allotments of *takkasû* confections as well as ingredients for the preparation of the *mersu* cake for the *rikis* offering of Ninurta, also on the 24th day of Ayaru. It is therefore probable that the *rikis* offering of Ninurta and the *rikis lilissi* ceremony in his temple belonged to the same stream of cultic activities.

#### 5.9.6. Toponyms

There is one occurrence of a hydronym from Uruk named after the god Ninurta. AnOr 9, 2 mentions a watercourse named Īarri-Ninurta: 62. dĸar-ri dMAŠ.

### 5.10. Nusku

There is no evidence for a cult of this deity at Uruk before the Neo-Babylonian period. The name Nusku is consistently written with the logogram dPA.TŪG (= dNUSKU) in texts of the archive. The latest mention of the god at Uruk is in PTS 2180: 68, dated to the 29th year of Darius I.

<sup>66</sup> On these two officials of Eanna see KÜMMEL 1979, pp. 139 and 141. They were in office during the reign of Šamaš-šum-ukīn, to which UET IV, 15 is also dated.

<sup>67</sup> However, since the word *eršetū* means both "domain" and "district," one should also consider the possibility that the designation *eršetū bīt Ninurta* found in UET 4, 15 refers to a district of Ninurta in Uruk, and that the land mentioned in that document did not necessarily belong to the temple of Ninurta.

## 5.10.1. Offerings

## 5.10.1.1. Salt

Quantities of salt as offerings for Nusku are mentioned in no fewer than 12 texts. In several cases these quantities of salt are withdrawn by one Nabû-mukîn-apli and one Bāniya.

- AUWE 5, 88: 4–6 (10 minas for Nusku, withdrawn by Nabû-mukîn-apli and Bāniya).  
 AUWE 5, 89: 9 (10 minas for Nusku, withdrawn by Bāniya).  
 GCCI 2, 287: 5–7 (30 minas, *ginû* of the month Dûzu, for Gula and Nusku, withdrawn by Nabû-mukîn-apli).  
 NCBT 74: 9–10 (20 minas for Nusku for the months ʾTebētu and Šabātu, withdrawn by Nabû-mukîn-apli).  
 NCBT 155: 8–11 (40 minas for Nusku and the Divine *Urdimmus*, from the month Tašrītu until the month ʾTebētu; Bāniya).  
 NCBT 277: 3–6 (2 talents for Gula and Nusku, Eanna-līp-ušur).  
 NCBT 779: 8–10 (30 minas for Nusku and the Divine *Urdimmus* for the months Nisannu, Ayaru, and Simānu).  
 PTS 3112: 6–7 (10 minas for Nusku, withdrawn by Nabû-mukîn-apli).  
 YBC 9296: 6 (10 minas for Nusku, Nabû-balāssu-iqbi).  
 YOS 19, 188: 1–4 (40 minas, *ginû* of Nusku for the months Šabātu and Addaru).  
 YOS 19, 192: 5–7 (1 talent, *ginû* of Nusku for the months Dûzu, Abu, and Ulûlu, withdrawn by Bāniya).  
 YOS 19, 284: 20 (10 minas for Nusku, Nabû-mukîn-apli).

## 5.10.1.2. Dates

Allotments of dates and Telmun dates to the bakers as *maššartu* deliveries for the offerings of Nusku or the temple of Nusku are mentioned in five texts; *SWU* 2: rev. 18. [o o o d]NUSKU *ina-din* A ʾIR-<sup>d</sup>NUSKU u PAP.MEŠ-šû “[o o o for] Nusku, Nādin, son of Arad-Nusku, and his brothers;” UCP 9/1, 63: 1. [o o Z]Ú.LUM.MA NI.TUK<sup>ki</sup> 2. [o o] ‘x x’ ʾi<sup>gi</sup>GEŠTIN.ĤĀD!.(A) 3. [a-n]a gi-né-e šá <sup>d</sup>NUSKU 4. ʾUTU-MU-MU ʾi 5. [ʾb]a-ni-ia “[o] Telmun dates [o o] ‘x x’ and raisins for the regular offerings of Nusku, Šamaš-šum-ukîn and Bāniya;” YBC 3988: 31. 1 GUR É <sup>d</sup>NUSKU “1 *kurru* (of dates) for the temple of Nusku;” YOS 6, 39: 33. 5 BĀN šá <sup>d</sup>NUSKU ʾUTU-MU-MU GIŠ “5 *sātus* (of Telmun dates for the month ʾTebētu) for Nusku, withdrawn by Šamaš-šum-iddin;” and YOS 19, 138: 32. 5 BĀN! šá <sup>d</sup>NUSKU ʾUTU-MU-MU u [o o] “5 *sātus* (of Telmun dates) for Nusku, Šamaš-šum-iddin and [o o].” YOS 17, 113 records the same type of delivery to both brewers and bakers, entrusted to the pontiff (*šangû*) of Nusku: 34. 4 (GUR) 4 (PI) 2 BĀN 4 SĪLA 35. ʾÉ.MAŠ <sup>d</sup>NUSKU “4 *kurrus*, 4 *pānus*, 2 *sātus*, (and) 4 *qûs* (to) the pontiff of Nusku.”

Three texts record allotments of dates *makkasu* to the bakers for the temple of Nusku; YBC 4021: 34. 1 (GUR) 2 (PI) 2 BĀN 2 SĪLA É <sup>d</sup>NUSKU “1 (*kurru*), 2 *pānus*, 2 *sātus*, (and) 2 *qûs* (of dates *makkasu*) for the temple of Nusku;” YBC 7437: 41. 1 (GUR) 2 (PI) 2 BĀN 2 SĪLA É <sup>d</sup>NUSKU “1 (*kurru*), 2 *pānus*, 2 *sātus*, (and) 2 *qûs* (of dates *makkasu*)

for the temple of Nusku;” and YOS 7, 197: 34. ‘1 GUR’ šá É <sup>d</sup>NUSKU “1 *kurru* (of dates *makkasu*) for the temple of Nusku.”

## 5.10.1.3. Barley

An allotment of barley to the brewers for the temple of Nusku is mentioned in *SWU* 26: rev. 22’. [ka-ni-ka]-a-ta šá É <sup>d</sup>NUSKU ʾNIM u PAP.MEŠ-šû “[sealed storage] jars(?) (of barley) for the temple of Nusku, Zumbu and his brothers.” An allotment of barley to the bakers, with the same recipients, is recorded in *SWU* 72: rev. 11’. [o o o d]NUSKU ʾzu-um-bu u ŠEŠ.MEŠ-šû “[o o o (of barley) for] Nusku, Zumbu and his brothers.” PTS 2180 is an allotment of barley to the bakers as *maššartu*: 68. [o o] 3 BĀN šá É <sup>d</sup>NUSKU “[o o] 3 *sātus* (of barley) for the temple of Nusku.” *SWU* 124 records an allotment of barley, probably to both brewers and bakers: rev. 9’. 12 (*mašīḫus*) šá <sup>d</sup>NUSKU u ʾUR.IDIM.MEŠ [o o] “12 (*mašīḫus* of barley) for Nusku and the Divine *Urdimmus*,” and YBC 4159 records the remainders of the barley allotted as *maššartu* for the brewer’s and baker’s prebends: 27. 11 GUR 2 PI (ŠE.BAR) É <sup>d</sup>NUSKU “11 *kurrus* (and) 2 *pānus* (of barley) for the temple of Nusku.” UCP 9/1, 8 mentions withdrawals of barley for Nusku to prepare pastries (§ 5.10.1.6).

## 5.10.1.4. Flour

Offerings of flour for the (flour) sprinkling ritual (*sarāqu*) in the temple of Nusku are mentioned in GCCI 1, 89: 4. 4 BĀN (ZĪD.DA) a-na sa-ra-qu 5. šá É <sup>d</sup>NUSKU 6. ʾNĪG.DU-nu 7. ma-ḫe-er “4 *sātus* (of flour) for the (flour) sprinkling ritual in the temple of Nusku, received by Kudurru.”

## 5.10.1.5. Sesame

Disbursements of sesame for Nusku or the temple of Nusku are mentioned in the following texts; TCL 13, 232: 25. 1 GUR (ŠE.GIŠ.Ī) šá É <sup>d</sup>NUSKU ʾIR-<sup>d</sup>NUSKU ʾi PAP.MEŠ-šû “1 *kurru* (of sesame) for the temple of Nusku, Arad-Nusku and his brothers;” YBC 4160: 28. [o o] GĪN KÙ.BABBAR 5 BĀN ŠE.GIŠ.Ī i-na maš-sar-ti 29. šá É <sup>d</sup>NUSKU ʾzu-um-bu “[o o] shekels of silver (for?) 5 *sātus* of sesame, from the *maššartu* deliveries for the temple of Nusku, Zumbu;” YBC 7436: 49. 1 (PI) 4 BĀN i-na ŠE.GIŠ.Ī šá É <sup>d</sup>NUSKU ʾŠEŠ.MEŠ-šá-a “1 *pānu* (and) 4 *sātus* from the sesame (allowance) for the temple of Nusku, Aḫḫēšā;” and YBC 9299: 6. 5-šû šá <sup>gi</sup>ma-šāḫ ina ŠE.GIŠ.Ī 7. ‘šā’ É <sup>d</sup>NUSKU ʾUTU-MU-[MU] 8. ‘A’ ʾNĀ-TIN-su-iq-bi GI[Š] “1/5 *mašīḫu* from the sesame (allowance) for the temple of Nusku, withdrawn by Šamaš-šum-iddin, son of Nabû-balāssu-iqbi.”

NCBT 1080 stipulates that a quantity of sesame disbursed for the cult of Nusku is to be used for lighting (*ša nūri*). The sesame was therefore processed into oil for the lamps providing light in the temple of the god.<sup>68</sup>

<sup>68</sup> Many examples of texts recording allocations of oil for lamps in the chapels of various gods are quoted in CAD N/II, p. 350, s.v. *nūru* A 2.

## NCBT 1080

5. 3 (PI) 2 BÁN (ŠE.GIŠ.Ì) šá ZÁLAG a-na ʔNUSK[U]  
 6. šá 6 ITI.ME šá ITI APIN  
 7. ITI GAN ITI AB ITI ZÍZ 'ITI ŠE'  
 8. u ITI BÁRA ʔNÀ-TIN-'su-E'  
 9. e-'fer'

3 *pānus* (and) 2 *sātus* (of sesame) for lighting for Nusku for 6 months, (namely) for the months Arahsamnu, Kislimu, Ṭebētu, Šabātu, Addaru, and Nisannu, paid to Nabû-balāssu-iqbi.”

The purpose of the delivery of sesame to Nusku in UCP 9/1, 4 must be identical, as the format of the text and the recipient are the same as in NCBT 1080:

## UCP 9/1, 4

1. [o o] ŠE.GIŠ.Ì šá 6 ITI.ME  
 2. šá ITI NE ITI KIN ITI DU<sub>6</sub>  
 3. ITI APIN ITI GAN ITI AB  
 4. IGI ʔNUSKU ʔNÀ-TIN-'su-E  
 5. A ʔNÀ-SUR a-pil

[o o] of sesame for 6 months, (namely) for the months Abu, Ulūlu, Tašrītu, Arahsamnu, Kislimu, and Ṭebētu, before Nusku, paid to Nabû-balāssu-iqbi, son of Nabû-ēṭir.

## 5.10.1.6. Sweets and Cakes

UCP 9/1, 8 mentions withdrawals of barley for Nusku to prepare pastries: 5. 1 (PI) 3 BÁN šá ʔNUSKU šá (2) ITI.ME 6. ITI GAN u ITI AB 7. ʔNÀ-TIN-'su-(E) A ʔEN-SUR 8. GIŠ 9. šá mut-ta-qu “1 *pānu* (and) 3 *sātus* (of barley) for Nusku for (2) months, the months Kislimu and Ṭebētu, withdrawn by Nabû-balāssu-(iqbi), son of Bēl-ēṭir, for pastries.” Offerings of *takkasû* confections to Nusku are mentioned in NCBT 1178: 7. 3 ŠĪLA (*takkasû*) a-na ʔNUSKU 8. ITI SIG<sub>4</sub> U<sub>4</sub> 20-KAM “3 *qûs* (of *takkasû* confections) for Nusku, month Simānu, 20th day;” and offerings of raisins in UCP 9/1, 63: 1. [o o Z]Ú.LUM.MA NI.TUK<sub>ki</sub> 2. [o o] 'x x' ù ʔGEŠTIN.ḪÁD!.(A) 3. [a-n]a gi-né-e šá ʔNUSKU 4. ʔUTU-MU-MU ù 5. [b]a-ni-ia “[o] Telmun dates [o o] 'x x' and raisins for the regular offerings of Nusku, Šamaš-šum-ukīn and Bāniya.”

## 5.10.1.7. Meat

Offering lists of Group A mention the following sacrificial animals for Nusku: sheep, lambs, turtledoves, ducks, and geese. The basic allowance for the regular offerings (*ginû*) of the god on a normal cultic day was one of each animal. It is possible that the offerings of Nusku were instituted, or at least increased to that level, during the middle years of the reign of Nebuchadnezzar II (§ 2.1.3). Offerings of sacrificial animals for the temple of Nusku are also probably recorded in *SWU* 160: rev. 8', and offerings of sheep are mentioned in YOS 17, 345: 5, both belonging to Group B of offering lists.

## 5.10.1.8. Varia

Unknown or unspecified commodities as offerings of Nusku or his temple are mentioned in NCBT 999: 6. 1 (GUR) šá 'ʔNUSKU' “1 *kurru* for Nusku;” and VS 20, 105: 7'. [o o o] šá É ʔNUSKU ʔR-ʔ[NUSKU? o o] “[o o o] for the temple of Nusku, Arad-[Nusku? o o].”

## 5.10.2. Temple

The temple of Nusku (É ʔNUSKU), one of the small independent sanctuaries of Uruk (*ekurrātu*), is mentioned in several of the texts quoted in the present section.

## 5.10.3. Personnel

The pontiff (*šangû*) of Nusku is mentioned in three documents. Nabû-ušallim, son of Balātu, and pontiff of Nusku, appears as scribe of the Nikolskij tablet, dated to the 2nd year of Šamaš-šum-ukīn: 47. ù ʔUMBISAG šá-tir IM.DUB ʔNÀ-GI A ʔba-la-tu 48. ʔÉ.MAŠ ʔNUSKU “and the scribe who wrote the tablet is Nabû-ušallim, son of Balātu, the pontiff of Nusku.” This is probably the same personage who appears as scribe of AnOr 9, 3, dated to the 2nd year of Kandalānu: 62. ʔNÀ-ú-šal-lim A ʔ30-TI-A.RA.ZU 63. ʔGALA ʔINNIN UNUG<sub>ki</sub> ʔDUB.SAR É.AN.NA 64. ʔÉ.MAŠ ʔNUSKU eš-šiš iš-ṭur-ma 65. [ina É].AN.NA ú-'kin' “Nabû-ušallim, descendant of Sîn-lēqi-unninni, cultic singer of Ištar-of-Uruk, scribe of Eanna, and pontiff of Nusku, wrote (it) anew and placed (it) in Eanna.” The same function occurs in YOS 17, 113 in an account of allotments of foodstuffs for offerings (35. ʔÉ.MAŠ ʔNUSKU), but the holder of the function is not named.

## 5.10.4. Rituals

As seen above, GCCI 1, 89 mentions offerings of flour for the (flour) sprinkling ritual (*sarāqu*) in the temple of Nusku (§ 5.10.1.4).

## 5.11. Šamaš and Aya of Larsa

These two deities appear in the offering lists of Group A and B and in many other texts from the archive. Considering the importance of the Eanna source material relating to Šamaš and Aya and the administration of Ebabbar, their temple in Larsa, a separate study will be devoted to the subject.<sup>69</sup>

<sup>69</sup> See provisionally BEAULIEU 1991b and 1993b.

## 6. MINOR GODDESSES

This chapter is devoted to all the goddesses who do not appear in Group A of offering lists. Their relative importance in the pantheon of Uruk cannot be ascertained, as no fixed hierarchy among them can be perceived in the texts which have survived. Two of them resided in Larsa (Mārāt-Ebabbar and perhaps Antu), one possibly in Kullab (Šarrat-Kullab), and one probably in the vicinity of Uruk (Gula of Bīt-Gula). The cultic location of Šerua cannot be determined, while Aššurītu is known solely from toponyms. The other goddesses included here are all assumed to have been minor residents of the Eanna temple, although firm evidence to prove this is lacking in most cases. Gula-of-the-Courtyard was certainly a resident of Eanna because of her designation as deity of the Courtyard. Nin-zizli is known only from the name of a gate. None of the remaining goddesses (Aḫlamayītu, Anunītu, Bānītu, Bēlet-balāṭi, Kanisurra, Kaššītu, Kilīlu and Barirītu, and Kurunnītu) are known to have been worshiped in a distinct temple or chapel, while several of them appear to have had connections with the Eanna temple. It is therefore probable that they resided in Uruk's main sanctuary and belonged to Ištar and Nanaya's immediate retinue. Some of them may have been included under the collective designation "the Goddesses" (*ḫēlētū*) discussed earlier (§ 4.1).

### 6.1. Aḫlamayītu

This goddess, whose name means "the Aramean," was also worshiped in Sippar in the Neo-Babylonian period.<sup>1</sup> She occurs four times in texts from the Eanna archive. TCL 12, 39 mentions a receipt of gold for her *tarkīsu* ornaments: 3. 2 'taš-kis' šá ḫaḫ-la-<sup>r</sup>ma-a-a-tū' "(gold for) 2 *tarkīsu* ornaments belonging to Aḫlamayītu." YBC 9030 mentions the sashes (*ḫuṣannu*) of Aḫlamayītu: 6. ḫuṣNÍG.ÍB.LÁ.ME šá ḫaḫ-la-ma-a-tū. Articles of her wardrobe are also mentioned in PTS 2881: 4. 1 MA.NA ṭi-mu šá ḫuṣHÉ.ME.DA 5. 1 1/2 MA.NA 3-ta ḫuṣGÚ.È.MEŠ 6. ṭi 3 ḫuṣNÍG.ÍB.LÁ.ME šá ḫaḫ-la-ma-a-tū "1 mina of thread of red-colored wool, 1 1/2 mina (for) 3 outer garments and 3 sashes for Aḫlamayītu;"<sup>2</sup> and IBK 8, 165: 1 ḫuṣ<sup>r</sup>BAR.DUL<sup>r</sup> šá ḫaḫ-la-a!-ma<sup>r</sup>-[a-tū] "1 *kusītu* garment for Aḫlamayītu." She might still be mentioned in the Seleucid period in two poorly preserved passages of the "Fête d'Ištar" under the following designation: 3 ḫaḫ-la-mat.<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> See JOANNÈS 1992, p. 161; BONGENAAR 1997, pp. 231 and 332; and RGTC 8, p. 3. The name of this goddess is written ḫaḫ-la-mi-tu<sub>4</sub> and ḫaḫ-la-mi-tu<sub>4</sub> in texts from Sippar, in which she occurs twice (*Nbn.* 117: 3; and VS 6, 77: 5).

<sup>2</sup> The total reads: 7. PAP 17 1/2 MA.NA ḫuṣmi-iḫ-su 8. šá ḫuṣHÉ.ME.DA ḫuṣHAB "Total: 17 1/2 minas of woven cloth of red-colored wool dyed with *ḫūratu*."

<sup>3</sup> LACKENBACHER 1977, pp. 40–41, obv. 8' and rev. 2'.

## 6. MINOR GODDESSES

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<sup>3</sup> LACKENBACHER 1977, pp. 40–41, obv. 8' and rev. 2'.



## 6.2. Antu

There is no mention of the goddess Antu in texts from Uruk prior to the first millennium. In the Neo-Babylonian period she occurs only in YOS 3, 62, a letter sent to the *šatammu* of Eanna. It mentions the *kusītu* garment of Antu and the offerings of Antu, Bēl-āliya, and Mār-bīti, as well as pieces of their attire:

## YOS 3, 62

1. IM <sup>1d</sup>UTU-ŠEŠ-MU *a-na*
2. <sup>1u</sup>šā-tam-mu EN-ia *u<sub>4</sub>-mu-us-su*
3. <sup>d</sup>EN u <sup>d</sup>NA *a-na* TIN ZI.MEŠ
4. *a-rak u<sub>4</sub>-mu šā EN-ia ū-šal-la*
5. *a-mur 500 <sup>g</sup>is<sup>1</sup>NU.ÚR.MA*
6. *a-na gi-né-e šā <sup>d</sup>GAŠAN šā UNUG<sup>ki</sup>*
7. (erasure?) *a-na* EN-ia
8. *ul-te-bi-la <sup>u</sup>gku-si-ti*
9. *a-na an-tu<sub>4</sub> ul-tu É.AN.NA*
10. *ta-al-la-ka ul-tu*
11. MU 13-KAM *ku-si-ti*
12. *ul áš-šú ina UD.UNUG<sup>ki</sup>*
13. *uz-nu šā EN-ia a-na muḫ-ḫi*
14. *ap-te-tu<sub>4</sub> <sup>u</sup>šā-pi-re-e*
15. u <sup>u</sup>ḫup-šar-re-e
16. EN *li-iḫ-ru-šu*
17. *a-di muḫ-ḫi šā al-la-kam-ma*
18. DINGIR.MEŠ *a-na muḫ-ḫi*
19. EN-ia *ū-šal-lu-ú*
20. ŠIM.ḪÁ šā É <sup>u</sup>GAL-ba-né-e
21. *bu-ra-šú ki-si-it-tu<sub>4</sub> a-na*
22. *gi-né-e šā an-tu<sub>4</sub> <sup>d</sup>EN-URU-ia*
23. u <sup>d</sup>DUMU-É EN *lu-še-bi-la*
24. *pi-in-gu u tur-kál-la-šú-nu UD.KA.BAR-šú-nu*
25. *a-na e-re-bi ina muḫ-ḫi-ia*
26. *qí-bi-ma 5 MA.NA DUḫ.LÁL*
27. *ul-tu É.AN.NA lu-še-bi-lu-ni*
28. *ḫi-šiḫ-ti šā i-ba-áš-šu-u*
29. *a-na É.AN.NA a-na ku-ú-mu*
30. *lu-še-bi-il ṭè-e-mu*
31. u *šu-lum šā EN-ia lu-uš-mu*

Letter of Šamaš-ab-iddin to the *šatammu*, my lord. Daily do I pray to Bēl and Nabû for the health (and) longevity of my lord. Now, I have sent 500 pomegranates to my lord for the regular offerings of the Lady-of-Uruk. The *kusītu* garment shall come out of Eanna for Antu. I have not withdrawn the *kusītu* garment since the 13th year. I notified my lord concerning this question at Larsa. May the overseers and the scribes clarify this matter, (my) lord. Until I come I will pray to the gods on behalf of my lord. May (my) lord send me the aromatics of the house of the *rab-banê* and juniper cuttings for the regular offerings of Antu, Bēl-āliya, and Mār-bīti. Give orders on my behalf concerning their knobs and *tarkullus* of bronze for (the

ceremony of) entering (the temple?) and send me 5 minas of honey from Eanna. In exchange let me send to Eanna (supplies for) whatever needs will arise. Let me hear a reply and news from my lord.

This letter was sent from a cult center partly dependent on Eanna for its offering system and religious ceremonies. This center might be Larsa since the sender of the letter bears a theophoric name honoring Šamaš and mentions meeting with the *šatammu* of Eanna in that city. On the other hand, the letter mentions the god Bēl-āliya “the Divine Mayor.” Such deities are attested in connection with several cities, but not with Larsa. According to the Nippur Compendium the god Pi/Mesangunuk was the “Divine Mayor” of Kullab (§ 7.7). Therefore the letter might have been sent from Kullab, which was perhaps the seat of the temple of Anu and Antu in the Neo-Babylonian period. This, however, remains very hypothetical, and the probability that the deities mentioned in the letter were worshiped at Larsa seems more serious. After the theological reform of the 5th century Anu and Antu became the main gods of the local pantheon of Uruk.<sup>4</sup>

## 6.3. Anunītu

Anunītu was worshiped at Uruk during the time of the 3rd dynasty of Ur,<sup>5</sup> after which there is no local mention of the goddess until the first millennium. A letter from the Neo-Assyrian period, PARPOLA 1993, 349, mentions the repair work to be done in the temple workshop of Uruk for the deities [Kurunn]ītu, Anunītu, and <sup>d</sup>IGI.DU: 19. *dul-lu* [šā <sup>d</sup>KAŠ.D]IN-i-ti 20. <sup>d</sup>a-nu-ni-tu<sub>4</sub> ù <sup>d</sup>IGI.DU [šā É <sup>d</sup>]mu-um-mu.<sup>6</sup> The Nabû-apla-iddina tablet specifies that a daily cut of meat was the privilege of the pontiff (*šangû*) of Anunītu: 60. [o o o o] <sup>u</sup>šÉ.MAŠ <sup>d</sup>a-nu-ni-t[u<sub>4</sub>].<sup>7</sup> The goddess Anunītu was apparently still worshiped at Uruk during the Seleucid period, if we accept the following restoration of a damaged passage of the “Fête d’Ištar:” rev. 12. EGIR-šú <sup>d</sup>r<sup>a</sup>-nun<sup>1</sup>-ni-tu<sub>4</sub>.<sup>8</sup>

## 6.4. Aššurītu

This deity, whose name means “the Assyrian,” was a form of Ištar worshiped in Assyria. She was identified with Mullissu (<sup>d</sup>NIN.LÍL) and venerated as the consort of the god Aššur. The goddess Aššurītu is not mentioned in texts from the archive. However, several texts mention a village and a watercourse named Aššurītu.<sup>9</sup> It is possible that these were named in honor of that goddess, who may have come to Uruk in the 7th century as the consort of AN.ŠÁR/Aššur. Since the goddess Šerua, the original wife of Aššur, is

<sup>4</sup> BEAULIEU 1992a, pp. 53–60.

<sup>5</sup> See SALLABERGER 1993, vol. 1, p. 198, n. 942, and p. 218.

<sup>6</sup> For the reading of the broken divine name see below § 6.12.

<sup>7</sup> MCEWAN 1983, p. 190.

<sup>8</sup> LACKENBACHER 1977, p. 45.

<sup>9</sup> RGTC 8, pp. 35–36, s.v. Aššurītu; and p. 365, s.v. Nār-Aššurītu.

also mentioned once in the archive, the name Aššurītu could also be an epithet of that goddess. This seems in fact more probable, as the name Aššurītu in these toponyms is not prefixed with the divine determinative.<sup>10</sup>

### 6.5. Bānītu

This goddess might be mentioned in an offering list of Group B, *ARRIM* 7, 47: 8. 2 *a-na* <sup>d</sup>DI.KUD? 9. *u* <sup>d</sup>*ba-n*[*i*?-*tu*4?]. The items offered are not specified, but sacrificial animals are probably involved. She is also mentioned in the hydronym Nār-Bānītu,<sup>11</sup> also called Harru-ša-Bānītu in *SpTU* II, 55: 2. <sup>d</sup>*har-ri* <sup>d</sup>*ša* <sup>d</sup>*ba-n*[*i*-*tu*4].

### 6.6. Bēlet-balāṭi

The goddess Mistress-of-Life, whose name is spelled <sup>d</sup>GAŠAN-TIN, <sup>d</sup>GAŠAN-TIN-*ṭi*, <sup>d</sup>*be-let*-TI.LA, and <sup>d</sup>*be-let*-TIN, appears in conjunction with Kurunnītu in the list of gods captured during the sack of Uruk by Sennacherib in 693 B.C.: OIP 2, p. 87, 32. <sup>d</sup>*be-lit*-TI.LA <sup>d</sup>KAŠ.DIN.NAM. The same two deities occur in NBC 4976: 3. *ù* 2 (UDU.NÍTA) *ina* UGU *na-te-e* [o o] 4. IGI <sup>d</sup>GAŠAN-TIN *u* <sup>d</sup>KAŠ.DIN.<sup>1</sup>NAM<sup>1</sup>[o o] “and 2 (sheep) for the *nāṭu* ritual [o o] before Bēlet-balāṭi and Kurunnītu.”<sup>12</sup> They are also paired in an inscription of Esarhaddon which relates how they were returned to their cult places in Dēr.<sup>13</sup> According to the Nippur Compendium, Bēlet-balāṭi was worshiped at Nippur in three separate cultic locations: the Outer Court of the Scepter, the temple of Adad, and the temple of Ninimma.<sup>14</sup> She may have been a form of the netherworld goddess Manungal, and she indeed appears under this name in a late literary letter purportedly sent by Bēlet-balāṭi to one Nusku-taqīša-bullīṭ. This text associates the goddess with the city of Borsippa and the cult of Nabū.<sup>15</sup> She was also worshiped in Babylon according to BM 78076, a late ritual for the month Kislīmu which describes activities taking place mostly in Esabab, the temple of Gula in Babylon.<sup>16</sup> The goddess Kurunnītu appears in the same ritual (§ 6.12).

Five texts from the archive mention vessels and implements used in the cult of Bēlet-balāṭi. The *šappatu* container occurs in UCP 9/1, 16: (silver) 2. *a!-na* *šap-pa*-[*a-tu*4] 3. <sup>d</sup>*ša* <sup>d</sup>GAŠAN-TIN-*ṭi* “(silver) for the *šappatu* container of Bēlet-balāṭi;” the libation

<sup>10</sup> In theophoric toponyms and hydronyms (e.g. Nār-<sup>d</sup>Innin, Nār-<sup>d</sup>Banītu), the divine name is almost always preceded by the divine determinative.

<sup>11</sup> See RGTC 8, p. 367, s.v. Nār-Bānītu, to which add PTS 2076: 3'. GÚ [D <sup>d</sup>DÜ-*i*[*u*4] “the bank of the Nār-Bānītu.”

<sup>12</sup> Probably to relate to the Neo-Assyrian word *nāṭu*, which denotes a ritual according to *CAD* N/II, p. 133, s.v. *nāṭu*.

<sup>13</sup> BORGER 1956, p. 84, line 42. <sup>d</sup>*be-let*-TI.LA <sup>d</sup>*ku-ru-ni-tu*4.

<sup>14</sup> GEORGE 1992, pp. 156–157, bottom line 3; and pp. 158–159, lines 9 and 12. Her name is written <sup>d</sup>GAŠAN-TI.LA.

<sup>15</sup> GRAYSON 1983, pp. 143–145. The goddess Bēlet-balāṭi is also mentioned together with a number of astral deities and celestial bodies in the Neo-Assyrian letter *ABL* 648, edited by COLE, MACHINIST 1998, no. 72, rev. line 1. <sup>m</sup>*be-let*-TI.LA.

<sup>16</sup> GEORGE 2000, p. 282, line 2, and p. 283, line 47.

bowl (*maqqu*) in BIN 1, 152: 4. *ma-aq-qu-u* <sup>d</sup>*ša* <sup>d</sup>GAŠAN-TIN <sup>d</sup>\**áš\*-ka-i-ti* 5. É <sup>d</sup>MAŠ “a libation bowl for Bēlet-balāṭi, Urkayītu, and the temple of Ninurta;” the drinking vessel (*mašqu*) in NCBT 528: 16. 1 PI ŠE.BAR U4 26-KAM <sup>d</sup>*ša* ITI APIN *maš-ša-qu-u* *a-na* <sup>d</sup>GAŠAN-TIN “1 *pānu* of barley, on the 26th day of the month Araḥsamnu, (for beer for) the drinking vessel of Bēlet-balāṭi;” the *kallu* bowl and *šulpu* vessel in NCBT 795: 1. 4 MA.NA 1/3 GÍN KÙ.BABBAR *kal-lu* *ù* *šul*-[*p*] *u* KÙ.BABBAR 2. <sup>d</sup>*ša* IGI <sup>d</sup>GAŠAN-TIN *a-ri-du* 3. *ina* ŠUMIN <sup>d</sup>UTU-DÜ-ŠEŠ <sup>m</sup>SANGA É.BABBAR.RA 4. *a-na* <sup>d</sup>UTU *šu-bu-u*[*I*] “4 minas and 1/3 shekel of silver (for) the removed *kallu* bowl and *šulpu* vessel of silver which are before Bēlet-balāṭi, taken to Larsa for Šamaš by Šamaš-bāni-aḥi, the *šangū* of Ebabbar;” the vat (*dannu*) in NCBT 528: 11. '2' *dan-nu-tu* *e-du-tu* U4 25-KAM <sup>d</sup>*ša* ITI APIN 12. *a-na* <sup>d</sup>*be-let*-TIN “2 single vats, on the 25th day of the month Araḥsamnu, for Bēlet-balāṭi;” and finally the grate (*kišukku*) in YBC 9178: 1. 4 MA.'NA 54' GÍN KÙ.BABBAR *la-a-nu* <sup>d</sup>*ša* *ki-šuk-ku* KÙ.BABBAR 2. <sup>d</sup>*ša* IGI <sup>d</sup>GAŠAN-TIN (also line 12: 'ki'-*šuk* 'šā <sup>d</sup>GAŠAN-TIN') “4 minas and 54 shekels of silver (for the entire?) configuration of the silver grate which is before Bēlet-balāṭi.”

NCBT 528 records the offering of beer in vats and drinking vessels for Bēlet-balāṭi on the 25th and 26th days of Araḥsamnu. This is perhaps related to the clothing ceremony of the goddess Gula on the 24th and 25th days of that same month (§ 5.4.6.2). Bēlet-balāṭi was considered to be a form of Gula and therefore probably belonged to the retinue of that goddess.<sup>17</sup> NCBT 795, dated a few days later (1st day of the month Kislīmu), mentions the removal of the *kallu* bowl and the *šulpu* vessel of Bēlet-balāṭi to the city of Larsa for the god Šamaš, presumably after these implements had been used for the rituals of the goddess during the last days of the month Araḥsamnu.

### 6.7. Gula of Bīt-Gula

The letter NCBT 19 mentions the *šatammu* of the temple of Gula, one Sīn-aplu-iddin, and a woman named Ba'u-aqrat, a temple slave inscribed on the register of the Lady-of-Uruk but who is also privately owned by one Rīmūt, designated as a “denizen” of the temple of Gula.

<sup>17</sup> This is exemplified by the Babylon ritual BM 78076 (GEORGE 2000, pp. 280–289), in which Bēlet-balāṭi belongs to the retinue of the temple of Gula in Babylon, the Esabab.

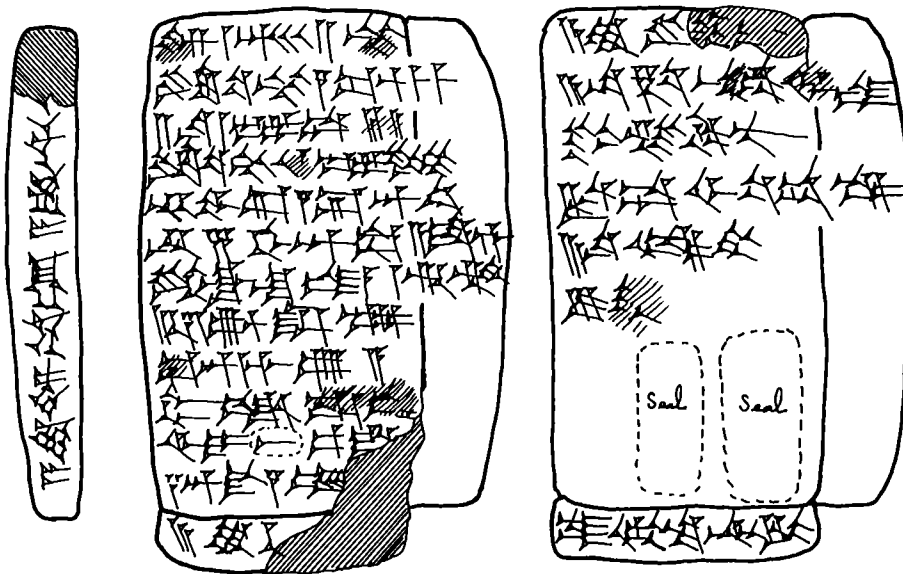


Plate 29. NCBT 19

## NCBT 19 (plate 29)

1. IM <sup>10</sup>30-A-MU
  2. <sup>10</sup>šà-tam-mu šá É <sup>d</sup>ME.ME
  3. a-na <sup>10</sup>NÀ-DU-ENDURU
  4. <sup>10</sup>šà-tam-mu u <sup>10</sup>NÀ-ŠEŠ-MU
  5. EN pi-qit šá É.AN.NA
  6. EN-ia <sup>10</sup>KÁ-a-qar-rat
  7. <sup>10</sup>.sal qal-la-tu<sub>4</sub> šá 'ri-mut
  8. A-šú šá 'ú-bar-ra-<sup>d</sup>NÀ
  9. É-<sup>d</sup>ME.ME-ú-a
  10. <sup>sal</sup>ŠIM-ka-<sup>r</sup>tu<sub>4</sub><sup>1</sup>
  11. ší-i ina <sup>818</sup>D[A]
  12. šá <sup>d</sup>GAŠAN šá UN[UG<sup>ki</sup>]
  13. a-mur-šú [o]
  14. a-mur <sup>10</sup>x x x<sup>1</sup>
  15. a-na KÙ.BABBAR ina li-mi-tu<sub>4</sub>
  16. in-nam-di-nu
  17. kap-du ší-pir-ta-ka
  18. a-na muḫ-ḫi
  19. lu-<sup>r</sup>mur<sup>1</sup>
- [two impressions of stamp seals]
20. a-mur <sup>im.na</sup>4K1ŠIB-a it-ti š[i-pir]-
  21. tu<sub>4</sub> ul-te-ti-iq

Letter of Šîn-aplu-iddin, the *šatammu* of the temple of Gula, to Nabû-mukīn-apli, the *šatammu*, and Nabû-aḫ-iddin, the *bēl piqitti* of Eanna, my lords. Ba'u-aqrat, the slave of Rīmūt, son

of Ubar-Nabû, a denizen of Bīt-Gula, is a temple slave. Check her on the register of the Lady-of-Uruk [o]. Now, a 'x x x' will be sold for silver in the neighborhood. Let me promptly see your message concerning this matter. Now, I have forwarded to you my seals with the message.

It is unlikely that the temple of Gula mentioned in this letter is one and the same with the sanctuary of Gula located in the Eanna temple. The designation É-<sup>d</sup>ME.ME-ú-a is a substantive denoting ethnic or geographic affiliation, with the ending /u'a/ rather than the expected Neo-Babylonian form /ayul/. The ending /u'a/ also appears in the Neo-Babylonian word for Larsaite, written <sup>10</sup>la-ar-su-a-a, <sup>10</sup>la-ar-su-u-a, <sup>10</sup>la-ar-su-ú-a, and ideographically UD.UNUG<sup>ki</sup>-ú-a.<sup>18</sup> Therefore the term *Bīt-Gulu'a* should point to the existence of a town named Bīt-Gula. Although this locality is otherwise unattested, a few settlements named after gods are known from contemporary documents. In the region of Uruk there was a town Bīt-Bēlti named in honor of Ištar-of-Uruk, and a town Bīt-Nabû where the temple of Nabû of Uruk may have been located. In the Nippur area we know of a town Bīt-Ea and a town Bīt-Šamaš.<sup>19</sup> Therefore it seems more reasonable to posit the existence of a town Bīt-Gula in the vicinity of Uruk than to assume that the substantive Bīt-Gulu'a refers to individuals connected with the sanctuary of Gula in the Eanna temple. The fact that the temple of Gula mentioned in NCBT 19 was headed by its own *šatammu* adds even more weight to the view that it was a separate, independent sanctuary, instead of a chapel in the Eanna temple. Therefore this incarnation of the goddess Gula was probably distinct from the goddess Gula worshiped in Eanna. It is also possible that she was identical with the incarnation of Gula paired with the god Bēl-SA-našru in a text from the archive (§ 7.8), but this cannot be proven at present.

The letter confirms that temple slaves could also be privately owned: Ba'u-aqrat was the slave of Rīmūt in addition to being a temple slave inscribed on the register of the Lady-of-Uruk. The "register of temple slaves of the Lady-of-Uruk" is mentioned in a few texts from the archive.<sup>20</sup> An item of particular interest is the mention of seals forwarded with the message, evidently referring to the two stamp seal impressions on the tablet intended to provide the recipient with models for future authentication of documents.

## 6.8. Gula-of-the-Courtyard

The goddess *Gula ša kisalli* is mentioned in a few offering lists. PTS 2180, dated in the 29th year of Darius I, records allotments of barley to the bakers as *maššartu* deliveries for the offerings of that goddess: 74. 1 (GUR) 4 (PI) 1 (BÁN) šá <sup>d</sup>gu-la šá É.KISAL "1 (*kurru*), 4 *pānus*, (and) 1 *sūtu* (of barley) for Gula-of-the-Courtyard." YBC 3846

<sup>18</sup> References are collected in RGTC 8, p. 211, s.v. Larsa.

<sup>19</sup> RGTC 8, p. 84, s.v. Bīt-Bēlti; p. 87, s.v. Bīt-Ea; p. 96, s.v. Bīt-Nabû; and p. 105, s.v. Bīt-Šamaš; and for Bīt-Nabû see also § 7.22.

<sup>20</sup> See YOS 3, 59: 16. ina UGU <sup>818</sup>DA 17. šá <sup>d</sup>GAŠAN šá UNUG<sup>ki</sup> 18. a-na <sup>10</sup>PA.(KAB).DU šá-fir 19. it-ti-šú la ta-dab-bu-ub 20. <sup>10</sup>PA.(KAB).DU šá <sup>d</sup>GAŠAN šá UNUG<sup>ki</sup> 21. ší-i "He is inscribed as temple slave on the register of the Lady-of-Uruk; do not litigate with him, he is a temple slave of the Lady-of-Uruk"; and YOS 6, 116: 13. ina <sup>818</sup>DA šá <sup>d</sup>GAŠAN šá UNUG<sup>ki</sup> it-ti 14. <sup>10</sup>PA.KAB.DU.MEŠ šá <sup>d</sup>GAŠAN šá UNUG<sup>ki</sup> šat-ru "they are inscribed on the register of the Lady-of-Uruk with the temple slaves of the Lady-of-Uruk."

records allotments of emmer to the bakers as *maššartu*: 18. 1 (PI) 4 BÂN šá <sup>d</sup>gu-la šá É.KISAL “1 *pānu* (and) 4 *sātus* (of emmer) for Gula-of-the-Courtyard,” and *SWU* 35, allotments of barley to the brewers: rev. 7. [o o] 3 BÂN šá <sup>d</sup>gu-la šá É.KISAL <sup>1</sup>na-di-nu “[o o] 3 *pānus* (of barley) for Gula-of-the-Courtyard, Nādinu.” Offerings, probably of sacrificial animals, to Gula-of-the-Courtyard are recorded in *SWU* 163: rev. 2 and *ARRIM* 7, 47:15–16, which both belong to Group B of offering lists. Finally, NCBT 755 records the repair of a silver censer for the cult of the goddess: 4. PAP 1/3 4 1/2 GÍN bit-qa KÙ.BABBAR 5. a-na bat-qa šá NÍG.NA KÙ.BABBAR 6. šá <sup>d</sup>gu-la šá KISAL 7. ša-bit “Total: 1/3 (mina and) 4 1/2 and 1/8 shekels of silver taken for fashioning (or repairing) the silver censer of Gula-of-the-Courtyard.” Gula-of-the-Courtyard was probably the consort of Ninurta-of-the-Courtyard and a resident of his chapel in the Eanna temple, although the two deities are never associated with one another in the extant sources (§ 5.4).

### 6.9. Kanisurra

The etymology of the name Kanisurra and the function of that goddess in the Mesopotamian pantheon are still obscure.<sup>21</sup> One of the few aspects of the goddess which is reasonably well known is that she belonged to the circle of Nanaya.<sup>22</sup> Old Babylonian manuscripts of the series *Diri* from Nippur contain important information pertaining to the personality of Kanisurra:<sup>23</sup>

138. ga-an-zé-er IGI.KUR.ZA = *da-ni-n[a]*  
 139. *ka-ni-sur-[ra]*  
 140. *ba-ab er-š[e-tim]*

The word *kanisurra* is listed here as an Akkadian reading of the *diri*-compound IGI.KUR.ZA, which corresponds to the Sumerian cosmic location *ganzer*, a name for the netherworld or its entrance. This is quite significant for several reasons. Since many Akkadian designations for the netherworld are loanwords from Sumerian (e.g. *irkallu* < *uru-gal*; *kukkû* < *ku<sub>10</sub>-ku<sub>10</sub>*), it is conceivable that the substantive *kanisurra* represents an Akkadian, dialectal, or barbaric pronunciation of *ganzer*, notwithstanding the fact that *ganzer* also appears uncorrupted as a loanword in Akkadian texts. This hypothesis is supported by the fact that the earliest texts mentioning the goddess spell her name *Gansurra*,<sup>24</sup> which appears to represent an intermediate stage between the forms *ganzer* and *Kanisurra*. These texts all date to the time of the 3rd dynasty of Ur.<sup>25</sup> In Old Babylonian documents

<sup>21</sup> EDZARD 1976–1980.

<sup>22</sup> BIGGS 1967, p. 22, commentary to no. 5.

<sup>23</sup> Reference courtesy of M. Civil. The line numbering follows his edition to be published in MSL 15. Apparently the equation IGI.KUR.ZA = *kanisurra* was abandoned in the later versions of *Diri*. It is not attested in the Middle Babylonian manuscripts from Ugarit, nor in the canonical version, whose entry IGI.KUR.ZA is fully preserved.

<sup>24</sup> This was recognized only recently by CHARPIN 1992.

<sup>25</sup> On the cult of *Gansurra* at Uruk during the Ur III period, see SALLABERGER 1993, vol. 2, p. 191, Index, s.v. <sup>d</sup>ga-an-sur-ra (Uruk). There was a sanctuary of the goddess at Uruk, as can be inferred from text *Oriental* 16, 40: 3 šizkur lugal é <sup>d</sup>ga-an-sur-ra (quoted in vol. 2, Table 69b). Sallaberger also accepts the derivation of

the form *Kanisurra* prevails, with the notable exception of an inscription of Anam of Uruk with the spelling Ga-ni-sur-ra,<sup>26</sup> arguably an intermediate stage between the forms *Gansurra* and *Kanisurra*.<sup>27</sup> All this evidence is suggestive that the goddess was originally a deified infernal location, or a synecdoche for the netherworld.<sup>28</sup> The etymology of *ganzer* is uncertain, although a Sumerian verbal precativ form has been proposed: \*ga-n-ze.r “Let me destroy him.”<sup>29</sup>

In the light of the hypothesis of a derivation *kanisurra* < *ganzer* we might expect to find corroborative evidence that *Kanisurra* was a netherworld deity. Sigrist has shown that *Gansurra* occurs as recipient of offerings in texts related to the mourning rituals for king Šū-Sîn of the 3rd dynasty of Ur,<sup>30</sup> although her presence in these documents can also be explained by the fact that the rituals were performed at Uruk, her home city. Also, another divine name written <sup>d</sup>IGI.KUR or <sup>d</sup>IGI.ZA.KUR occurs in these texts as well as in other texts from the Ur III period related to the offering system at Uruk.<sup>31</sup> The question arises as to whether this compound should be read <sup>d</sup>ganzer or considered to be a logogram for *Gansurra*. Yet the latter option presents difficulties since <sup>d</sup>IGI.ZA.KUR occurs once alongside <sup>d</sup>ga-an-sur-ra on the same tablet.<sup>32</sup> The character of <sup>d</sup>IGI.ZA.KUR as a netherworld deity is without question, and even if the name must be read <sup>d</sup>ganzer, the hypothesis of a derivation *ganzer* > *gansurra* > *kanisurra* should still be considered since the existence of two deities, *Ganzer* and *Gansurra*, the latter having originated as a doublet of the former, cannot be excluded.

The earliest attestations of *Gansurra/Kanisurra* are from the Ur III period and in all cases the goddess is connected with the city of Uruk. During the Old Babylonian period king Anam of Uruk rebuilt her temple.<sup>33</sup> The cult of the goddess later migrated to Kish with those of *Ištar* and *Nanaya* after the abandonment of southern sites during the reign of Samsuiluna.<sup>34</sup> The earliest mention of *Kanisurra* in first millennium texts from Uruk is in the *kudurru* of Ibni-Ištar, dated to the reign of Marduk-zākir-šumi I in the 9th century. *Kanisurra* was worshiped in Uruk until the Seleucid period, as she appears among the deities participating in the “Fête d’*Ištar*.”<sup>35</sup> *Kanisurra* is mentioned in several texts from the Eanna archive. The spelling of her name is invariably <sup>d</sup>ka-ni-sur-ra. She

*Kanisurra* from *Gansurra* (vol. 1, p. 213, n. 1008).

<sup>26</sup> Edition in FRAYNE 1990, E4.4.3.2002, line 1.

<sup>27</sup> See STEINKELLER 1982, for the shift in spelling from *Gaga*, the Old Akkadian form of the divine name *Kakka*.

<sup>28</sup> Some parts of the netherworld are listed with the divine determinative in *Diri*. See HOROWITZ 1998, pp. 269 and 287–288.

<sup>29</sup> This was first proposed by VAN DIJK 1960, p. 139. It is discussed most recently by SELZ 1993, p. 40, example no. 28.

<sup>30</sup> SIGRIST 1989.

<sup>31</sup> See SALLABERGER 1993, vol. 2, p. 191, Index, s.v. <sup>d</sup>IGI.KUR and <sup>d</sup>IGI.ZA.KUR. He doesn’t raise the possibility of a relation between this deity and *Gansurra*.

<sup>32</sup> The text is *PDT* 1 563, quoted in SALLABERGER 1993, vol. 2, p. 121, Table 70b. It is also discussed by SIGRIST 1989, p. 503.

<sup>33</sup> FRAYNE 1990, E4.4.3.2002. The inscription was written before Anam succeeded Šin-gāmil to the throne. In the inscription *Kanisurra* appears with the epithet *nin-i<sub>7</sub>-turun-gal* “lady of the *Iturungal* canal.”

<sup>34</sup> For *Kanisurra* in the Old Babylonian period see CHARPIN, 1986, pp. 411–414; PIENKA 1998, pp. 179–180, 183, 376, 384; and RICHTER 1999, pp. 261–262.

<sup>35</sup> LACKENBACHER 1977, p. 45, rev. 12’. <sup>d</sup>ka-ni-sur-ra.

also appears in the female personal name Kanisurra-rīšat, a temple slave mentioned in two documents from Uruk; AnOr 8, 53: 3. <sup>36</sup>*ka-ni-sur-ra-ri-šat*, and GCCI 2, 142: 2, with identical spelling.

Outside Uruk, Kanisurra occurs sporadically in canonical texts from the second and first millennia, mostly in association with Nanaya.<sup>36</sup> She also appears in BM 41239, a late Babylonian ritual which mentions Eturkalamma, the temple of Ištar-of-Babylon in Babylon, and describes the procession of various deities to Kish to accompany the god Bēl/Marduk.<sup>37</sup> According to late theology she and Gazbaba were the “daughters of Ezida” (*mārāt Ezida*) and “hairdressers” of Nanaya.<sup>38</sup> Her association with Nanaya very probably stems from the local theology of Uruk elaborated during the Ur III and Old Babylonian periods, and later exported to Borsippa and Babylon when the goddess Nanaya rose to prominence and became a mistress and consort of Nabû.

#### 6.9.1. Offerings

Offerings to Kanisurra are mentioned solely in the kudurru of Ibni-Ištar of the Hunzû family, a cultic singer (*kalû*) of Ištar-of-Uruk, *ērib bīti* of Nanaya, pontiff (*šangû*) of Ušur-amāssu, and scribe of Eanna. Included among the perquisites bestowed upon Ibni-Ištar are 1 *qû* of bread and 1 *qû* of beer from the offerings presented to Kanisurra.<sup>39</sup> Significantly, perhaps, this income is listed just after an identical one connected with the cult of Nanaya: col. I. 19. 1 SĪLA NINDA.ĤĀ 1 SĪLA KAŠ.SAG 20. IGI <sup>40</sup>*na-na-a* 21. 1 SĪLA NINDA.ĤĀ 1 SĪLA KAŠ.SAG 22. IGI <sup>41</sup>*ka-ni-sur-ra* “1 *qû* of bread, 1 *qû* of beer, before Nanaya; 1 *qû* of bread, 1 *qû* of beer, before Kanisurra.”

#### 6.9.2. Prebends

Four texts from the Nabû-ušallim archive and one from the archive of the sons of Bēl-ušallim record transactions involving the prebend of baker (*nuḫatimmūtu*) before Kanisurra. One of these transactions is a sale of that prebend (NU 4: 1. <sup>42</sup>*lūMU-(nu)-ū-tu* 2. *pa-an ka-ni-sur-ra*). In the other texts the prebend is held as security to guarantee a loan (NU 19, 20, 25 and AUWE 8, 87). AnOr 8, 48 records legal proceedings relating to the prebend of *ērib-bīti* before Kanisurra.<sup>40</sup> In this document a certain Nabû-bāni-aḫi renounces his prebend of *ērib-bīti* before the goddess (19. GIŠ.ŠUB.BA-šū <sup>43</sup>*lūKU<sub>4</sub>-Ē-ū-tu* *pa-(an) ka-ni-sur-ra*) in favour of his nephew Dayān-Marduk, whom he had previously adopted. Approval of the transfer by the priestly collegium of Eanna was apparently obtained upon evidence that Dayān-Marduk belonged to the old priesthood of Ištar-of-Uruk since his own brother was consecrated as *ērib-bīti* before that goddess. This may indicate that prebendary duties before Kanisurra were ancillary to priestly offices connected with the cult of Ištar and Nanaya. It may be relevant to note in this connection

<sup>36</sup> In addition to the references provided by EDZARD 1976–1980, see BIGGS 1967, p. 22, commentary to no. 5.

<sup>37</sup> GEORGE 2000, p. 293, line 23, where the goddess is associated with Nanaya and Gazbaba, who are sometimes mentioned with her in other texts: <sup>44</sup>*na-na-a d<sup>45</sup>gaz-ba<sup>46</sup>-ba ka-ni-sur-ra*.

<sup>38</sup> See the evidence detailed in GEORGE 2000, p. 295.

<sup>39</sup> THUREAU-DANGIN 1919, p. 125.

<sup>40</sup> Edition and discussion by SAN NICOLÒ 1934, pp. 191–194.

that Nabû-ušallim and the sons of Bēl-ušallim, who owned a baker's prebend before Kanisurra, held most of their other prebends before Ištar-of-Uruk and Nanaya, and also that Ibni-Ištar, the holder of a prebend before Kanisurra, was a cultic singer (*kalû*) of Ištar-of-Uruk and an *ērib-bīti* of Nanaya (§ 6.9.1).

#### 6.9.3. Personnel

The colophon of a Neo-Babylonian copy of an inscription of Simbar-Šipak was written by a scribe of the Sîn-lēqi-unninni family who claimed the titles of cultic singer (*kalû*) of Ištar-of-Uruk and Nanaya and *ērib-bīti* of Kanisurra: 32. <sup>41</sup>*lūKU<sub>4</sub>-Ē ka-ni-sur-ra*.<sup>41</sup> This provides more evidence that priestly duties before Kanisurra were connected with the priesthood of Ištar-of-Uruk and Nanaya.

#### 6.9.4. Toponyms

A gate of Kanisurra is mentioned in two texts; YOS 17, 2: 2. KĀ.GAL <sup>42</sup>*ka-ni-sur-ra*; and YBC 7420: 3 and 7, with identical spelling. A street, a road, and a city quarter were named after that gate; YOS 19, 242: 5. *su-ū-qu* 6. <sup>43</sup>*šā* KĀ.GAL <sup>44</sup>*ka-ni-sur-r[a]* “the street of the gate of Kanisurra;” PTS 2076: 21'. KASKAL.MIN <sup>45</sup>*šā* KĀ.GAL <sup>46</sup>*ka-ni-sur-ra* “the road of the gate of Kanisurra;” and YBC 7432: 1. KI-ti KĀ.GAL <sup>47</sup>*ka-ni-sur-ra* “the district of the gate of Kanisurra.” There is also a city quarter named after the canal of Kanisurra in the Nikolskij text: 3. KI-ti ID <sup>48</sup>*ka-ni-sur-ra šā qē-reb* UNUG<sup>49</sup> “the district of the canal of Kanisurra.” Finally mention must be made of a garden in the *ubullu* of Kanisurra in PTS 2713: 9. <sup>50</sup>*KIRI<sub>6</sub> ina ū-bul-lum* 10. <sup>51</sup>*ka-ni-sur-ra*. This designation is unclear unless one sees *ubullu* as an irregular spelling for *abullu* “gate,” normally written KĀ.GAL in these texts.<sup>42</sup>

#### 6.10. Kaššītu

This goddess, whose name means “the Kassite,” appears in the list of gods of Uruk carried off by Sennacherib in the fall of 693 B.C.: OIP 2, p. 87, 32. <sup>52</sup>*kaš-ši-tu*, but she is not mentioned in texts from the Eanna archive. Kaššītu was also worshiped at Babylon in the temple of Bēlet-Ninua.<sup>43</sup>

#### 6.11. Kilīlu and Barirītu (Abbašūšu and Nunnirdudu)

According to apotropaic texts, Kilīlu is a female creature who penetrates in the house of its victim through windows: [<sup>53</sup>*ki*]-li-li *šar-ra-tu<sub>4</sub>* [<sup>54</sup>*šā a*]*p-pa-a-ti* <sup>55</sup>*ki-li-li mu-ši-ir-tu<sub>4</sub>* <sup>56</sup>*šā a-*

<sup>41</sup> Recent edition of the inscription and the colophon by FRAME 1995, B.3.1.1, lines 28–33. This colophon was inadvertently listed among Seleucid colophons by HUNGER 1968, no. 102, but is evident that it should be assigned to the Neo-Babylonian period because the owner of the tablet claims to be a *kalû* of Ištar-of-Uruk and Nanaya. A *kalû* of the Seleucid period would claim to be in the service of Anu and Antu.

<sup>42</sup> This text is published by STOLPER 1986, who considers the various possible interpretations of *ubullu*.

<sup>43</sup> See GEORGE 1992, p. 325. For a discussion of the goddess Kaššītu see BALKAN 1955, p. 108.

*pa-ti* “Kilīlu, the queen of the windows, Kilīlu, who leans into the windows.”<sup>44</sup> She is also portrayed in that role in the Hymn to the Queen-of-Nippur: II, 19. <sup>4</sup>ab.ba.šú.šú *ha-i-ta-at qé-reb ur-ša-a-ti* 20. *lem-niš ap-ti-iš ú-šir šu-a-ti iš-mi* “Kilīlu, who peers into bedchambers, leaned malevolently out of the window, heard him.”<sup>45</sup> In a late conjuratory prayer Ištar is assimilated to Kilīlu, which may account for the existence of her cult at Uruk.<sup>46</sup>

YBC 11900 records an allotment of dates to the bakers for Kilīlu: 17. 6 (*ma-ši-ḫu šá ZÚ.LUM.MA*) *šá* <sup>4</sup>ki-li-li <sup>1</sup>EN-šú-nu “6 (*mašīḫus* of dates) for Kilīlu, Bēlšunu.” UCP 9/2, 5 mentions a *šappu* container in a broken context: 1. [o o] <sup>4</sup>x’ *šap-pi* KÙ.BABBAR *a-ri-du šá* 2. [o o o] <sup>4</sup>ki-li-li “[o o] a removed *šappu* container of silver belonging to [o o o] Kilīlu [o o].” AnOr 9, 6 mentions pieces of jewelry in the shape of door-locking mechanisms belonging to Kilīlu, Abbašūšu, and Nunnirdudu, and lists similar items for Ištar-of-Uruk, Nanaya, Bēltu-ša-Rēš, and Adapa. They may have been used in a ritual involving these deities during the early part of the month Addaru (§ 3.5.4); AnOr 9, 6: 7. <sup>1</sup>pi’-in-gu KÙ.BABBAR 4 *ḫar-gul-lum* KÙ.BABBAR 17 *sa-an-ḫa-(nu)* KÙ.BABBAR *šá* <sup>4</sup>ki-li-li-<sup>1</sup>li’ 8. 8 *pi-in-gu* KÙ.BABBAR 6 *ḫar-gul-lum* KÙ.BABBAR 40 *ḫa-an-<sup>1</sup>duḫ* KÙ.BABBAR 9. *šá* <sup>4</sup>ab-ba-šú-šú and <sup>4</sup>nun-nir-dū-dū “7 knobs of silver, 4 locks of silver, 17 rings of silver, (all) belonging to Kilīlu; 8 knobs of silver, 6 locks of silver, 40 *ḫandūḫus* of silver, (all) belonging to Abbašūšu and Nunnirdudu.” One of these items is also mentioned in YOS 19, 267: 29. 1 *ḫa-an-duḫ*!-<sup>1</sup>ḫu KÙ.BABBAR *šá* <sup>4</sup>ki-li-li “1 *ḫandūḫu* of silver belonging to Kilīlu.”

The mention of Kilīlu alongside Abbašūšu and Nunnirdudu in AnOr 9, 6 poses a slight problem, as Abbašūšu and Nunnirdudu are the Sumerian names of Kilīlu and Barirītu according to lexical texts.<sup>47</sup> Kilīlu may be further mentioned in YOS 3, 149: 8. 2\* *kan-kan-na-a\*-ta\** 9. *šá te-bi-ib-tu<sub>4</sub>* 10. 7 <sup>8</sup>šū-ub-ba-a-<sup>1</sup>ru’ 11. <sup>1</sup>7(?)’ <sup>4</sup>ki-li-li [o o o] “2 potstands for purification rituals, 7 *šubbārus*, (and) 7(?)<sup>48</sup> Kilīlus [o o o].” Unless one reads *šá*! instead of a numeral, the mention of 7 Kilīlus, in a context where various cult objects are mentioned in connection with a ritual, suggests that the word refers here to a figurine in the shape of Kilīlu. Kilīlu and Barirītu are mentioned in the “Fête d’Ištar,” showing their continued association with the main goddess of Uruk until Hellenistic times: obv. 9’. [<sup>4</sup>ki-li]i-li ù <sup>4</sup>ba-ri-ri-i-tu<sub>4</sub>.

## 6.12. Kurunnītu

This rarely encountered deity, whom Sennacherib claims to have carried off with the other gods of Uruk when he plundered the city in 693 B.C. (OIP 2, p. 87, 32. <sup>4</sup>KAŠ.DIN.NAM), occurs with the following spellings in texts from the archive:

<sup>44</sup> ABRT 1, 57: 32 (a *lipšur* litany), quoted in CAD K, p. 357, s.v. *kilili*. See also LAMBERT 1976–1980.

<sup>45</sup> LAMBERT 1982, pp. 194–195.

<sup>46</sup> KAR 42: obv. 32–37+ and duplicates. Translation and commentary, with list of the manuscripts, in SEUX 1976, pp. 459–461. On the role of Ištar-Kilīlu as inflicter of diseases see the comments by MAUL 1992, pp. 164–165, who suggests that this incarnation of Ištar represents the goddess as she comes back from the netherworld and seeks a substitute for her to send there.

<sup>47</sup> See CAD K, p. 357, s.v. *kilili*, lex. section, and REINER 1958, p. 56b.

<sup>48</sup> Although Clay’s copy suggests the numbers 6 or 7 here, collation indicates that 5 is more likely, and that there is a slight possibility for *šá*.

<sup>4</sup>KAŠ.DIN.NAM (YBC 6923: 11; NCBT 988: 2, with metathesis NAM:DIN)

<sup>4</sup>KAŠ.DIN.NU (UCP 9/2, 41: 4)

<sup>4</sup>KAŠ.DIN.NAM-i-ti (NBC 4510: 6)

<sup>4</sup>KAŠ.DIN-i-ti (Knopf, SC-47: 2)

The reading of the Diri-compound KAŠ.DIN is *kurun*, which refers to a high quality type of beer and is borrowed into Akkadian as *kurunnu*. The forms KAŠ.DIN.NAM and KAŠ.DIN.NU may contain phonetic indicators (*kurun-na<sub>7</sub>* and *kurun-nu*). The spellings with phonetic complement /*ti*/ indicate that the goddess was known under her Akkadianized name Kurunnītu, which is spelled syllabically in an inscription of Esarhaddon mentioning the return of her statue to Dēr (<sup>4</sup>ku-ru-ni-tu<sub>4</sub>).<sup>49</sup> Since <sup>16</sup>KAŠ.DIN-na and <sup>sal.lú</sup>KAŠ.DIN-na (*kurunna*) are equated in Akkadian with *sābū* and *sābītu* “male and female innkeeper,”<sup>50</sup> one cannot exclude that the spellings <sup>4</sup>KAŠ.DIN.NAM-i-ti and <sup>4</sup>KAŠ.DIN-i-ti were secondarily understood as *Sābītu*. Kurunnītu was the innkeeper goddess, the goddess of beer and drinking.<sup>51</sup> In the canonical lamentations Mutin Nunuz Dima and Elum Gusun she is equated with the Sumerian beer goddess Ninkasi.<sup>52</sup>

The goddess Kurunnītu is also mentioned in a *kudurru* from the time of Marduk-apla-iddina I<sup>53</sup> and in BM 78076, a late Babylonian ritual for the month Kislīmu centered on Esabād, the temple of Gula in Babylon.<sup>54</sup> At Nippur she was also a resident of the temple of Gula according to the Divine Directory of that city.<sup>55</sup> She is attested in the female personal names Kurunnītu-šarrat and Kurunnītu-tabni in Neo-Babylonian texts from Babylon.<sup>56</sup> Kurunnītu is perhaps also mentioned in the 7th century letter PARPOLA 1993, 349, which reports on the work performed on the statues of various deities of Uruk in the temple workshop: 19. *dul-lu* [*šá* <sup>4</sup>KAŠ.D]IN-i-ti 20. <sup>4</sup>a-nu-ni-tu<sub>4</sub> ù <sup>4</sup>IGI.DU [*šá* É <sup>4</sup>mu-um-mu “the work [of Kurun]nītu, Anunītu, and <sup>4</sup>IGI.DU [in the temple] workshop.”<sup>57</sup>

There are a few references to Kurunnītu in texts from the archive. Three of the texts (Knopf, SC-47; NCBT 988; NBC 4510) are clustered over a period of a few months during the 8th year of Nabopolassar and record the assignment of gold to Rīmūt, son

<sup>49</sup> See BORGER 1956, p. 84, where the following two deities are returned to Dēr: line 42. <sup>4</sup>be-let-TI.LA <sup>4</sup>ku-ru-ni-tu<sub>4</sub>. These two deities are also mentioned side by side in Sennacherib’s account of their capture during the sack of Uruk (OIP 2, p. 87, line 32. <sup>4</sup>be-lit-TI.LA <sup>4</sup>KAŠ.DIN.NAM), and in NBC 4976.

<sup>50</sup> CAD S, p. 5, s.v. *sābū*, lex. section.

<sup>51</sup> On those deities see the recent discussion by MICHALOWSKI 1994.

<sup>52</sup> COHEN 1988, p. 237 c+301, and p. 306 c+175: <sup>4</sup>KAŠ.DIN.NAM *gašan-ka-si-ra* <sup>4</sup>KAŠ.DIN.NAM <sup>4</sup>nin-ka-si.

<sup>53</sup> Originally published by Scheil in MDP 6, pp. 31–39. The goddess appears in the list of deities who guarantee the transaction: p. 37, col. V. 28. <sup>4</sup>da-mu <sup>4</sup>KAŠ.DIN.NAM. On the correct reading of that line see BORGER 1970, p. 25b.

<sup>54</sup> GEORGE 2000, p. 283, lines 12, 18, and 43, with discussion of the name <sup>4</sup>KAŠ.DIN.NAM on p. 288. The syllabic spelling found in Esarhaddon’s inscription and those with phonetic complements in texts from Uruk suggest that at Babylon too the name <sup>4</sup>KAŠ.DIN.NAM should probably be read Kurunnītu.

<sup>55</sup> Edition in GEORGE 1992, pp. 158–159, line 14. <sup>4</sup>da-mu <sup>4</sup>KAŠ.DIN.NAM; the deity Damu is also paired with Kurunnītu and other Nippurite deities in the *kudurru* MDP 6, p. 37, col. V. On the temple of Gula at Nippur, Eurussagga, see BEAULIEU 1995, p. 91.

<sup>56</sup> Nbk. 350: 5. <sup>16</sup>KAŠ.DIN.NAM-*šar-rat*; and RUTTEN 1947, p. 101, line 6. <sup>16</sup>KAŠ.DIN.NAM-*tab-ni* (also lines 7, 10, 15, 18). References in ROTH 1989–1990, p. 45b.

<sup>57</sup> PARPOLA 1993, no. 349, restores this passage as [<sup>4</sup>UNUG<sup>k</sup>]<sup>11</sup>-i-ti, but the copy in ABL 476 is more compatible with the reading [<sup>4</sup>KAŠ.D]IN-i-ti.

of Bēl-ahhē-iddin, a goldsmith, to fashion various parts of the attire of Kurunnītu,<sup>58</sup> namely the crown, the breast ornament, and some pieces of jewelry; Knopf, SC-47: 1. 1/2 MA.NA KÙ.GI SA<sub>5</sub> a-na GABA 2. u ku-lu-lu šá dKAŠ.DIN-i-ti<sup>59</sup> “1/2 mina of red gold for the breast ornament and crown of Kurunnītu;” NCBT 988: 1. 79 su-ú-ta-a-ta ‘KÙ.GI’ 2. šá GABA šá dKAŠ.‘NAM’:DIN 3. a-na šá-pe-e šá GABA.ME “79 sūtus of gold belonging to the breast ornament of Kurunnītu for fastening the breast ornaments;” and in YBC 6923: 10. 56 na<sup>4</sup>GUG a-na in-bé-e 11. šá GABA šá dKAŠ.DIN.NAM “56 beads of carnelian to (fashion) fruit-shaped ornaments for the breast ornament of Kurunnītu.” NBC 4510 mentions a quantity of gold to make gold jewelry for Kurunnītu: 5. a-na šu-kut KÙ.GI.MEŠ 6. šá dKAŠ.DIN.NAM-i-ti. A piece of textile, the canvas (*paruktu*) of Kurunnītu, occurs in UCP 9/2, 41: 1. 1 MA.NA sg<sup>h</sup>a-ša-áš-ti 2. it-ti 2 MA.NA 15 GÍN 3. ana pa-ru-uk-ti 4. šá dKAŠ.DIN.NU “1 mina of green-colored(?) wool, together with 2 minas and 15 shekels,<sup>59</sup> for the canvas of Kurunnītu.” Finally offerings of sheep to the goddess are mentioned in NBC 4976: 3. ù 2 (UDU.NÍTA) ina UGU na-še-e [o o] 4. IGI dGAŠAN-TIN u dKAŠ.DIN.‘NAM’[o o] “and 2 (sheep) for the nātu ritual [o o] before Bēlet-balāti and Kurunnītu.”

### 6.13. Mārāt-Ebabbar

The Daughters of Ebabbar are mentioned in GCCI 1, 386: 9. dDUMU.MÍ.ME 10. É.BABBAR.RA; and in YOS 6, 53: 4. DUMU.MÍ.MEŠ É.BABBAR.RA and 7. dDUMU. MÍ É.BABBAR.RA. These goddesses, worshiped at Larsa, will be discussed in a study on Larsa during the late periods.

### 6.14. Nin-zizli

This deity appears in the name of a gate of the Eanna temple precinct mentioned in YOS 19, 115: 18. KÁ dnin-TAG.TAG<sup>li</sup>. The presence of a phonetic complement /li/ ensures the reading of the compound TAG.TAG as zíl-zíl (probably pronounced /zizli/). This is the same deity known as dnin-zíl-zíl, who is equated with Nanaya in the late explanatory god list CT 25, pl. 49, rev. 7. dnin-zíl-zíl=dna-na-a DUMU.MÍ [o o] šá man-za-as-su šá-qu-u be-lit tak-né-‘e’ [o o] “Nin-zizli (is) Nanaya, the daughter [o o], whose station is lofty, the mistress of loving care [o o].” She also appears in the Emesal god-list MSL 4, p. 9, 90. [dgašan-zíl-zíl]=dnin-zíl-zíl=dna-na-a.<sup>60</sup> The association of Nin-zizli with Nanaya goes back to the early periods. In the Genouillac god list Nanaya is followed by the goddess Zizli (dZíl-zíl), very probably identical with Nin-zizli. In the Weidner god list she is followed by the goddess dbí-zíl-la, who is also associated with her in Ur III archival texts related to the offering system at Uruk.<sup>61</sup>

<sup>58</sup> Both Knopf SC-47 and NBC 4510 bear similar drawings on the reverse which may represent one of the pieces of jewelry mentioned in the texts.

<sup>59</sup> The material weighed here cannot be identified.

<sup>60</sup> New edition by BORGER 1998.

<sup>61</sup> For the early material see WESTENHOLZ 1997, pp. 58–60; and LAMBERT 1966, p. 44.

In the late periods the goddess Nin-zizli is associated with Borsippa and the cults of Nabû and Nanaya. In the colophon of the series SA.GIG detailing the editorial work of Esagil-kīn-apli, this prominent scholar who was active during the reign of Adad-apla-iddina claims to be a denizen of Borsippa, an *ummatu* of Nanaya, a *zabardabbû* of the Ezida temple, a *pašišu* priest of Nabû, as well as an “*išippu* and *ramku* priest of Nin-zizli, the mistress of loving care” (B rev. 23’. *i-šip-pu ram-ku šá dnin-zíl-zíl<sup>li</sup> be-let tak-né-e*).<sup>62</sup> The epithet *bēlet taknē*, already encountered in the god list CT 25, pl. 49, recurs in the late syncretistic hymn KAR 109: 22. BĀRA.SIPA<sup>ki</sup> dnin-zíl-zíl<sup>li</sup> *be-let tak-né-e zi-kir-šá* “(In) Borsippa her (Nanaya’s) name is Nin-zizli, the mistress of loving care.” This hymn has generally been ascribed to the goddess Ba’u.<sup>63</sup> It is uncertain whether Nin-zizli was the object of a cult at Uruk in the Neo-Babylonian period, or was known only from this temple gate. Her presence in Uruk was probably based on her connection with Nanaya. She is indeed fully syncretized with that goddess in the bilingual incantation Rm. 97: 12. nin-zu nin-me-šār-ra šu-du<sub>7</sub> dnin-zíl-zíl 14. *be-let-ka be-el-tu<sub>4</sub> šá kul-lat par-ši šuk-lu-lat dna-n[a-a]* “your mistress, the mistress who carries out all the rites, Nin-zizli/Nanaya.”<sup>64</sup>

### 6.15. Šarrat-Kullab

The goddess Queen-of-Kullab is mentioned in two texts from the archive.<sup>65</sup> She appears in the address formula of the letter BIN 1, 28: 3. d<sup>r</sup>šar-rat<sup>1</sup>-kul-la-bu; and pieces of her jewelry are listed in GCCI 2, 238: 1. 1/3 3 GÍN KÙ.GI 2. a-na HAR KÙ.GI.MEŠ 3. šá d<sup>r</sup>šar<sup>1</sup>-rat-kul-aba<sup>ki</sup> “23 shekels of gold for the gold bracelets of Šarrat-Kullab.” In the late periods there were two localities named Kullab in southern Babylonia. One was the well-known district of Uruk, the other an independent locality whose governor is mentioned in the *Hofkalender* of Nebuchadnezzar II.<sup>66</sup> It is possible that Šarrat-Kullab was the goddess of this city, although one cannot exclude that she was the patron deity of the homonymous district of Uruk.<sup>67</sup>

### 6.16. Šerua

The goddess Šerua (dEDIN) was known in Assyria as the original consort of Aššur. She was later replaced with Mullissu (dNIN.LÍL) and Ištar. Šerua may have come to Uruk with AN.ŠĀR/Aššur in the 7th century. She is mentioned in one text of the archive, YOS 19, 71, which informs us that the goddess possessed her own domain:<sup>68</sup> 18. ur<sup>u</sup>hu-ri-za-ti

<sup>62</sup> FINKEL 1988, pp. 148–149.

<sup>63</sup> See LAMBERT 1967, p. 112, n. 1; and REINER 1974, p. 221, n. 4.

<sup>64</sup> Published in OECT 6, pp. 27–28 (edition), and pl. XVII (copy). Duplicate of CT 13, pls. 35–38.

<sup>65</sup> The reference to this deity listed in RGTC 8, p. 202, s.v. Kullabi: dGAŠAN šá ku-lab? (UCP 9/1, 73: 3), should be removed. This is obviously an erroneous copy for dGAŠAN šá SAG.

<sup>66</sup> See BEAULIEU 1993a.

<sup>67</sup> There was also a district of Babylon named Kullab, for which see GEORGE 1992, pp. 485–486 (index).

<sup>68</sup> The only internal clue that this text is from Uruk is the name of one of the parties to the transaction, Nanaya-ēreš (line 1).

ša<sup>1</sup> ta-qiš<sup>1</sup>-[dgu-la] 19. ši-i-ḥu ša<sup>1</sup> EDIN “Cattle sheds(?)<sup>69</sup> of Taqīš-[Gula], domain of the goddess Šerua,” and that a man named Ibnâ was in charge of collecting the field rent from the tenant farmers of the goddess: 2. lib-n[a-a] 3. A-šû ša<sup>1</sup> ba-la-tu ša<sup>1</sup> muḥ-ḥi su-ut-<sup>1</sup>ti<sup>1</sup> 4. ša<sup>1</sup> EDIN “Ibnâ, son of Balātu, the man in charge of the field rents of the goddess Šerua.”

<sup>69</sup> This word is attested several times in Nuzi texts, where it designates a shed for cattle (CAD H, pp. 251–252, s.v. ḥurīzu).

## 7. MINOR GODS

In this chapter are discussed all the gods who do not appear in Group A of offering lists. Their relative importance in the pantheon of Uruk is unknown, as the sources are silent on their respective positions in the local divine hierarchy. Some of these gods were worshiped in other cities, and the fact that they are mentioned in the Eanna archive is in many cases purely coincidental (Amurru and Innin-galga-sud, Bēl of Babylon, Bēl-āliya, Bunene, Ea of Eridu, Ea of Nēmed-Lagūda, Gašru, Ilū-ša-māt-tāmti, Lugal-Marada, Mār-bīti, Sîn of Ur). Some others were the resident gods of the small sanctuaries of Uruk and its immediate vicinity, the *ekurrātu* (Adad, Anu, Aššur, Ea, Enlil, BE, Lugalbanda, Lugalirra, Nabû, Zababa, and possibly Bēl-SA-našru). The remaining gods included here probably resided in the Eanna temple. This is certain for the deities of the Courtyard (Marduk-of-the-Courtyard, Ninurta-of-the-Courtyard, and Sîn-of-the-Courtyard) and for Ningišzida. Separate sanctuaries are not attested for the gods Adapa, Dumuzi, Madānu, Sîn-of-Heaven, and Usmû, while some of them appear to have had cultic connections with the deities of Eanna; we can therefore assume that they were all residents of that temple. It is probable that the Dais of Šamaš also belonged to the Eanna temple. Gilgameš and Meslamtaea are known only from topographic features.

## 7.1. Adad

The earliest evidence for the presence of Adad at Uruk dates to the Ur III period.<sup>1</sup> The god is also mentioned in the building inscriptions of the Old Babylonian kings of Uruk.<sup>2</sup> Adad was still worshiped in Uruk during the Hellenistic period, occupying the 7th position in the hierarchy of gods residing in the Rēš and Irigal temples.<sup>3</sup>

The name of the god Adad is always written with the logogram dIM. Three *SWU* texts mention his temple (É dIM); *SWU* 62 records that the goddess Urkayītu traveled to the temple of Adad on the 10th day of the month Ṭebētu and received offerings there, probably of beer (§ 4.5.7.4): rev. 16. [o o] 'U<sub>4</sub>' 10-KAM ša<sup>1</sup> ITI AB a-na dāš-ka-a-a-i-ti ina É dIM i-qar-ru-bu [o o] “[o o] offered to Urkayītu in the temple of Adad on the 10th day of the month Ṭebētu [o o];” this visit to the temple of Adad in the month Ṭebētu is also mentioned in the ritual *LKU* 51, which further specifies that the offerings presented there to Urkayītu were part of the second sacred meal (*tardennu*): rev. 20'. 'U<sub>4</sub>' 10-KAM ina UGU tar-den-nu dāš-ka-a-a-i-ti a-na É dIM ir-ru-ub “[On the 10th day (of the month Ṭebētu) Urkayītu [enters] the temple of [Adad] for the second sacred meal” (Appendix 2); *SWU* 105 mentions the offering days of the king in the temple of Adad and the name of the prebendary in charge of the office: rev. 3. 'GUR' 2 (PI)

<sup>1</sup> SALLABERGER 1993, vol. 2, p. 127, table 73: a text mentions dIškur in connection with a religious festival held at Uruk at the beginning of the 11th month.

<sup>2</sup> The deity is known from the building inscriptions of the local rulers Sîn-kāšid and Ilum-gāmil (FRAYNE 1990, E4.4.1.12; and RICHTER 1999, p. 277).

<sup>3</sup> See BEAULIEU 1992a, p. 55.



3 BÂN šá É dIM šá LUGAL IÈ-a-na-ZÁLAG-[dUTU o o o] “[o o o] *kurrus*, 2 (*pānus*), (and) 3 *sātus* for the temple of Adad, (offering days) of the king, Lūša-ana-nūri-Šamaš;” the temple of Adad is also mentioned in *SWU* 67, rev. 3’. Allotments of barley to the brewers as *maššartu* deliveries for the temple of Adad are mentioned in PTS 2180: 72. ‘1 (PI)’ 3 BÂN 4 ŠILA É dIM “1 *pānu*, 3 *sātus*, (and) 4 *qūs* (of barley for) the temple of Adad.” Offerings of sacrificial animals for the temple of Adad are probably recorded in *SWU* 160: 5, belonging to Group B of offering lists. An unspecified substance is mentioned in the Group B offering list YBC 9932 in connection with the temple of Adad: 10. 1/2 É dIM.

The temple of Adad, one of the small independent sanctuaries (*ekurrātu*) of Uruk, may also be mentioned in YBC 4016, a deed of sale with the following heading: 1. ‘[up-pi]’ A.ŠĀ ki-šub-bu-ú ‘KI-ti’ 2. UNUG<sup>ki</sup> šá qé-reb É dIM(?)’ “Deed (of sale) of fallow land located in the district of the temple of Adad(?) in Uruk,”<sup>4</sup> but the reading of the divine name is quite uncertain. This might be the same area known from contracts of the Seleucid period as *eršetī bīt Adad* “district of the temple of Adad.”<sup>5</sup> Evidence from Hellenistic times gives É.HÉ.NUN.NA “House of Plenty” as the name of Adad’s temple in Uruk.<sup>6</sup> During the Old Babylonian period, however, the temple of Adad was named É.U<sub>4</sub>.GAL.GIN<sub>7</sub>.KI.ĪUŠ.[A.DÙ.A], “House Like a Great Storm, [Built in a] Fearsome Place.”<sup>7</sup> An inscription of Sîn-kāšid commemorates its rebuilding.<sup>8</sup> Which of these two temples must be identified as the temple of Adad of Neo-Babylonian documents cannot be determined. Old Babylonian sources mention another temple located in Uruk and dedicated to Adad: É.SAG.GI<sub>4</sub>.A.NI.DU<sub>10</sub> “House, its(!) closing is Pleasant,”<sup>9</sup> but this could have also been the name of a cella in the god’s temple.

The god Adad is also mentioned in a letter which refers to deliveries of wool for him, YBC 3561: 10. s<sub>lg</sub>‘ta’-bar-ru 11. s<sub>lg</sub>ZA.GÌN.KUR.RA ‘x x’ gada’šal-ḫu 12. ‘a-na’ dIM šu-bi-la-na-a-šū “Bring us red- and blue-colored wool ‘x x’ a *šalḫu* cloth(?) for the god Adad.” Finally mention must be made of the Gate of Adad (*abul Adad*, always written KÁ.GAL dIM), which occurs in the following texts: GCCI 1, 268: 2; GCCI 1, 317: 2; YOS 17, 41: 14; YOS 17, 274: 5; AnOr 9, 2: 31; and FRAME 1995, B.4.0.2001, line 2.<sup>10</sup> The city quarter named after the gate of Adad is mentioned in VS 20, 82: 3. [KI-ī] KÁ.GAL dIM šá qé-reb UNUG<sup>ki</sup> “[The distri]ct of the gate of Adad in Uruk.”

## 7.2. Adapa

The name of this deity is spelled *da-da-pà*, *da-da-pi*, and *de-da-pi* in texts from the archive. This is the deified sage who is the protagonist of the “Story of Adapa,” which retells how the god Ea tricked him into refusing the gift of immortality bestowed upon

<sup>4</sup> The scribe evidently meant to write ‘KI-ti’ É dIM(?)’ šá qé-reb UNUG<sup>ki</sup>.

<sup>5</sup> FALKENSTEIN 1941, p. 51g.

<sup>6</sup> GEORGE 1993, no. 456, and FALKENSTEIN 1941, pp. 15 and 17.

<sup>7</sup> GEORGE 1993, no. 1133.

<sup>8</sup> FRAYNE 1990, E4.4.1.12.

<sup>9</sup> GEORGE 1993, no. 966.

<sup>10</sup> Line 2 of the inscription edited in FRAME 1995 should probably be read as follows: KÁ\*.[GA]L\*-dIM UNUG<sup>ki</sup>. For this reading see BEAULIEU 2000b.

him by Anu.<sup>11</sup> Adapa became in the first millennium an archetypal figure of wisdom and an antediluvian culture hero, sometimes invoked in magic and incantations,<sup>12</sup> and during the Sargonid period Assyrian courtiers flattered the king by attributing to him a wisdom equal to Adapa’s.<sup>13</sup> The nature of his connection with Uruk is not entirely clear. However, a fragmentary literary text, of which one duplicate was found in Uruk (*SptU* I, 4), associates him with the legendary king of Uruk, Enmerkar.<sup>14</sup> Adapa is also assimilated to the antediluvian sage Oannes (U<sub>4</sub>-AN), and appears in some sources, including a building inscription for the Rēš temple at Uruk dated to the 110th year of the Seleucid era, as Oannes-Adapa (U<sub>4</sub>-AN-*da-da-pà*).<sup>15</sup> He is mentioned in the “Fête d’Ištar” in a broken context: obv. 3’. [d]a-da-pà, suggesting his continued link with the cult of Ištar well into the Hellenistic period.<sup>16</sup>

Offerings of sacrificial animals to Adapa are probably recorded in *SWU* 163: obv. 2’, belonging to Group B of offering lists. Three texts mention pieces of jewelry in the shape of door-locking devices belonging to Adapa. These ornaments were probably used in a ritual involving Ištar, Nanaya, and other deities in the early part of the month Addaru (§ 3.5.4). References for Adapa are as follows; AnOr 9, 6: 10. 4 *pi-in-gu* KÙ.BABBAR 4 *ḫar-gul-lum* KÙ.BABBAR 11. 16 *ḫa-an-duḫ* KÙ.BABBAR šá *da-da-pà* “4 knobs of silver, 4 locks of silver, 16 *ḫandūḫus* of silver, belonging to Adapa;” NCBT 357: 14. 4 *pi-in-gu* KÙ.BABBAR 15. ‘4’ *ḫar-gul-lum* KÙ.BABBAR 16. ‘16’ *ḫa-an-duḫ* KÙ.BABBAR 17. šá *da-da-pi* “4 knobs of silver, 4 locks of silver, 16 *ḫandūḫus* of silver, belonging to Adapa;” and Stigers 19: 13. [4] *pi-in-gu* KÙ.BABBAR 14. [4] *ḫar-gul* KÙ.BABBAR 15. [16] *ḫa-an-duḫ* KÙ.BABBAR 16. šá *de-da-pi* “[4] knobs of silver, [4] locks of silver, [16] *ḫandūḫus* of silver, belonging to Adapa.”

## 7.3. Amurru and Innin-galga-sud

The name of the god Amurru is always written dKUR.GAL in texts from the archive. The evidence from such texts as YBC 4038, YBC 4871, and *Nbk.* 109 seems to associate the god Amurru and the city where he was worshiped with towns located in the south, in the Sealand province.<sup>17</sup> According to the greeting formulas of the letters YOS 3,

<sup>11</sup> Editions by PICCHIONI 1981 and IZRE’EL 2001. Translation with commentary and references to previous discussions in FOSTER 1993, pp. 429–434.

<sup>12</sup> The references to Adapa are collected by PICCHIONI 1981, pp. 82–101.

<sup>13</sup> On this motif see PONGRATZ-LEISTEN 1999, pp. 309–320.

<sup>14</sup> Translation in FOSTER 1993, pp. 434–436, with references to previous treatments. Adapa and Enmerkar are also associated with one another in the “Weidner Chronicle,” now almost complete with the addition of the duplicate found at Sippar: translation and commentary by GLASSNER 1993a, pp. 215–218.

<sup>15</sup> In the Verse Account of Nabonidus, published by SMITH 1924, pl. VI, BM 38299, obv. col. II, 3. *u<sub>4</sub>-ma-da-ni-a-da-pà*; in the “Catalogue of texts and authors” published by LAMBERT 1962, p. 60, K 2248: 6. *u<sub>4</sub>-an-na-a-da-p[à]*; and perhaps in the building inscription of Anu-uballiṭ (Kephala) for the Rēš temple at Uruk, reconstructed as follows by VAN DIJK 1962, p. 47: 6. É SAG šá *i-na maḫ-ri* U<sub>4</sub>-60-[a-d]a-p[à] *i-pu-uš-šū* “The Rēš temple, built at the time of Oannes-Adapa.” For discussion of this inscription see DOTY 1988, p. 97.

<sup>16</sup> LACKENBACHER 1977, p. 39.

<sup>17</sup> That the god Amurru was worshiped somewhere in the south of Iraq is further suggested by the evidence from the Neo-Assyrian period letter CT 53, 141, in which Amurru (written dMAR.TU) is mentioned among several gods from the south, including Mārat-Sîn of Eridu, Mārat-Sîn of Nēmed-Lagūda, and Mārat-Eridu. Recent edition by COLE, MACHINIST 1998, no. 190.

193 and NCBT 11 the consort of this god was the goddess Innin-galga-sud; NCBT 11: 1. *a-na* <sup>l</sup>ŠA.TAM *be-lí-ia* 2. <sup>d</sup>KUR.GAL *u* <sup>d</sup>innin-galga-sud *šu-lum* 3. *u* TIN *ša* EN-*ia* *liq-bu-ú* “To the *šatammu* my lord, may Amurru and Innin-galga-sud decree the well-being and health of my lord;” and YOS 3, 193: 1. IM <sup>l</sup>30-AD-ÚRI 2. *a-na* <sup>l</sup>mu-*šal-lim*-<sup>d</sup>AMAR.UD EN-*šu* 3. <sup>d</sup>EN *ù* <sup>d</sup>NÀ <sup>d</sup>KUR.GAL *ù* <sup>d</sup>innin-galga<sup>1</sup>-sud 4. *šu-lum* *u* TIN *ša* ŠEŠ-*ia* *liq-bu-ú* “Letter of Sîn-ab-ušur to Mušallim-Marduk, his lord; may Bēl and Nabû, Amurru and Innin-galga-sud decree the well-being and health of my brother (sic!).” The goddess Innin-galga-sud occurs in the list of hypostases of Ištar in An=Anum IV 127: <sup>d</sup>innin-galga-<sup>1</sup>sud<sup>1</sup>=<sup>1</sup>ma<sup>1</sup>-lik<sup>1</sup>-ka-[*tu*];<sup>18</sup> and in the god list CT 25, 49 she is equated with Ištar-of-Babylon (Bēlet-Bābili): 2. [<sup>d</sup>innin]-galga-sud=MIN (Bēlet-Bābili) [*ma*]-*li*-[*ka-tu*]. The series Nabnītu also explains her name with the word *malkatu*: IV 203. <sup>d</sup>innin-galga-sud=*ma-al-ka-tum*. The epithet *malkatu* (or *malikatu*) is presumably based on the equation galga, galga-sud=*milku* “counsel,” found in lexical lists.<sup>19</sup> The Sumerian word galga is probably an allophone of malga, a loanword into Sumerian from the Semitic root MLK “to counsel.” It is uncertain, however, whether the equation <sup>d</sup>innin-galga-sud=*malkatu* was based on etymology. According to the CAD the epithet *malkatu* is derived from the male demon *malku*.<sup>20</sup> George, on the other hand, posits that this is the common word *malkatu* “queen,” attested in other contexts as an epithet of Ištar.<sup>21</sup> The possibility that <sup>d</sup>innin-galga-sud is a back translation into Sumerian of the Akkadian *Ištar malkatu* should therefore be considered. In the Canonical Temple List the temple of <sup>d</sup>innin-galga-sud is named é-galga-sud, but we do not know whether this is the same goddess as the one appearing as the consort of Amurru in YOS 3, 193 and NCBT 11.<sup>22</sup>

The temple of Amurru doesn’t seem to have been dependent on Eanna for its cultic supplies, as there is no mention in the archive of offerings and other supplies for the cult of Amurru and his consort. The town where their temple was located appears to have been largely independent from the Uruk administration. Here follows a description of the principal texts in which the temple of Amurru is mentioned.

NCBT 11; a letter sent by officials of the temple of Amurru to the authorities of Eanna concerning a quantity of wool stored in the temple of Amurru: 6. KÙ.BABBAR *ša* SÍG.ĤÁ *ša* ina É <sup>d</sup>KUR.GAL “the silver (equivalent) of the wool which is (stored) in the temple of Amurru.”

NBC 4871; list of quantities of bricks and bitumen at the disposal of various individuals, in some cases high officials. One of them is the *šangû* of Eridu (7. <sup>l</sup>É.MAŠ NUN<sup>ki</sup>). The temple of Amurru is mentioned in a broken context (17. É <sup>d</sup>KUR.GA[L]), followed on the last line by the following note: 20. <sup>1</sup>120<sup>1</sup> (GUN) *ku-pur ina* IGI <sup>l</sup>KUR.GAL-NUMUN-DÜ <sup>ur</sup>ha-la-[o o] “120 (talents) of bitumen are at the disposal of Amurru-zēr-ibni, (in?) the city Ĥala[o o].”<sup>23</sup>

<sup>18</sup> LITKE 1998, p. 157.

<sup>19</sup> See CAD M/II, pp. 66–67, s.v. *milku*, lex. section.

<sup>20</sup> See CAD M/I, p. 166, s.v. *malkatu* B (*malikatu*).

<sup>21</sup> GEORGE 1992, p. 471.

<sup>22</sup> GEORGE 1993, p. 16, line 324, [é-galga-sud]=<sup>d</sup>innin-galga-[sud] in the Canonical Temple List; see also the gazetteer, nos. 333–335, where three temples of this name are listed, the first two being temples of the goddess Ba’u.

<sup>23</sup> There were two cities named Hallatu in the vicinity of Babylon and Borsippa (RGTC 8, pp. 147–148,

*Nbk.* 109; record of a legal dispute before officials of the Sealand province concerning ownership of a house. The text is drafted at Babylon and is witnessed by the *qīpu* and *šanû* officials of the Sealand, the governor of Uruk, the *šangû* of Ur, the (head) scribe of the temple of Amurru, and the pontiff (*šangû*) of the god Amurru. This text probably doesn’t belong to the Eanna archive.

YBC 4038;<sup>24</sup> list of quantities of barley used for various purposes. The heading of the document gives the provenance of the barley as the treasury of the temple of Amurru, and further specifies that it was delivered from the Sealand province: 1. 400 GUR ŠE.BAR *ša* É <sup>d</sup>KUR.GAL *ša* <sup>l</sup>KUR.GAL-LUGAL-*ú-šur* 2. <sup>l</sup>ŠA.TAM *ša* É <sup>d</sup>KUR.GAL *a-na* SÍG.ĤÁ *a-na* ITI GU<sub>4</sub> 3. MU 1-KAM LÚ-<sup>d</sup>AMAR.UD LUGAL TIN.TIR<sup>ki</sup> *ina* KUR *tam-ti a-na* 4. É.AN.NA *id-di-nu-ma a-na šu-pel-ti a-na* UNUG<sup>ki</sup> 5. *a-na* <sup>l</sup>AMAR.UD-MU-MU A-*šu* *ša* <sup>l</sup>NÀ-TIN-su-E A IŠU-<sup>d</sup>na-na-a 6. SUM-na-tu<sub>4</sub> “400 kurrus of barley belonging to the temple of Amurru, which Amurru-šar-ušur, the *šatammu* of the temple of Amurru, delivered in the Sealand province to the Eanna temple (as equivalent) for wool, for the month Ayaru (in) the 1st year of Amēl-Marduk, king of Babylon, and which were given for exchange to Marduk-šum-iddin, son of Nabû-balāssu-iqbi, descendant of Gimil-Nanaya.”

YBC 4124; promissory note to repay a quantity of silver, the property of Ištar-of-Uruk and Nanaya, loaned through the intermediary of PN<sub>1</sub>, the taskmaster (*rab dulli*) of Eanna, to PN<sub>2</sub>, the taskmaster of the temple of Amurru. The silver will be used for the “work obligation” (*dullu*) of the temple of Amurru. The text contains an oath by Bēl and Amurru as well as many personal names formed with the god Amurru. Drafted at Babylon.

We know the names of the following *šatammus* of the temple of Amurru; YBC 4038: 1. <sup>l</sup>KUR.GAL-LUGAL-*ú-šur* 2. <sup>l</sup>ŠA.TAM *ša* É <sup>d</sup>KUR.GAL “Amurru-šar-ušur, the *šatammu* of the temple of Amurru”; and possibly PTS 3245: 11. <sup>l</sup>EN.MEŠ *pi-iq-né-tu<sub>4</sub> ša* <sup>l</sup>NÀ-DU-<sup>1</sup>NUMUN<sup>1</sup> [<sup>l</sup>ŠA.TA]M 12. *ša* É <sup>d</sup>KUR.GAL “the commissioners of Nabû-mukīn-zēri, the *šatammu* of the temple of Amurru.” The function of *šatammu* also appears in YOS 3, 87: 5. <sup>l</sup>A.KIN.MEŠ *ša* <sup>l</sup>ŠA.TAM 6. *ša* É <sup>d</sup>KUR.GAL “the messengers of the *šatammu* of the temple of Amurru.” The pontiff (*šangû*) of Amurru and the (head) scribe of his temple appear in *Nbk.* 109: 28. <sup>1</sup>ba-ni-ia A-*šu* *ša* <sup>1</sup>A-a 29. <sup>l</sup>UMBISAG *ša* É <sup>d</sup>KUR.GAL 30. <sup>l</sup>UTU-DÜ <sup>l</sup>É.MAŠ <sup>d</sup>KUR.GAL “Bāniya, son of Aplā, the (head) scribe of the temple of Amurru; Šamaš-ibni, the pontiff of Amurru.” Finally the charge of taskmaster (*rab dulli*) of the temple of Amurru occurs in YBC 4124: 3. <sup>l</sup>KUR.GAL-I 4. A-*šu* *ša* <sup>1</sup>nu-*úr-gu-me-e* <sup>l</sup>GAL *dul-lu* 5. *ša* É <sup>d</sup>KUR.GAL “Amurru-na’id, son of Nurgumē, the taskmaster of the temple of Amurru.” This is probably the same individual who appears in YBC 4032: 38. <sup>l</sup>KUR.GAL-I *ša* É <sup>d</sup>KUR.GAL “Amurru-na’id, the man in charge in the temple of Amurru.” The god Amurru also occurs in the hydronym ID <sup>d</sup>KUR.GAL (Nār Amurru) “the canal/river of Amurru” in the following texts; AnOr 9, 3: 58; YBC 6937: 3, 8; YOS 6, 46: 4; and YOS 17, 153: 2.<sup>25</sup> One of the gates of

s.v. Ĥallatu), but it is uncertain whether they should be identified with the city Ĥala[o o] mentioned in NBC 4871.

<sup>24</sup> Published in transliteration by SACK 1977, pp. 43–45.

<sup>25</sup> On this watercourse see also RGTC 8, p. 364, s.v. Nār-Amurru.

Uruk was named the “Gate of Amurru” (YBC 6937: 2. KÁ dKUR.GAL).<sup>26</sup> Finally YBC 9448 contains many theophoric personal names with Amurru, but gives no additional information concerning the deity or its temple.

#### 7.4. Anu

The position of Anu in the pantheon of Uruk during the early periods has already been discussed (§ 3.1.1 to § 3.1.5). Offerings in the temple of Anu during the Neo-Babylonian period are mentioned in a few *SWU* texts. Deliveries of barley for the brewers are mentioned in *SWU* 26: rev. 18'. [o o] 3 BĀN šá É d<sub>a</sub>-nu É den-lil[o o] “[o o] 3 sātus (of barley) for the temple of Anu, the temple of Enlil[o o],” and in *SWU* 43: rev. 6'. [šá?] É d<sub>a</sub>-nu É den-lil[o] “[(barley) for?] the temple of Anu, the temple of Enlil.” Deliveries of barley to the bakers appear in *SWU* 64: rev. 13'. 5 GUR šá É d<sub>a</sub>-nu É den-lil[o] “5 kurrus (of barley) for the temple of Anu, the temple of Enlil[o],” *SWU* 72: rev. 12'. [o o] šá É d<sub>a</sub>-nu É den-lil É AN.ŠÁR É d<sub>za</sub>-ba<sub>4</sub>-ba<sub>4</sub> x[o o o] “[o o o (of barley)] for the temple of Anu, the temple of Enlil, the temple of Aššur, the temple of Zababa [o o o],” and *SWU* 75: rev. 3'. [o o] 2 BĀN? 10 GUR šá É d<sub>a</sub>-nu É den-lil[o o o] “[o o o] 2 sātus(?), 10 kurrus (of barley) for the temple of Anu, the temple of Enlil.” Animal offerings are probably recorded in *SWU* 160: 2, belonging to Group B of offering lists. The pairing of the gods Anu and Enlil at Uruk occurs as early as the 9th century in the *kudurru* of Ibni-Ištar, in which this prebendary of Eanna receives the privilege of the offerings of bread and beer before the two gods: col. I. 23. I SĪLA NINDA.ĤĀ I SĪLA KAŠ.SAG 24. IGI d<sub>a</sub>-nū u den-lil “1 qū of bread, 1 qū of beer, before Anu and Enlil.”<sup>27</sup>

The temple of Anu was one of the small independent sanctuaries of Uruk (*ekurrātu*). The district (*eršet*) of the temple of Anu is mentioned in BIN 1, 127: 2. KI-ti 3. É d<sub>a</sub>-nū šá qé-reb UNUG<sup>ki</sup> “The district of the temple of Anu in Uruk.” Although the writing É d<sub>a</sub>-nū/nū could also be a playful orthography for the word *bītānu*, as is the case in contemporary texts from Sippar,<sup>28</sup> it is definitely more likely that in all the texts just discussed the sanctuary of Anu is meant.<sup>29</sup> Outside these texts the god Anu appears mostly in personal names and in the salutation formulas of letters.<sup>30</sup> This creates the impression that Anu was not a very important deity in Neo-Babylonian Uruk, a situation which was dramatically reversed by the theological reforms of the 5th and 4th centuries.

<sup>26</sup> See edition of this text below in § 8.2.1.6. According to this text the Gate of Amurru was located near or at the bank of the Canal of Amurru.

<sup>27</sup> THUREAU-DANGIN 1919, p. 125.

<sup>28</sup> See JOANNÈS 1992, pp. 168–169, where the following spellings of the word are listed: *bi-ta-nu*, *É-ta-nu*, *É-a-nu*, *É-d<sub>a</sub>-nū*, *É-d<sub>60</sub>*.

<sup>29</sup> The only mention of a *bītānu* in a text from the Eanna archive is in GELLER 1995, p. 532, Cleveland Public Library, White Collection 036422, obv. 14. *a-na É-a-nu [šá É.AN.NA (?)]*.

<sup>30</sup> Anu is invoked together with Ištar in the following letters: GCCI 2, 400: 2; BIN 1, 63: 3; 64: 5–6 (also with Nanaya); TCL 9, 95: 3, 5; YBC 11346: 3; 11396: 2, 5; YOS 3, 39: 3; 119: 3–4; 150: 3; 159: 3; 178: 3; 199: 4–5. Anu occurs alone once in the blessing formula of a letter (YOS 3, 1: 7). Anu also occurs with Ištar in curse formulas (YOS 7, 17: 16; AnOr 8, 18: 7) and in an oath (AnOr 8, 14: 16–17).

#### 7.5. Aššur (Anšar)

A deity named AN.ŠÁR was worshiped at Uruk during the Neo-Babylonian period.<sup>31</sup> This logogram may be interpreted in three different ways. One possibility is to read it dšár, which is a rare spelling of the divine name Iššar (= Ištar) in the first millennium. The main reason to reject this interpretation is that the name Iššar usually appears in a variety of spellings wherever it is attested, such as šar, dšár, iš-šar, iš-šár, dš-šar, and dš-šár, whereas the sole spelling we find in the Eanna archive is dšár. Therefore the deity must be AN.ŠÁR, but this does not by itself solve the question of the identity of this god. AN.ŠÁR could be the primeval deity Anšar, known from god lists and various scholarly and religious texts and sometimes equated with Anu and Antu (An = Anum I, 8: an-šar = MIN d<sub>a</sub>-nu-um u an-tum).<sup>32</sup> It seems more likely, however, that AN.ŠÁR of Uruk is Aššur, the supreme god of Assyria, whose name was almost always written AN.ŠÁR in official texts after the theological reforms of Sennacherib, who promoted the identification of Aššur with the primordial god Anšar. This appears indeed to be the most probable interpretation in consideration of the following text from the Eanna archive, UCP 9/2, 57:<sup>33</sup>

1. [o o o] 'MEŠ' [o o o o o o o o o o o o o o o o o o]
2. LUGAL AN 'NA' AB šá [o o o o o o o o o o o o]
3. 'ap-la-a A-šú šá [o o o o o o o o o o o o o o o]
4. 'MU'-iá A-šú šá [o o o o o o] ina IGI d<sub>na</sub>-[na-a o o o]
5. 'BAPPIR' [MEŠ šá É AN].ŠÁR 'ŠEŠ-lu-'mur' A-šú šá 'ina-qī-bi-[o o o]
6. A-šú šá 'AN.ŠÁR-NUMUN-DŪ [o o]-šú-'ma A\*-šú\* šá\* 'AD-[o o o]
7. 're-man-ni-AN.ŠÁR A-šú šá 'man-nu-a-ki-i-É-AN.ŠÁR 'MU-[o o o]
8. 'IGI-AN.ŠÁR-la-mur 'ri-bi-AN.ŠÁR an-nu-tu 'GÍR.LÁ [MEŠ o o]
9. 'AN.ŠÁR-da-a-nu 'UGULA šá AN.ŠÁR 'AN.ŠÁR-IBILA-MU [o o o]
10. 'mu-šal-lim-AN.ŠÁR an-nu-tu ('GAL)-'DŪ'.MEŠ šá É (AN).ŠÁR [o o o]
11. 'DUGI.QA! BUR 'ba-la-tu u 'mar-duk DUMU.MEŠ šá 'na-[o o o]
12. 'AN.ŠÁR-TIN-i' u 'na-din DUMU.[EŠ]\* šá 'NÁ-NUMUN\*-e-du-DŪ [o o o]
13. 'AN.ŠÁR-erī<sub>4</sub>-ba A-šú šá 'AMAR.UD-KAL 'id-di-ia A-šú šá 'IGI-[o o o]
14. A-šú šá 'gu-la-MU-DŪ an-nu-tu 'GAL-DŪ.MEŠ šá AN.Š[ÁR šá ina qaq-qa-ri šá AN.ŠÁR]
15. áš-ba 'pa-ni-<sup>d</sup>EN-la-mur A-šú šá 'gu-ri-ia 'EN-'x'-[o o o]
16. 'lib-bi-URU'ki\*<sup>1</sup>.meš 'DAM.GĀR.MEŠ šá [o o o]
17. [o o o o o o o o o o] ra [o o o o o o o o o o o o]

1. [o o o o o o o o o o o o o o o o]
2. the king, x x x [o o o o o o o o o o]
3. Aplā, son of [o o o o o o o o o o]
4. Šumiya, son of [o o o o] before Na[naya? o o o]
5. the brewer[s] of the temple of Aššur; Aḫu-lūmur, son of Ina-qībi-[o o o],
6. son of Aššur-zēr-ibni; [o o]-šumi, son of Abu-[o o o];
7. Rēmanni-Aššur, son of Mannu-akī-bīt-Aššur, Iddin-[o o o];

<sup>31</sup> The questions raised by the presence of the god Aššur in Uruk are investigated in detail in BEAULIEU 1997a.

<sup>32</sup> LITKE 1998, p. 21.

<sup>33</sup> The text was collated by Dr. Laurie Pearce. The tablet is now housed in the Lowie Museum and bears the new museum number UCLM 9/2532. The former number was UCBC 406.

8. Pānī-Aššur-lāmur; Rībi-Aššur; these are the butchers [o o o];
9. Aššur-dayān, the overseer of Aššur; Aššur-apla-iddin [o o o];
10. Mušallim-Aššur; these are the *rab-banī*<sup>34</sup> of the temple<sup>35</sup> of Aššur [o o o];
11. the potter; Balātu and Marduk, sons of Na-[o o o];
12. Aššur-uballiṭ and Nādin, sons of Nabū-zēr-ēdi-ibni [o o o];
13. Aššur-erība, son of Marduk-mudammiq; Iddiya, son of Pānī-[o o o];
14. son of Gula-šum-ibni; these are the *rab-banī* of Aššur who, on the estates of Aššur,]
15. live;<sup>36</sup> Pānī-Bēl-lāmur, son of Guriya; Bēl-[o o o];
16. the natives of the city Assur; the merchants of [o o o];
17. [o o o o o o o o o o o o o o o o o o]

The presence in this text of such unmistakably Assyrian personal names as Pānī-Aššur-lāmur (8. IGI-AN.ŠĀR-*la-mur*) and Pānī-Bēl-lāmur (15. *lpa-ni*-<sup>d</sup>EN-*la-mur*), as well as the mention of residents of the city Assur (16. <sup>l</sup>lib-bi-URU<sup>'ki'</sup>.meš), indicate that the logogram AN.ŠĀR must denote the god Aššur. This evidence not only shows that the god Aššur was officially worshiped at Uruk during the Neo-Babylonian period, but also that a colony of Assyrians was transplanted there, very probably to organize and carry on the cult of the god. The most likely period for the arrival of Aššur and his cultic functionaries is the 7th century, when that region fell in the Assyrian orbit. Since Assyrian rulers were generally reluctant to impose worship of Aššur in conquered territories,<sup>37</sup> one presumes that the god was introduced to Uruk without coercion. This scenario seems not at all unlikely, considering the existence of a strong pro-Assyrian faction at Uruk at the time of Nabopolassar's rebellion.<sup>38</sup> The main justification for importing the cult of Aššur to Uruk was probably the equation of Anu, the old god of Uruk, with the primeval deity Anšar, officially identified with Aššur under the Sargonid kings of Assyria. The identity of Anšar and Anu is proclaimed in CT 24, pl. 49, K 4349E, in which the divine name Anšar is provided with a gloss recommending a reading <sup>d</sup>a-nu, and which further equates the god with Enlil: 7. and<sup>d</sup>a-nu-šār: <sup>d</sup>en-lil. Some evidence indicates that a god list with the incipit Anšar=Anu was known in the first millennium.<sup>39</sup> The existence of a canal named Aššurītu at Uruk in the Neo-Babylonian period (RGTC 8, p. 365, s.v. Nār-Aššurītu), as well as a town of the same name (RGTC 8, pp. 35–36, s.v. Aššurītu), also hints at Assyrian influence, although it is not certain whether they were named in honor of the goddess Aššurītu, the Assyrian form of Ištar, as the word is never prefixed with the divine determinative (§ 6.4).

<sup>34</sup> The copy suggests the reading <sup>'</sup>ix-DÜ'.MEŠ. This could be restored <sup>l</sup>GAL-DÜ.MEŠ or <sup>l</sup>DUMU-DÜ.MEŠ. Dr. Pearce's collation, however, confirms that there is nothing between *tu* and <sup>'</sup>DÜ'. Therefore the text must be emended to (<sup>l</sup>DUMU) or (<sup>l</sup>GAL).

<sup>35</sup> É (AN).ŠĀR [o o] could also be read É.ŠĀR.[RA], the name of the temple of Aššur in the city Assur.

<sup>36</sup> As in line 10, <sup>l</sup>GAL-DÜ.MEŠ might also be read <sup>l</sup>DUMU<sup>'</sup>-DÜ.MEŠ. The missing passage in line 14 is tentatively restored on the basis of NBC 4913 which enumerates various households with the formula PN<sub>1</sub> *apilšu ša* PN<sub>2</sub> *ina qaqqari ša Nanaya ašib* "PN<sub>1</sub>, son of PN<sub>2</sub>, lives on the estates of Nanaya," and ends with the following summary: line 27. 'PAP' 26 É.MEŠ *ša ana-na-a ša* <sup>l</sup>DUMU<sup>'</sup>-DÜ.MEŠ *ina lib-bi 'dš-ba'* "Total: 26 houses of Nanaya in which the *mār-banīs* live." NBC 4913 will be discussed in a separate study.

<sup>37</sup> These are the conclusions reached by COGAN 1974, pp. 111–113. Further discussions of this question can be found in COGAN 1993, MCKAY 1973, SPIECKERMANN 1982, and HOLLOWAY 1992.

<sup>38</sup> On this faction see BEAULIEU 1997b, pp. 378–383.

<sup>39</sup> On this god list see REINER 1996; and LAMBERT 1976, p. 314, K 14067+Rm 150, line 4. AN.ŠĀR <sup>d</sup>a-[nu-um].

The temple of AN.ŠĀR, one of the small independent sanctuaries of Uruk (*ekurrātu*), is mentioned in several *SWU* texts. The king held some of the offering days before AN.ŠĀR. These offerings were performed by the local prebendaries Bazūzu and Šamaš-mukīn-apli, the latter to be identified as the chief of the brewers (*šāpir sirāšē*) of the Eanna temple, a function he inherited from his father Madānu-aḥḥē-iddin.<sup>40</sup> Four texts are allotments of barley to the brewers or bakers; *SWU* 26: rev. 23'. [o o] *šā* ITI NE *ina* É AN.ŠĀR *i-qar-ru-b[u]* <sup>l</sup>UTU-DU-IBILA "[o o] for the month Abu is offered in the temple of Aššur, Šamaš-mukīn-apli;" *SWU* 46: obv. 9'. [É <sup>d</sup>lugal-ir<sub>9</sub>-ra u É AN.ŠĀR *šā* LUGAL <sup>l</sup>UTU-DU-A u <sup>'</sup>x'-[o o] "[o o for the temple of] Lugalirra and the temple of Aššur, (offering days) of the king, Šamaš-mukīn-apli and <sup>'</sup>x'[o o];" *SWU* 65: rev. 4'. É AN.ŠĀR É [o o o] "[for] the temple of Aššur (and) the temple of [o o o];" and *SWU* 72: rev. 12'. [o o] *šā* É <sup>d</sup>a<sup>'</sup>-nu É <sup>d</sup>en-lil É AN.ŠĀR É <sup>d</sup>za-ba<sub>4</sub>-ba<sub>4</sub> x' [o o o] "[o o] for the temple of Anu, the temple of Enlil, the temple of Aššur, the temple of Zababa, [o o o]." *SWU* 88 is an allotment of barley to the bakers to make *takkasū* confections: rev. 8'. [o o] <sup>'</sup>É <sup>d</sup>lugal-ir<sub>9</sub>-ra É AN.ŠĀR É.IG.ĤAL.AN.KI "[o o for] the temple of Lugalirra, the temple of Aššur, the Eighalanki." Two texts are deliveries of unknown commodities; *SWU* 104: rev. 5'. [É <sup>d</sup>en-lil](?) É AN.ŠĀR É <sup>d</sup>lugal-ir<sub>9</sub>-ra "[for the temple of Enli]l(?), the temple of Aššur, the temple of Lugalirra;" and *SWU* 105: rev. 4'. <sup>'</sup>x' É AN.ŠĀR *šā* LUGAL <sup>'</sup>ba-zu-zu "(for) the temple of Aššur, (offering days) of the king, Bazuzu." An unspecified substance is also mentioned in the Group B offering list YBC 9932 (7. 1/2 É AN.ŠĀR). Finally YOS 7, 78 is a record of a criminal investigation which mentions that wool is stored in the temple of Aššur: 7. *um-ma a-mur* SÍG.ĤÁ *iš-ši-ni ina* É AN.ŠĀR *šak-na-a'* "Now, this wool is stored in the temple of Aššur."

## 7.6. Bēl (of Babylon)

References to the god Bēl in texts from the archive pose some difficulties. While it appears that in most cases they involve the god Marduk worshiped in the Esagil temple in Babylon, it is still possible that some references are in fact to the symbol of Bēl worshiped in the Eanna temple. GCCI 2, 371, an account of sacrificial sheep offered in Eanna during a 6-year period, mentions such sacrifices to the god Bēl in a broken context: 12. [o o o] <sup>'</sup>8' *šā a-na* <sup>d</sup>EN. NCBT 183 mentions the allocation of 1 *kurru* of various grains for the god Bēl: 1. 1 (GUR) *a-na* <sup>d</sup>EN; since it is followed on line 2 by the same allocation to Nabū, one could argue that the delivery was intended for the altars surmounted with the symbols of the two gods (§ 5.1). Texts from the archive contain a few references to the temple slaves (*širku*) of Bēl (GCCCI 1, 235: 3–4; GCCI 1, 401: 2; GCCI 2 179: 2; TCL 9, 146: 17'; YBC 11598: 1). However, it is probable that the god Bēl of Esagil is involved in all these cases.<sup>41</sup> The god Bēl also appears in two toponyms, the canal of Bēl (Nār Bēl) in GCCI 2, 398: 17'. <sup>l</sup>D <sup>d</sup>EN; and the Tamirtu-ša-Bēl in

<sup>40</sup> The genealogical tree of that family is reconstructed by KÜMMEL 1979, p. 133.

<sup>41</sup> This seems certain for GCCI 1, 235: 3. 1 *dan-nu* 3 BĀN *a-na* <sup>l</sup>šī-rak<sup>me</sup> 4. *šā* <sup>d</sup>EN *šā šī-pir-ti šā* <sup>l</sup>šĀ.TAM 5. *šā* É.SAG.İL *a-na* UGU 6. <sup>l</sup>BAN.ME *a-na* IGI <sup>l</sup>qī-i-pu *iš-šu-ni* "A vat of 3 *sāus* (of beer) for the temple slaves of Bēl who brought the message of the *šatammu* of Esagil to the *qīpu* (of Eanna) concerning the archers."

TEBR 36: 3. GARIN šá dEN. The many texts related to date palm cultivation which mention the “tithe for Bēl,” probably instituted by Belshazzar, almost certainly relate to the god Bēl of Babylon. NCBT 1245 records allotments of <sup>u</sup>šKUR.RA garments for the workmen in charge of the wall and processional way of Bēl: 12. 2 <sup>u</sup>ERÍN.ME šá ina UGU BĀD u ma-la-ku šá dEN, but here again it must refer to the god Bēl of Babylon. The same remark applies to TCL 13, 132: 1 and 133: 10–11, which mention sheep and cattle branded with the spade (*marru*), the symbol of Marduk. As discussed earlier the legal deposition recorded in YOS 7, 20 contains evidence that the gods of Babylon and Borsippa may occasionally have traveled to Uruk to participate in rituals (§ 4.5.7.3). This leaves open the possibility that some mentions of the god Bēl in the Eanna archive refer to the manifestation of Bēl/Marduk residing in the Esagil temple in Babylon.

### 7.7. Bēl-āliya

This is the generic name, usually translated “mayor,” of many Babylonian deities. A deity dEN-URU-ia appears twice in texts from the archive. TCL 9, 114 mentions its offerings of *mersu* cakes: 20. <sup>u</sup>šGIŠIMMAR mi-ir-si 21. šá dEN-URU-ia 22. it-ta-ši “(Ibni-Ištar) has withdrawn the date palms (which will supply dates for) the *mersu* cakes of Bēl-āliya.” YOS 3, 62 mentions the offerings of Bēl-āliya and other deities as well as pieces of their attire: 22. gi-né-e šá an-tu<sub>4</sub> dEN-URU-ia 23. u dDUMU-É EN lu-še-bi-la 24. pi-in-gu u tur-kul-la-šú-nu UD.KA.BAR-šú-nu 25. a-na e-re-bi ina muḫ-ḫi-ia 26. qí-bi-ma 5 MA.NA DUḫ.LĀL 27. ul-tu É.AN.NA lu-še-bi-lu-ni “May (my) lord send me the regular offerings of Antu, Bēl-āliya, and Mār-bīti; give orders on my behalf concerning their knobs and *tarkullus* of bronze for the ceremony of entering (the temple?) and send me 5 minas of honey from Eanna” (§ 6.2). These two letters probably stem from the administration of a cult center which was partly dependent on the Eanna temple for its offerings and religious ceremonies. Since YOS 3, 62 mentions Larsa it is possible that the letter originates from there. This is also supported by the theophoric name in Šamaš of the sender. We do not know, however, if Larsa had a divine mayor. Another possible place of origin for the letter is Kullab, whose divine mayor according to the ‘Nippur Compendium’ was the god Pisangunuk (or Mesangunuk):<sup>42</sup> d<sup>u</sup>pi<sup>u</sup>san<sup>u</sup>ag-unug<sup>ki</sup>=dEN-URU-i[a šá u]r<sup>u</sup>kul-<sup>u</sup>aba<sup>4</sup><sup>ki</sup> “Pi/Mesangunuk (is) the Divine Mayor of Kullab.”<sup>43</sup> This divine mayor could be the one mentioned in TCL 9, 114 and YOS 3, 62.<sup>44</sup>

### 7.8. Bēl-SA-našru and Gula

This god appears in only one text, YOS 6, 145, which mentions the temple of Bēl-SA-našru (5. É dEN-SA-(na)-aš-ru), the capacity standard of the god (4. ma-ši-ḫu šá dEN-SA-na-aš-ru), and his *qīpu* official, named Nabū-šar-ušur (20. <sup>u</sup>NA-LUGAL-ŪRI

<sup>u</sup>qí-i-pi šá dEN-SA-na-aš-ru). The same text also mentions the property of the god Bēl-SA-našru and the goddess Gula: 1. 136 GUR ŠE.BAR NÍG.GA dEN-SA-na-aš-ru 2. u <sup>u</sup>gu-la “136 *kurrus* of barley, the property of Bēl-SA-našru and Gula.” The fact that the goddess Gula appears in this text to be his spouse could mean that Bēl-SA-našru was only a name for dIGI.DU of Uruk, since this god was also closely associated with Gula. As noted earlier, however, the identity of the couples Gula/dIGI.DU and Bēl-SA-našru/Gula is compromised by the fact that in the former case the goddess Gula always take precedence over dIGI.DU, while the opposite is true of Bēl-SA-našru and Gula (§ 5.4). Another possibility is to identify this manifestation of Gula as the one residing in Bīt-Gula (§ 6.7), but no conclusive evidence points in that direction.

The divine name Bēl-SA-našru is otherwise unknown. SA might be the Sumerogram for *šer’ānu* “muscle, blood-vessel,” and na-aš-ru a form of the verb *našāru* “to keep, preserve, watch,” perhaps the attributive verbal adjective. If we follow this interpretation the name Bēl-SA-našru would be a deified epithet celebrating the medicinal powers of a deity. This would indeed seem appropriate for the consort of the goddess Gula.<sup>45</sup> If we accept the equation Bēl-SA-našru=dIGI.DU of Uruk, then the god dIGI.DU might be a form of Ninurta, but since Nergal and Ninurta are often assimilated to one another in late theology, it is equally possible that dIGI.DU is a local form of Nergal identified with Ninurta. This seems indeed a better interpretation given the common reading of dIGI.DU as Nergal in that period, although the question cannot be decided at present.

### 7.9. Bunene

The god Bunene, worshiped in Larsa, is mentioned in GCCI 2, 343: 13. <sup>u</sup>bu-ne-ne; and in *SWU* 117: obv. 13’ and 19’. <sup>u</sup>bu-ne-ne. He is also invoked in the address formulas of a number of letters sent from Larsa: BIN 1, 1: 4; BIN 1, 10: 5; NCBT 58: 3; PTS 2005: 3;<sup>46</sup> W 18904a: 4;<sup>47</sup> YOS 3, 56: 3; YOS 3, 78: 4; and YOS 3, 82: 4. This material will be discussed in a study of Larsa in the late periods.

### 7.10. Dumuzi

The Sumerian King List mentions two divine Dumuzis. One is known as “the shepherd,” lived before the flood, and was king in Bad-tibira. The other is known as “the fisherman,” lived after the flood, and reigned as king of Uruk after Lugalbanda and before Gilgamesh.<sup>48</sup> Unlike Gilgamesh, Lugalbanda, and Enmerkar, this latter Dumuzi did not become the subject of an epic cycle. The rich Sumerian literary tradition which developed around the figure of the god Dumuzi appears to relate to the first Dumuzi, the shepherd, although there is evidence that the two figures may have been conflated.<sup>49</sup>

<sup>42</sup> On the reading of this divine name see BIGGS 1974, p. 54; SELZ 1995, p. 217; and KREBERNIK 1993–1997.

<sup>43</sup> Latest edition of this text in GEORGE 1992, pp. 150–151.

<sup>44</sup> The toponym Kullab could be either the district of Uruk named Kullab, or another town named Kullab located in the Sealand province (RGTC 8, p. 202, s.v. Kullabi; and § 6.15).

<sup>45</sup> On Ninurta as a healer god in association with his consort Gula, see RITTER 1965, pp. 300–301.

<sup>46</sup> Published by ZADOK 1997, who posits a Sippar origin.

<sup>47</sup> Published by GEHLKEN 1995, pp. 172–174, text no. 5.

<sup>48</sup> JACOBSEN 1939, pp. 72–73 and 88–89. See also the latest translation and commentary of the list by GLASSNER 1993, pp. 137–142, who calls it “la chronique de la monarchie une.”

<sup>49</sup> EDZARD 1965, pp. 51–53. This is also the opinion of ALSTER 1972, pp. 14–15. It is important to note,

During the Old Babylonian period the god Dumuzi is mentioned as “Dumuzi of Uruk” (dumu-zi unug<sup>ki</sup>) in a document from the palace of Sîn-kāšid, perhaps an offering list.<sup>50</sup>

Dûzu, the 4th month of the Babylonian calendar, was named after Dumuzi. The text known as Astrolabe B reflects this tradition, referring to the month Dûzu as “the month in which the shepherd, Dumuzi, was captured” (ITI SIPA d<sup>u</sup>dumu-zi ik-ka-mu-û).<sup>51</sup> The ritual, cyclical death of Dumuzi coincided with the beginning of the harsh Mesopotamian summer. Therefore it is not surprising that the ritual LKU 51 mentions Dumuzi in connection with ritual activities beginning on the 27th day of Dûzu: 29. ALAM d<sup>u</sup>dumu-zi uš-ša-am-ma ina KÁ.GAL-i in-na-an-b[i o o o] “The image of Dumuzi comes out and [o o] x x at the gate.” This image (šalmu) of Dumuzi was probably an unconsecrated representation of the god, since cult statues were normally designated only by the divine name in order to emphasize the identity of image and divine substance. This makes it probable that the cultic activities surrounding this image of Dumuzi were analogous to the *taklimtu* festival celebrated in Assyria during the first millennium, and which involved the ritual lying-in-state of a representation of the god during the month Dûzu.<sup>52</sup>

Not surprisingly, all dated texts which refer to cultic activities involving the god Dumuzi in the Eanna archive fall at the end of the month Dûzu and the beginning of the month Abu, and it is highly probable that they all relate to the ritual celebration of his death. SWU 88 records an allotment of *takkasû* confections for the cult of Dumuzi on the 27th day of Dûzu, which according to LKU 51 is precisely the day when the rituals centered on Dumuzi began: rev. 9'. [o o] '2 BÂN' tak-ka-su-ú šá U<sub>4</sub> 27-KAM šá ITI ŠU ina É [o o] 10'. [o o] a-na d<sup>u</sup>dumu-zi i-qar-ru-bu “[o o] 2 sātus of *takkasû* confections which are offered to Dumuzi in the temple of [o o] on the 27th day of Dûzu.” According to FLP 1564, two days later necklaces were taken from the chest of the goddess Ušur-amāssu and put on Dumuzi (§ 4.4.2.4): 1. [n]<sup>a</sup>4GÚ.ME šá TA gišPISAN šá d<sup>u</sup>URI-INIM-su 2. a-na UGU d<sup>u</sup>dumu-zi i-lu-ú ITI ŠU 3. U<sub>4</sub> 29-KAM MU 5-KAM d<sup>u</sup>NA-I LUGAL Ek<sup>i</sup> “Necklaces from the chest of Ušur-amāssu which went on Dumuzi. Month Dûzu, the 29th day, the 5th year of Nabonidus, king of Babylon.” The clothing of Dumuzi is listed in GCCI 2, 108, which is also dated to the 29th day of Dûzu: 1. 1/2 MA.NA u<sup>u</sup>gmi-iḫ-ši BABBAR-ú 2. 1 u<sup>u</sup>gÚR 3. 3 GÍN ṭi-mu šá pi-i-ši 4. 3 GÍN ṭi-mu šá s<sup>u</sup>gHĒ.ME.DA giš\*ḪAB\* 5. 2 GÍN ṭi-mu šá s<sup>u</sup>gZA.GÍN.KUR.RA 6. PAP šá d<sup>u</sup>dumu-zi “1/2 mina of white woven cloth (for) 1 loincloth, 3 shekels of white thread, 3 shekels of red-colored thread (dyed) with *hūratu*, 2 shekels of blue-colored thread. Total (for the clothing) of Dumuzi.” His loincloths are also mentioned in PTS 3257:<sup>53</sup> 1. [o o M]A.NA u<sup>u</sup>gmi-iḫ-šu BABBAR-ú ... 3. 9 u<sup>u</sup>gÚR.ME ina lib-bi 1 šá d<sup>u</sup>dumu-zi “[o] minas of white woven cloth ... (for) 9 loincloths, including 1 for Dumuzi.” This disbursement was made

however, that in Sumerian laments for Dumuzi dating to the second and first millennia, various names of antediluvian kings of Larak and Bad-tibira are given as epithets of Dumuzi (ALSTER 1985). This should indicate that the tradition crystallized mainly around the antediluvian Dumuzi, the shepherd, as recently noted by HALLO 1996, pp. 228–229.

<sup>50</sup> MAUER 1987, p. 157, no. 38, obv. 3'. [o o o] d<sup>u</sup>dumu-zi unug<sup>ki</sup>. Discussion of Dumuzi at Uruk during the Old Babylonian period by RICHTER 1999, pp. 262–264.

<sup>51</sup> Edition in REINER, PINGREE 1981, pp. 151–152.

<sup>52</sup> See DALLEY 1991, p. 154, and DALLEY 1997, p. 381, with references to previous discussions.

<sup>53</sup> The subscription of this text reads as follows: 11. a-na u<sup>u</sup>gNÍG.LÁM šá U<sub>4</sub> 1-KAM šá ITI NE “for the clothing ceremony of the 1st day of the month Abu,” but it is uncertain whether this note refers to all the items mentioned in the text or only to the one which immediately precedes it.

for the clothing ceremony of the 1st day of the month Abu (11. a-na u<sup>u</sup>gNÍG.LÁM šá U<sub>4</sub> 1-KAM šá ITI NE ). Since this text is dated to the 28th day of Dûzu, it is probable that the items listed in FLP 1564 and GCCI 2, 108 were allotted for that same clothing ceremony, which is also mentioned in the ritual LKU 51: obv. 32. i-na ITI NE U<sub>4</sub> 1-KAM lu-bu-uš-tu<sub>4</sub> “In the month Abu, on the 1st day, (there is a) clothing ceremony.” Probably related to this same stream of ritual activities for Dumuzi is NCBT 1178, dated to the 6th day of the month Abu: 11. 2 SĪLA tak-ka-su-ú 12. 1 SĪLA ka-ma-nu 13. a-na d<sup>u</sup>dumu-zi “2 qûs of *takkasû* confections (and) 1 qû of sweetened cake for Dumuzi.” Dumuzi also appears in SWU 26, an allotment of barley to the brewers dated to the month Dûzu (day broken): rev. 19'. [o o o] u U<sub>4</sub> [o]-KAM šá ITI ŠU a-na d<sup>u</sup>dumu-zi [i o o] “[o o o] and on the [o]th day of the month Dûzu [is offered] to Dumuzi;” SWU 124 is an allotment of barley, probably to both brewers and bakers: rev. 11'. [o o] 'x x a-na' d<sup>u</sup>dumu-zi i-qar-ru-bu “[o o] x x are offered to Dumuzi” (month unknown). A further text of the same type is VS 20, 91: rev. 4'. [o o] 'd<sup>u</sup>dumu-zi i-qar-r[u-bu] “[o o] are offered to Dumuzi,” but the commodity allotted and the month in which the allotment took place are unknown.

### 7.11. Ea, Enlil, d<sup>u</sup>BE

There is evidence that both Ea and Enlil were worshiped at Uruk during the Neo-Babylonian period. Study of the material related to the two gods presents some problems because of the frequent use of the logogram d<sup>u</sup>BE, which may refer to either Ea or Enlil. Therefore the two deities can be confidently identified only when the scribes wrote their names syllabically. In addition there are some mentions in the archive of the gods Ea of Eridu and Ea of Nēmed-Lagūda, two cities located in the Sealand.

#### 7.11.1. The God Ea

The earliest evidence for a cult of Ea/Enki at Uruk dates to the reign of king Sîn-kāšid, who left an inscription recording the rebuilding of the sanctuary of Enki in Uruk.<sup>54</sup> Syllabic spellings of this divine name are rare in the Eanna archive. Offerings in the temple of Ea, one of the small independent sanctuaries of Uruk (*ekurrātu*), are mentioned in SWU 26: rev. 17'. [o o o] ù É d<sup>u</sup>é-a [o o o], a text dealing with deliveries of barley to the brewers; and in SWU 72: rev. 10'. [o o] É d<sup>u</sup>é-a l<sup>a</sup>ba-ši-d<sup>u</sup>AMAR.UD u<sup>u</sup>UGULA “[o o] for the temple of Ea, Lābāši-Marduk, the supervisor,” a text listing deliveries of barley to the bakers. YBC 9932, belonging to Group B of offering lists, mentions deliveries of an unspecified substance for the temple of Ea: 16. 1 'É d<sup>u</sup>é-a'. The gardens of the temple of Ea are mentioned in AnOr 9, 3: 42. PAP 9 gišKIRI<sub>6</sub>.MEŠ É d<sup>u</sup>é-a “Total: 9 gardens belonging to the temple of Ea;” and AnOr 9, 2: 52. PAP 8 gišKIRI<sub>6</sub>.MEŠ 7 ME 20 SAG.KI (erasure) qaq-qa-ru šá gišKIRI<sub>6</sub>.MEŠ É d<sup>u</sup>é-a “Total: 8 gardens, (measuring) 720 cubits on the short side, domain of the gardens belonging to the temple of Ea.” This appears to confirm that the *bīt Ea* was a separate temple. Finally a canal (or river) of Ea

<sup>54</sup> FRAYNE 1990, E4.4.1.10. Discussion of Ea/Enki at Uruk during the Old Babylonian period in RICHTER 1999, pp. 264–265.



might be mentioned in the inscription of Kaššû-bêl-zêri: 7. ID <sup>d</sup>é?-[a?].<sup>55</sup> The cult of Ea flourished at Uruk until the Seleucid period. At that time the god rose in importance considerably because of the theological reforms of the 5th and 4th centuries. In the sales of prebends in the Rêš and Irigal temples Ea occupies the 4th place in the divine hierarchy, just after Anu, Antu, and Enlil. This reflects the rank claimed by the god in the national pantheon.

### 7.11.2. The God Enlil

The cult of Enlil at Uruk goes back to the Old Babylonian period, when two forms of the deity were worshiped locally: Enlil-from-Nippur, and Enlil-from-the-City.<sup>56</sup> In the first millennium Enlil is usually paired with Anu. Their earliest occurrence is in the *kudurru* of Ibni-Ištar, in which this prebendary of Eanna receives the privilege of the offerings of bread and beer before the gods Anu and Enlil: col. I. 23. I ŠILA NINDA.ĤÁ I ŠILA KAŠ.SAG 24. IGI <sup>a</sup>-nù u <sup>a</sup>en-lil “1 *qû* of bread, 1 *qû* of beer, before Anu and Enlil.”<sup>57</sup> Deliveries of barley to the temples of Anu and Enlil are listed together in five *SWU* texts discussed earlier (§ 7.4). Two additional *SWU* texts which record deliveries of unknown commodities contain references to that temple; *SWU* 101: rev. 3'. [o o o <sup>a</sup>en-lil]; and perhaps *SWU* 104: rev. 5'. [o o o <sup>a</sup>en-lil?]. The temple of Enlil was one of the small sanctuaries of Uruk (*ekurrātu*). Offerings of dates to Enlil are mentioned in an unclear context in NCBT 120: 9. PAP 8 *ma-šaḥ* (ZÚ.LUM.MA) *a-na* KAŠ.[ĤÁ SU]M.NA 10. šá <sup>gi</sup>ŠURUxGU! šá u<sub>4</sub>-<sup>r</sup>mu? <sup>a</sup>en-lil “Total, 8 *mašīḥus* (of dates) allotted for beer, for the offering table of the offering days(?) before Enlil.” A gate of Enlil (KÁ.GAL <sup>a</sup>en-lil) is mentioned in NBC 4586: 2 and AUWE 5, 130: 10. In Seleucid Uruk Enlil was worshiped as the 3rd deity in importance after Anu and Antu.

### 7.11.3. The God <sup>a</sup>BE

Since the scribes of Eanna may have employed the logogram <sup>a</sup>BE to write the names of either Ea or Enlil, or even the names of both gods indifferently, the following references may be to either of them. NCBT 144 records a disbursement of flour for the workmen who carried barley in the temple of <sup>a</sup>BE: 3. *a-na* <sup>u</sup>ERÍN.MEŠ šá ŠE.BAR 4. *ina* <sup>a</sup>BE *iz-bi-lu-u* “for the workmen who carried barley in the temple of <sup>a</sup>BE,” but it is uncertain whether this barley was intended as offering material. Additional offerings might be mentioned in the fragmentary text VS 20, 103: 5. <sup>r</sup>ul-tu <sup>a</sup>BE. *SWU* 46 also mentions deliveries of barley to the brewers for that temple: rev. 7'. [o o o <sup>a</sup>BE].KISAL <sup>a</sup>za-qip-<sup>(tu<sub>4</sub>)</sup> <sup>a</sup>GIGIR u <sup>a</sup>BE <sup>u</sup>[o o]. Offerings of sacrificial animals in that temple are probably recorded in *SWU* 160: 3, belonging to Group B of offering lists. YBC 9442 mentions the delivery of a bronze bowl for the sacred meal in the temple of <sup>a</sup>BE: 1. 1-*et qa-bu-ut-tú* UD.KA.BAR 2. *a-na nap-ta-nu* 3. šá <sup>a</sup>BE “1 bowl of bronze for the sacred meal in the temple of <sup>a</sup>BE.”

<sup>55</sup> FRAME 1995, B.4.0.2001.

<sup>56</sup> See SANATI-MÜLLER 1995, p. 72, offering list W 20208,3: line 1'. I (gur) <sup>a</sup>en-lil ša-uru<sup>ki</sup>; and line 2'. I (gur) <sup>a</sup>en-lil ša-nibru<sup>ki</sup>. See also RICHTER 1999, pp. 276–277.

<sup>57</sup> THUREAU-DANGIN 1919, p. 125.

YBC 4134 is a list of fields located in the domains of the temple of <sup>a</sup>BE: 1. A.ŠÁ šá A.ME šá <sup>u</sup>IR-<sup>d</sup>innin-na [o o] 2. *ina* <sup>a</sup>BE *ina* A.ŠÁ šá <sup>u</sup>kal-ba-a “The field of the sons of Arad-Innin [o o] in the (estates of the) temple of <sup>a</sup>BE, from the field of Kalbâ;” and 23. A.ŠÁ šá <sup>u</sup>ba-la-tu A <sup>u</sup>tab-né-e-a 24. *ina* A.ŠÁ šá <sup>u</sup>kal-ba-a *ina* <sup>a</sup>BE “The field of Balātu, son of Tabnēa, from the field of Kalbâ in the (estates of the) temple of <sup>a</sup>BE.” YBC 7415 records the sale of a house located on the same domains: 1. *ṭup-pi* <sup>a</sup>BE *ep-šu sip-pu rak-su* 2. <sup>a</sup>BE *rug-gu-bu!* <sup>gi</sup>ŠIG <sup>gi</sup>ŠAG<sup>4</sup>.KUL 3. *ku-un-nu* KI-ti <sup>a</sup>BE šá *qé-reb* UNUG<sup>ki</sup> “Tablet (recording the sale) of a house in good repair condition, (with) door frames in place, an attic, a door (and) the locks installed, (located) on the domains of the temple of <sup>a</sup>BE in Uruk,” and the document further states that this piece of real estate adjoined a house owned by a daughter of Nebuchadnezzar II named Ba'u-asītu.<sup>58</sup> The temple and its estates were still in existence during the late Achaemenid period. NCBT 1029, a private transaction from Uruk dated to the 41st year of Artaxerxes, records a division of inheritance which includes a piece of land in the district of that temple: 7. KI-ti <sup>a</sup>BE šá UNUG<sup>ki</sup> “the district of the temple of <sup>a</sup>BE in Uruk.”<sup>59</sup>

### 7.11.4. The Gods Ea of Eridu and Ea of Nēmed-Lagūda

Ea appears in the salutation formulas of three letters which were presumably sent from Eridu. In all these cases it is evident that <sup>a</sup>BE must be read Ea because of his association with the goddess Damkina; BIN 1, 47: 6. <sup>a</sup>BE u <sup>a</sup>dam-ki-an-<sup>r</sup>na; TCL 9, 135: 3. <sup>a</sup>BE u <sup>a</sup>dam-ki-na; and YOS 3, 122: 3. <sup>a</sup>BE 4. u <sup>a</sup>dam-ki-an-na. Another letter, sent from the king (probably Nebuchadnezzar II) to high officials of Eanna (Ninurta-šar-ušur, Nabû-nādin-šumi, and Marduk-ēṭir), mentions the seal belonging to the god Ea of Eridu or Ea of Nēmed-Lagūda; SMITH 1926, p. 442, 11. <sup>na</sup>4KIŠIB šu-ú 12. *lu-ú šá dé-a* 13. šá NUN<sup>ki</sup> 14. *lu-ú dé-a* 15. šá <sup>u</sup>uné-med-<sup>a</sup>la-gu-da “this seal, whether (it belongs) to Ea of Eridu or to Ea of Nēmed-Lagūda.”

## 7.12. Gašru

The god Gašru, who is known as a form of Lugalirra,<sup>60</sup> appears in GCCI 2, 337: 1. 2 MA.NA KÙ.BABBAR šá *ina pa-ni* 2. <sup>u</sup>ŠEŠ-SI.SÁ <sup>u</sup>qí-i-pi 3. šá <sup>a</sup>BE ZU.AB *ina* <sup>u</sup>u<sup>u</sup>-pi-*iá* 4. SUM.NA-šú *ina* <sup>a</sup>gaš-ru 5. IGI-er “2 minas of silver which are at the disposal of Aḥ-ušallim, the *qīpu* of Eabzu, given to him in Opis (and) received in the temple of Gašru.” This deity was evidently not worshiped at Uruk, however, but at Opis, whose patron god was Nergal. Another mention of Gašru occurs in YOS 17, 256, which is a small fragment of a list of craftsmen summed up as follows: 8'. šá <sup>a</sup>BE <sup>a</sup>gaš-ru “for/of the temple of Gašru,” but it is uncertain whether this text belongs to the Eanna archive. This temple was possibly the one located at Opis. The god Gašru is also attested at Emar, Mari, and Ugarit. At Ugarit he was known as a god of the netherworld.<sup>61</sup>

<sup>58</sup> This text is published and discussed in BEAULIEU 1998a, pp. 174–181.

<sup>59</sup> This text is published by BEAULIEU, STOLPER 1995.

<sup>60</sup> LAMBERT 1987–1990, p. 143.

<sup>61</sup> STEINKELLER 1987a, pp. 165–166, who also discusses the equation of the word *gašru* with the god Erra

## 7.13. Gilgameš

The legendary hero and king of Uruk, Gilgameš, became a deity of the netherworld in the Mesopotamian pantheon.<sup>62</sup> Surprisingly, however, there is only scanty evidence for a cult of Gilgameš at Uruk. He is mentioned in an Ur III document in connection with rituals taking place at Uruk.<sup>63</sup> An Old Babylonian inscription of king Anam of Uruk commemorates the restoration of the city wall, which he claims to have originally been built by the divine Gilgameš.<sup>64</sup> Three Neo-Babylonian texts from the Eanna archive mention a garden of Gilgameš; AnOr 9, 2: 22. PAP 7 <sup>giš</sup>KIRI<sub>6</sub>.MEŠ 1 IGI 8 ME *mi-ši-iḫ-ti qaq-qa-ru* ‘<sup>giš</sup>KIRI<sub>6</sub>’ dGIŠ.BIL.KA!.’MES\*<sup>1</sup> “7 gardens, measuring 1,800 cubits, land of the garden of Gilgameš;” AnOr 9, 3: 20. PAP 7 <sup>giš</sup>KIRI<sub>6</sub>.MEŠ <sup>giš</sup>KIRI<sub>6</sub> dGIŠ.BIL.KA!.’MES\* “Total: 7 gardens, (in) the garden of Gilgameš;” and YOS 19, 97: 4. ‘<sup>giš</sup>KIRI<sub>6</sub>’ dGIŠ.GÍN’MAŠ. A garden of Gilgameš in the city of Dēr is mentioned in *SpTU* IV 185, rev. 7’. <sup>giš</sup>KIRI<sub>6</sub> dGIŠ.GÍN.MAŠ, a text from Uruk dated to the Seleucid period.

## 7.14. Ilū-ša-māt-tāmti

A group of gods named “the gods of the Sealand” (*ilū ša māt tāmti*) appears in PTS 3 192: 4. DINGIR.ME šá KUR *tam-ti*, which records that *billatu* beer and *takkasû* confections were brought to these deities. We do not know if these gods resided in Uruk. They are also mentioned in the Babylonian Chronicle Series, which report that in the 15th year of Merodach-Baladan II “the gods of the Sealand returned to their shrines;”<sup>65</sup> and in the text relating the crimes and sacrileges of Nabû-šuma-iškun, which claims that this king “installed the gods of the Sealand, the Chaldeans, and Arameans in the Esagil temple.”<sup>66</sup>

## 7.15. Lugalbanda

Lugalbanda belongs, with Enmerkar and Gilgameš, to a group of early rulers of Uruk whose legendary lives became a favorite subject of epic poetry. Lugalbanda was the main protagonist of two Sumerian epics.<sup>67</sup> The Sumerian King List calls him “the shepherd” and ascribes to him a reign of 1,200 years.<sup>68</sup> Lugalbanda was already worshiped as a god in Uruk during the Old Babylonian period.<sup>69</sup> An inscription of Sîn-kāšid commemorates the rebuilding of Ekankal, the sanctuary of Lugalbanda and Ninsun in Uruk, possibly

in the lexical tradition.

<sup>62</sup> On Gilgamesh as a god see TOURNAY, SHAPPER 1998, pp. 7–10.

<sup>63</sup> See SALLABERGER 1993, vol. 1, p. 212, n. 1003.

<sup>64</sup> FRAYNE 1990, E4.4.6.4, line 7. ‘<sup>bi</sup>l-ga-meš.

<sup>65</sup> GRAYSON 1975, Chronicle 1, p. 76.

<sup>66</sup> FRAME 1995, B.6.14.1, col. III, 42’–43’.

<sup>67</sup> On Lugalbanda see the detailed study by WILCKE 1987–1990, who discusses the literary tradition centered on Lugalbanda the king, as well as the references to Lugalbanda the god.

<sup>68</sup> JACOBSEN 1939, pp. 88–89; and GLASSNER 1993a, p. 139.

<sup>69</sup> See RICHTER 1999, pp. 270–275.

located in Eanna.<sup>70</sup> Another inscription of Sîn-kāšid commemorates the rebuilding of the *gipāru* of the nin-dingir priestess of Lugalbanda, an office occupied by his own daughter Nīši-īnīšu.<sup>71</sup> In late theology Lugalbanda was considered to belong, like Gilgameš, to the deities of the netherworld. He appears at their head in the 5th tablet of An=Anum,<sup>72</sup> and a god list from Hellenistic Uruk devoted to the gods of the netherworld also begins with his wife, their viziers, and their counselors.<sup>73</sup>

There is evidence for a cult of Lugalbanda at Uruk during the Neo-Babylonian period. Four *SWU* texts mention the temple of the deity, which was one of the small independent sanctuaries of Uruk (*ekurrātu*). Three of them are deliveries of barley to the brewers or bakers; *SWU* 35: rev. 5. [o o o] É ‘*za<sub>4</sub>-za<sub>4</sub>-ba*’ É ‘*lugal-bàn-da*’ É [o o o]; *SWU* 38: rev. 3’. [o o o] É ‘*luga*’/l-bàn-da’ É.IG.ĤAL.AN.KI u É ‘d[o o o]; and *SWU* 86: rev. 8’. [o o É? U]R<sub>4</sub>.UR<sub>4</sub> É ‘*lugal-bàn-d*’[a o o o]. *SWU* 101 records the delivery of an unknown commodity: rev. 4’. [o o É ‘*luga*’]-bàn-da’ É a-ki-tu<sub>4</sub> šá LUGAL ‘*li-ši-ru*’ “[o o for the temple of Lugal]banda, the *bīt-akīti*, (offering days) of the king, Līširu.” An unspecified substance is also mentioned in YBC 9932: 5. 1/2 É ‘d’*luga*’-bàn-‘da’, belonging to Group B of offering lists. Since YOS 6, 137 mentions a toponym named after the temple of Lugalbanda: 6. URU É-‘*luga*’-‘bàn-da’ “the town of the temple of Lugalbanda” (also line 16), it is possible that this temple was not located in Uruk, but in that locality. The god Lugalbanda also appears in a Neo-Assyrian letter to the king which further mentions Nergal, Amurru, and various gods of Eridu and Nēmed-Lagūda, but it is unlikely that this is the same manifestation of the god as the one mentioned in the Eanna archive.<sup>74</sup>

## 7.16. Lugalirra

The twin gods Lugalirra and Meslamtaea were hypostases of Nergal.<sup>75</sup> In the Old Babylonian period an inscription of Sîn-kāšid records the rebuilding of Enīḫušil, the temple of Lugalirra in Dūrum, a town located near Uruk.<sup>76</sup> In the Neo-Babylonian period there was a cult of Lugalirra in Uruk. TCL 12, 33 mentions a district of the temple of Lugalirra, probably located in Uruk: 1. *ṣup-pi* É *ki-šub-ba-a* [K1-ti] 2. É ‘*lugal-ir<sub>9</sub>-ra*’ šá *qé-reb* [UNUG<sup>ki</sup>] “Tablet (recording the sale) of a house with fallow land [located in the district] of the temple of Lugalirra in [Uruk],” and a street named after that temple: 10. E.SĪR šá É ‘*lugal-ir<sub>9</sub>-ra*’ “the street of the temple of Lugalirra.” Offerings of sacrificial animals for the temple of Lugalirra are probably recorded in *SWU* 160: 7,

<sup>70</sup> FRAYNE 1990, E4.4.1.8.

<sup>71</sup> FRAYNE 1990, E4.4.1.9.

<sup>72</sup> LITKE 1998, pp. 168–170, An=Anum Tablet V begins with a 22-line section devoted to the family and household of Lugalbanda and his wife Ninsun; the manuscripts are *SLT* 121: 1. [‘*lu*’]gal-bàn-da=‘ŠU’ 2. ‘*nin-sun*=da[m-bi-mi]; and YBC 2401, col. VII: 135. [‘*lu*’]gal-bàn-da=ŠU 136. [‘*ni*’]n-sun=dam-bi-mi.

<sup>73</sup> *SpTU* III, 109: 1. [‘*n*’]in-sún dam-bi-mi 2. [‘*N*’]IN-ē-gu-la be-lei É.G[U.LA] 3. [‘*lu*’]gal-ḫé-en-gál ‘*sukkal*’ d[‘*lu*’]gal-bàn-d[a-ke<sub>4</sub>] 4. [‘*lu*’]gal-ḫUR-ra-nu ‘*sukkal*’ ‘*nin-sún*’-ke<sub>4</sub>] 5. [‘*ku*’]gul-gul ‘*ad-gi<sub>4</sub>-gi<sub>4</sub>*’ ‘*nin-sún*’-ke<sub>4</sub>.

<sup>74</sup> COLE, MACHINIST 1998, no. 190: 13. ‘*luga*’-bàn-da. The letter specifies that all these deities reside in the same temple.

<sup>75</sup> On these gods see LAMBERT 1987–1990.

<sup>76</sup> FRAYNE 1990, E4.4.1.13.



belonging to Group B of offering lists. Four *SWU* texts record allotments of barley to the brewers and bakers, as well as deliveries of unknown commodities for the cult of that deity; *SWU* 46: rev. 9'. [o o É <sup>d</sup>]lugal-ir<sub>9</sub>-ra u É AN.ŠÁR šá LUGAL <sup>d</sup>UTU-GIN-A u <sup>r</sup>x'[o o] "[o o (for) the temple of] Lugalirra and the temple of Aššur, (offering days) of the king, Šamaš-mukīn-apli and [o o o];" *SWU* 88: rev. 8'. [o o] 'É' <sup>d</sup>lugal-ir<sub>9</sub>-ra É AN.ŠÁR É.IG.ĤAL.AN.KI É <sup>r</sup>x'[o o]; *SWU* 104: rev. 5'. [o o É <sup>d</sup>en-lī]l? É AN.ŠÁR É <sup>d</sup>lugal-ir<sub>9</sub>-ra É.SÍG.UR<sub>4</sub>.UR<sub>4</sub> É [o o o]; and *SWU* 107: rev. 7'. [o o o É <sup>d</sup>lugal]-ir<sub>9</sub>-ra ITI G[AN? o o]. The temple of Lugalirra was one of the small independent sanctuaries of Uruk (*ekurrātu*).

### 7.17. Lugal-Marada

Lugal-Marada, the patron god of the city of Marad,<sup>77</sup> appears once in a text from the archive; PTS 2992: 1. 15 GUR ZÚ.LUM.MA *ma-ak-ka-su* 2. šá <sup>d</sup>lugal-marad-da "15 *kurrus* of dates *makkasu* belonging to Lugal-Marada." The text is a promissory note in which Erība-Marduk, the *šatammu* of Eigikamma, the temple of Lugal-Marada in Marad, promises to deliver these dates in Marad for the *makkasu* offerings of the Lady-of-Uruk: 6. *ina* ITI GAN *a-na* 7. *ma-ak-ka-su* šá <sup>d</sup>GAŠAN šá UNUG<sup>ki</sup> *ina* AMAR.D[A<sup>ki</sup>] 8. *i-nam-din* "He will deliver the (dates) in Marad in the month Kislīmu for the *makkasu* (offerings) of the Lady-of-Uruk." It is unclear why the dates are designated as belonging to Lugal-Marada. It seems, at any rate, that this god was not a form of Lugal-Marada worshiped at Uruk, but the patron god of Marad.<sup>78</sup> However, Lugal-Marada is mentioned in a ritual from Uruk dated to the Seleucid period as taking part in processions and ritual meals in the temple of Anu.<sup>79</sup>

### 7.18. Madānu

Offerings of sacrificial animals to this deity are probably recorded in *ARRIM* 7, 47, belonging to Group B of offering lists: 8. 2 *a-na* <sup>d</sup>DI.KUD(?) 9. u <sup>d</sup>ba-n[i?-tu<sub>4</sub>].

### 7.19. Mār-bīti

This god is mentioned in TCL 9, 117: 49. <sup>d</sup>DUMU-É *a-na* UGU EN-*iá a-šá-lu* "I beseech Mār-bīti on behalf of my lord;" and YOS 3, 62: 22. *gi-né-e šá an-tu<sub>4</sub>* <sup>d</sup>EN-URU-*iá* 23. u <sup>d</sup>DUMU-É "The regular offerings of Anu, Bēl-āliya, and Mār-bīti." It is not clear whether the first text refers to a form of Mār-bīti worshiped in Uruk, while the second text might refer to a form of the god worshiped in Larsa, Kullab, or another cult center located in the region of Uruk (§ 7.7).

<sup>77</sup> On this god see STOL 1987–1990.

<sup>78</sup> The text is published by JOANNÈS 1987, pp. 157–158.

<sup>79</sup> THUREAU-DANGIN 1921, pp. 66–67, AO 6459, obv. 6, and rev. 20 and 22 (translation pp. 94 and 99).

### 7.20. Marduk-of-the-Courtyard

This deity, who was worshiped in a small chapel accessible from the courtyard of the Eanna temple, is attested in three *SWU* texts. *SWU* 32 records an allotment of beer for the temple of Marduk-of-the-Courtyard: rev. 10. [o o K]AŠ.ĤÁ šá 4 SÌLA KAŠ.ĤÁ *a-na* É <sup>d</sup>AMAR.UD šá É.KI[SAL o o] "[o o] beer, of 4 *qûs* of beer for the temple of Marduk-of-the-Court[yard]." Two other texts record deliveries of unknown commodities; *SWU* 101: rev. 3'. É <sup>d</sup>AMAR.UD šá É.KISAL; and *SWU* 107: rev. 3'. [o o É] <sup>d</sup>AMAR.UD šá KISAL. An unspecified substance is mentioned in YBC 9932, an offering list of Group B, in connection with that deity: 12. 1/2 É <sup>d</sup>AMAR.UD šá KISAL.

### 7.21. Meslamtaea

An inscription of Sîn-kāšid records the rebuilding of Emeslam, the temple of Meslamtaea in Dūrum, near Uruk.<sup>80</sup> It is uncertain whether this deity was worshiped at Uruk during the Neo-Babylonian period, as it is mentioned only in the name of a city gate. AnOr 8, 70 is a sale of a piece of land in the district of the gate of Meslamtaea: 1. KI-*ti* KÁ.GAL <sup>d</sup>mes-lam-ta-è-a "the district of the gate of Meslamtaea;" and PTS 2076 mentions a garden located to the left of the same gate: 46'. <sup>8</sup>KIRI<sub>6</sub> šá *a-na šu-me-'lu šá* KÁ.GAL <sup>d</sup>mes-lam-ta-è-a "a garden on the left side of the gate of Meslamtaea."

### 7.22. Nabû

The god Nabû was worshiped under two different forms in Neo-Babylonian Uruk. The form worshiped in the temple of Nabû (*bīt Nabû*) was probably a full-size representation of the god. The other form of Nabû was his symbol placed on an altar (*šubat Nabû*) which probably stood in Eḫilianna, the cella of the goddess Nanaya in the Eanna temple (§ 5.1). We do not know when the god Nabû was introduced to Uruk. The earliest mentions of the god at Uruk do not antedate the Neo-Babylonian period. His presence there may be connected with the cult of the goddess Nanaya, with whom Nabû was associated in his home city of Borsippa at least since the end of the second millennium. His name is always spelled with either of the two logograms commonly encountered in late texts: <sup>d</sup>NĀ and <sup>d</sup>PA. Certain references to the god Nabû in texts from the Eanna archive may be to Nabû of Borsippa rather than Nabû of Uruk. The consort of the god Nabû of Uruk is not mentioned in the extant documentation, although Tašmētu is the more probable candidate.

The silver shoe(s) of Nabû are mentioned in YOS 19, 212: 1. 6 1/2 GÍN KÙ.BABBAR *te-šir-tū* 2. šá <sup>kuš</sup>E.SÍR KÙ.BABBAR šá <sup>d</sup>NĀ "6 1/2 shekels of silver, additional delivery (obtained) from the silver shoe(s) of Nabû." The fact that silver shoes are specifically connected with the god Nabû and with no other deity may be more than coincidental. In late theology Nabû was identified with Ninurta, whose astral incarnation was the planet

<sup>80</sup> FRAYNE 1990, E4.4.1.14. On this god see LAMBERT 1987–1990.

Mercury. Because of his role as herald of the gods, Nabû was worshiped in Sargonid Assyria as a swift deity. He is called *Nabû ša lismi* “Nabû of the footrace” in the *tākultu* ritual, and in a prayer for the city Aššur a day of the month Ayaru is called the *ūm lismi ša Nabû* “day of the footrace of Nabû,” a property probably related to the swift motion of the planet Mercury, and indeed an attribute of the messenger gods Hermes and Mercury in classical mythology.<sup>81</sup> Therefore there is a possibility that the silver shoes of Nabû symbolized his quick astral motion, in the same manner as the winged sandals of the gods Hermes and Mercury embodied their ability to run swiftly. NCBT 377 mentions tassels(?) (*adīlu*) and *našbatu* garments for the *bīt-hilši* of Nabû and Nanaya: 1. 2 <sup>10</sup>ga-di-i[l-a-nu] 2. 2-ta <sup>10</sup>na-aš-ša-ba-<sup>1</sup>a-ta<sup>1</sup> 3. šá <sup>10</sup>gSAG 4. a-na É *hi-il-šu* 5. šá <sup>10</sup>NA u <sup>10</sup>na-na-a “2 tass[els](?) (and) 2 *našbatu* garments of red purple wool for the *bīt-hilši* of Nabû and Nanaya.”

The annual offering of a bull for the *ḥarû* festival of Nabû on the 6th day of the month Nisannu is mentioned in *TEBR* 58: 29. *ul-tu* MU 16-KAM a-di MU 19-KAM *ina* MU.AN.NA 1-en AMAR <sup>1</sup>šuk-lu-lu<sup>1</sup> 30. šá *ḥa-re-e* šá <sup>10</sup>NA šá U<sub>4</sub> 6-KAM šá ITI BĀRA “From the 16th until the 19th years, yearly, one unblemished bull for the *ḥarû* festival of Nabû on the 6th day of the month Nisannu.” NCBT 183 mentions offerings of various grains, including 1 *kurru* to Nabû: 2. 1 (GUR) a-na <sup>10</sup>NA; since this is preceded by offerings to Bēl (<sup>10</sup>EN), it is possible that the symbols of Bēl and Nabû are involved (§ 5.1). An allotment of an unknown commodity is recorded in *SWU* 104: rev. 4'. 1 GUR 1 (PI) 1 BĀN 3 SĪLA šá É <sup>10</sup>NA[?] “1 *kurru*, 1 *pānu*, 1 *sūtu*, (and) 3 *qūs* for the temple of Na[bû?].”

The temple of Nabû, one of the small independent sanctuaries of Uruk (*ekurrātu*), is mentioned in several more texts. YBC 4165 mentions the delivery of emmer and barley to the temple of Nabû, although these were not necessarily intended for the offerings of the god: 7. 2 (GUR) ŠE.BAR 4 (GUR) ŠE.ZĪZ.ĀM <sup>1</sup>ba-la-tu A-šū 8. šá <sup>10</sup>EN-<sup>1</sup>SU<sup>1</sup> *ina* É <sup>10</sup>PA 9. 18 (GUR) šá da-lu <sup>1</sup>ta-ri-bi *ina* É <sup>10</sup>NA “2 (*kurrus*) of barley, 4 (*kurrus*) of emmer, Balātu, son of Bēl-erība, in the temple of Nabû; 18 (*kurrus*) from the land irrigated with well-water, Tarību, in the temple of Nabû;” and 32. 18 (GUR) <sup>1</sup>ta-ri-bi šá da-lu *ina* É <sup>10</sup>NA “18 (*kurrus* of barley), Tarību, from the land irrigated with well-water, in the temple of Nabû.” AnOr 9, 19 mentions arable land on the domains of the temple of Nabû: 45. ŠE.NUMUN šá É <sup>10</sup>NA “The arable land of the temple of Nabû.” The fact that two toponyms were named after the temple of Nabû: Tamirat Bīt Nabû (YOS 6, 84: 2. GARIN É <sup>10</sup>NA [o o]), and the town Bīt Nabû (YOS 7, 124: 17. <sup>10</sup>ru É <sup>10</sup>NA; YOS 7, 135: 17. <sup>10</sup>ru É <sup>10</sup>NA\*), could indicate that this town, not Uruk, was the seat of the temple of Nabû, although this could also be another temple of Nabû located outside Uruk. The temple of Nabû is also mentioned in the following texts; YOS 6, 43: 2. É <sup>10</sup>NA; YBC 3711: 16. *dul-lu* *ina* É <sup>10</sup>NA; YOS 3, 107: 22. É <sup>10</sup>NA; and *TEBR* 36: 27. É <sup>10</sup>PA (also lines 29 and 30). NCBT 377 mentions the *bīt-hilši* of Nabû and Nanaya: 4. É *hi-il-šu* 5. šá <sup>10</sup>NA u <sup>10</sup>na-na-a.

<sup>81</sup> PARPOLA 1983, pp. 55–56. References are collected in CAD L, p. 208, s.v. *lismu*. The epithet *Nabû ša lismi* is also briefly discussed by WEIDNER 1952–1953. A different interpretation of the epithet is put forward by WEST 1997, p. 146, n. 193, who claims it refers to a race contest in honor of Nabû during one of his festivals. One interpretation does not exclude the other, however. The term is also discussed by PONGRATZ-LEISTEN 1994, pp. 100–101.

A few texts mention the herdsmen (*nāqidu*)<sup>82</sup> and the temple slaves (*širku*)<sup>83</sup> of Nabû; in most, if not all these cases it is probable that the god Nabû of Borsippa is meant. TCL 13, 132: 1 and 133: 10–11 mention sheep branded with the stylus (*qan ṭuppi*), the symbol of Nabû, but these texts might again refer to Nabû of Borsippa. As discussed earlier the legal deposition YOS 7, 20 contains evidence that the gods of Babylon and Borsippa occasionally traveled to Uruk to participate in rituals (§ 4.5.7.3). This leaves open the possibility that some mentions of the god Nabû in the Eanna archive relate to Nabû of Borsippa.

### 7.23. Ningišzida

The god Ningišzida was already worshiped in Uruk in the time of the 3rd dynasty of Ur.<sup>84</sup> He is known in the first millennium at Uruk solely from an inscription of Merodach-Baladan II recording the restoration of his shrine (4. É <sup>10</sup>nin-giš-zi-da) in the Eanna temple.<sup>85</sup> A god Ningišzida of Kāmada, possibly a locality in the vicinity of Uruk, is mentioned in an Old Babylonian archival text from the palace of Sîn-kāšid.<sup>86</sup> Ningišzida is paired with Dumuzi as one of the deities met by Gilgameš in the netherworld and as one of the doorkeepers of the god Anu in the story of Adapa.<sup>87</sup> These associations with Gilgameš, Dumuzi, Anu, and the netherworld account for his connection with Uruk and his presence in the Eanna temple.

### 7.24. Ninurta-of-the-Courtyard

The sanctuary of this deity (*Ninurta ša kisalli*) was probably a chapel with direct access from the courtyard of the Eanna temple. It is mentioned in three *SWU* texts recording allotments of barley to the brewers and bakers; *SWU* 26: rev. 17'. [o o] É <sup>10</sup>nin-urta šá É.KISAL <sup>10</sup>za-qip-lu<sub>4</sub>; *SWU* 64: rev. 12'. É <sup>10</sup>MAŠ šá É.KISAL <sup>10</sup>za-qip-lu<sub>4</sub> [o o]; and *SWU* 75: rev. 1. [o o É <sup>10</sup>M]AŠ šá É.KISAL <sup>10</sup>za-qip-lu<sub>4</sub> [o o]. *SWU* 105 records the allotment of an unknown commodity: rev. 5'. [o o] <sup>10</sup>lugal-ir<sup>1</sup>-ra É <sup>10</sup>MAŠ šá É.KISAL šá 'x' [o o]. Offerings of sacrificial animals to Ninurta-of-the-Courtyard are probably recorded in *SWU* 163: rev. 3, and an unspecified substance in YBC 9932 (13. 1/2 É <sup>10</sup>MAŠ šá KISAL), both belonging to Group B of offering lists. Text IBK 8, 164 records a dispute before the high officials of Eanna concerning a bowl (*ruqqu*) used for the offerings of Ninurta-of-the-Courtyard: 8. ŠEN<sup>10</sup>ud.ka.bar šá gi-né-e šá <sup>10</sup>MAŠ šá

<sup>82</sup> TCL 13, 132: 2, 6, 7. PN <sup>10</sup>NA.GADA šá <sup>10</sup>PA/NA; and TCL 13, 133: 8–9. PN <sup>10</sup>NA.GADA šá <sup>10</sup>NA.

<sup>83</sup> YOS 19, 181: 2. <sup>10</sup>šir-ku 3. šá <sup>10</sup>NA; NCBT 488: 4. PN <sup>10</sup>šir-ku šá <sup>10</sup>NA; YBC 11598: 1. PN 2. <sup>10</sup>PA.KAB.DU šá <sup>10</sup>NA.

<sup>84</sup> SALLABERGER 1993, vol. II, p. 193, s.v. <sup>10</sup>Nin-giš-zi-da (Uruk).

<sup>85</sup> FRAME 1995, B.6.21.1.

<sup>86</sup> SANATI-MÜLLER 1993, pp. 145–146, no. 200: 16. ni-ga <sup>10</sup>nin-giš-zi-da 17. ša Ka-a-ma-da<sup>ki</sup> “the property of Ningišzida in Kāmada.” The location of this place is unknown. On the god Ningišzida at Uruk during the Old Babylonian period see RICHTER 1999, p. 270.

<sup>87</sup> EDZARD 1965, pp. 112–113, s.v. Ningizzida, and BLACK, GREEN 1992, pp. 138–140. On this god see also KRUMHOLZ McDONALD 1993, the three Sumerian hymns to Ningišzida edited by SJÖBERG 1975b, and the Sumerian literary composition edited by JACOBSEN, ALSTER 2000.

'KISAL' 9. *a-na* <sup>1d</sup>UTU-*ḥa-tin-en-šú ina É.AN.NA ap-te-ḥid "I entrusted the bowl for the regular offerings of Ninurta-of-the-Courtyard to Šamaš-ḥātin-enši in the Eanna temple." If Ninurta-of-the-Courtyard was the consort of Gula-of-the-Courtyard, then she probably resided in his chapel (§ 5.4).*

### 7.25. Sîn-of-Heaven

This deity (*Sîn ša šamē*), who also appears in Neo-Babylonian texts from Sippar,<sup>88</sup> is attested five times in the Eanna archive. In three texts the god Sîn is mentioned alongside Sîn-of-Heaven, indicating that they were distinct deities. The designation of a particular god as *ša šamē* "of heaven" is attested as early as the Old Babylonian period.<sup>89</sup> The god *Šamaš-ša-šamē* appears in the pantheon of Mari,<sup>90</sup> and in an Old Assyrian treaty found at Tell Leilan oaths are sworn by *Adad-ša-šamē*, *Sîn-ša-šamē*, and *Šamaš-ša-šamē*.<sup>91</sup> A text from Mari similarly mentions *Šamaš-ša-šamē* and *Adad-ša-šamē* as guarantors of a treaty of alliance between Hammurabi of Babylon and Zimri-Lim of Mari against Šiwepalarhupak of Elam.<sup>92</sup> *Sîn-ša-šamē* is further mentioned in a *kispu* ritual from Mari.<sup>93</sup> Not surprisingly the epithet *ša šamē* occurs mostly in connection with astral deities (Sîn, Šamaš, Ištar), but its precise significance is unknown. The god Anu himself is sometimes characterized, somewhat redundantly, as Anu-of-Heaven in late texts.<sup>94</sup> The latest mention of Sîn-of-Heaven in Uruk is recorded in YBC 7437, dated to the 28th year of Darius I.

The offering table of Sîn-of-Heaven is mentioned in YOS 7, 185: 20. 1 <sup>818</sup>BANŠUR KÙ.BABBAR *šá* <sup>430</sup> *šá* AN-*e* "1 offering table of silver belonging to Sîn-of-Heaven;" and 26. 3 *me-e* KÙ.BABBAR *ina* <sup>818</sup>URUxGA\* *šá* <sup>430</sup> LÁ-*ti* "3 water stream-shaped

<sup>88</sup> Always written <sup>430</sup> *šá* AN-*e*, in *Cyr.* 40: 6; *Cyr.* 256: 8; and CT 57, 117: 8.

<sup>89</sup> On deities qualified as "of heaven" see *CAD* Š/I, p. 341, s.v. *šamū*.

<sup>90</sup> Several examples quoted in *CAD* Š/I, p. 341a, s.v. *šamū*. Sîn-balāssu-iqbi, the governor of Ur in the middle of the 7th century, left inscriptions dedicated to <sup>4</sup>EN.ZU AN.NA, the Sumerian equivalent of *Sîn-ša-šamē*, but there is no evidence from these inscriptions that this deity is distinct from Nanna-Sîn, the patron deity of Ur (FRAME 1995, pp. 231–233).

<sup>91</sup> EIDEM 1991, pp. 194–195, col. 1, 5. <sup>4</sup>[IM] *ša* URAŠ *ta-ma* 6. <sup>4</sup>EN.ZU *ša* URAŠ *ta-ma* 7. <sup>4</sup>UTU *ša* URAŠ *ta-ma* "Swear by Adad-of-Heaven, swear by Sîn-of-Heaven, swear by Šamaš-of-Heaven!" As pointed out by Eidem (p. 205), the interpretation of the sign IB as URAŠ = *šamū* is sustained by line 18 of the treaty: DINGIR KI ù [UR]AŠ-*e* *ta-ma* "Swear by the god(s) of earth and sky."

<sup>92</sup> DURAND 1986, p. 111, 1. <sup>4</sup>UTU *ša* *ša-me-e* [E]N *ma-[tim]* 2. <sup>4</sup>IM *ša* *ša-me-e* [E]N *p[u-ru-us-se]* "Šamaš-of-Heaven, lord of the land, Adad-of-Heaven, lord of the decision."

<sup>93</sup> BIROT 1980, p. 142, col. II, 2. *ma-ḥa-ar Sîn ša ša-me-e* "before Sîn-of-Heaven."

<sup>94</sup> The name appears in the 3rd tablet of the series Maqlû, MEIER 1937, p. 23, lines 31–32, to which add the following duplicate from Hellenistic Uruk, *SpTU* III, p. 76, lines 31. 2-*ta ša-na* DUMU.MI.MEŠ <sup>4</sup>a-nu *šá* AN-*e* 32. 3-*ta ša-na* DUMU.MI.MEŠ <sup>4</sup>a-nu *šá* AN-*e* "two are the daughters of Anu-of-Heaven, three are the daughters of Anu-of-Heaven;" and in an incantation against Lamaštu published by FARBER 1997, p. 120, line 10. DUMU.MI <sup>4</sup>a-nu *šá* AN-*e* "the daughter of Anu-of-Heaven." In both cases, however, it can be argued that *ša šamē* does not qualify Anu, but refers to the origins of his daughters ("from heaven"). The name also appears in rituals for the Rēš temple at Uruk during the Hellenistic period in THUREAU-DANGIN 1921, p. 65, AO 6451, rev. 33. (offerings) *a-na* <sup>460</sup> *ù an-tu<sub>4</sub> šá* AN-*e*; according to Thureau-Dangin (ibid. p. 85, n. 2), these were the short names of the astral incarnations of the two deities, who appear in another ritual from Hellenistic Uruk, AO 6460, ibid. p. 68, obv. 15. MUL <sup>460</sup> GAL-*ù* *šá* AN-*e* *it-tap-ḥa an-tu<sub>4</sub>* GAL-*tu<sub>4</sub>* *šá* AN-*e* 16. *ina* <sup>mul</sup>MAR.GÍD.DA *it-tap-ḥa* "(when) the great star of Anu-of-Heaven shines and the great Antu-of-Heaven shines in the constellation of the Chariot." The god Sîn is sometimes acclaimed as Anu-of-Heaven in Akkadian hymns and prayers: see SEUX 1976, p. 67, n. 9, and p. 279, line 3.

ornaments<sup>95</sup> of silver are missing from the offering table of Sîn(-of-Heaven);"<sup>96</sup> and the inventory of cultic vessels PTS 3315: 13'. 1 <sup>818</sup>URUxGU KÙ.BABBAR *šá* <sup>430</sup> *šá* AN-*e* "1 offering table of silver belonging to Sîn-of-Heaven."<sup>97</sup> Deliveries of dates are recorded in YBC 4021, an allotment of dates to the bakers for *makkasu*: 36. 4 BÂN 5! SÎLA <sup>430</sup> *šá* AN-*e* ... 42. 4 BÂN 3 SÎLA *re-ḥi šá* ITI APIN 43. *šá* <sup>430</sup> *šá* AN-*e* "4 *sātus* (and) 5! *qûs* (for) Sîn-of-Heaven ... 4 *sātus* and 3 *qûs*, remainder of the month Araḥsamnu, for Sîn-of-Heaven;" and YBC 7437, listing remainders of allotments of dates *makkasu* to the bakers: 43. 4 BÂN 2 SÎLA <sup>430</sup> *šá* AN-*e* "4 *sātus* (and) 2 *qûs* (for) Sîn-of-Heaven." *SWU* 35 records allotments of barley to the brewers: rev. 6. 1 (GUR) 2 (PI) 3 BÂN *šá* <sup>430</sup> *šá* AN-*e* <sup>1d</sup>[o o o] "1 (*kurru*), 2 *pānus*, (and) 3 *sātus* for Sîn-of-Heaven, [o o o]." An offering of a sacrificial animal to Sîn-of-Heaven is probably recorded in *ARRIM* 7, 47: 7. 1 *a-na* <sup>430</sup> (*šá*) AN-*e*!

### 7.26. Sîn-of-the-Courtyard

In his kudurru Ibni-Ištar is granted the entitlement to the offering of bread and beer before Sîn-of-the-Courtyard: col. II, 10. 1 SÎLA NINDA.ḪÁ 1 SÎLA KAŠ.SAG 11. *ina* É <sup>4</sup>EN.ZU *šá* KISAL "1 *qû* of bread (and) 1 *qû* of beer in the temple of Sîn-of-the-Courtyard."<sup>98</sup> As the sole mention of this god dates to the 9th century, it is not certain that his cult survived into later times.

### 7.27. Sîn (of Ur)

The god Sîn appears in four letters from the archive which, to judge from the names of the senders and the deities invoked in the salutation formulas, were all probably sent from Ur. Therefore the god Sîn mentioned in these letters must be Sîn of Ur. This is certain for BIN 1, 30, sent by Nabû-ēṭir-napšāti and Sîn-muquq-ēlip to the *šatammu* of Eanna, since it quotes the *šangû* of Ur (§ 3.7.10); the letter mentions the fish presented for the regular offerings of Sîn: 26. *nu-ḥu<sup>1</sup>-nu<sup>1</sup>* 27. *bab-ba-nu-ù lib-bu-ù* 28. *gi-nu-ù šá* <sup>430</sup> "first quality fish in the same proportion as for the regular offerings of Sîn." YOS 3, 72, sent by Sîn-nādin-šumi and Nabû-bēl-ušur to the *šatammu* and *qīpu* of Eanna, mentions the barley belonging to Sîn which is stored in Eanna: 12. ŠE.BAR *a<sub>4</sub>* 13. 1 *lim* GUR *šá* <sup>430</sup> 14. *šá* *ina* É.AN.NA "The barley, 1,000 *kurrus*, belonging to Sîn, which is in Eanna." BIN 1, 37 and 80 mention Sîn in their salutation formulas.

<sup>95</sup> A similar ornament, though of much smaller size, may occur in ARM XXV, 30 (new edition in DURAND 1990a, pp. 136–137, no. 38), which refers to a sun-disk ornament decorated with *lahmu* monsters and "rivers" (4. *ša la-aḥ-mi* 5. *ù na-ra-tim*).

<sup>96</sup> It is possible in this case that the second mention of Sîn also relates to the offering table of Sîn-of-Heaven, which is mentioned a few lines earlier.

<sup>97</sup> The same text mentions 2 <sup>818</sup>URUxGU KÙ.GI on line 21'.

<sup>98</sup> THUREAU DANGIN 1919, p. 125.

## 7.28. Dais of Šamaš

There are frequent mentions of the god Šamaš in the Eanna archive, but in all cases it seems assured that this deity is Šamaš of Larsa. There is one instance, however, where a text might refer to a cultic location of Šamaš in Uruk; offerings of sacrificial animals to the cultic dais of Šamaš are recorded in *SWU* 163: obv. 3'. BĀRA dUTU. Another cultic site of Šamaš in Uruk is mentioned in the Hellenistic shrine list *SpTU* I, 136: 10'. É.ME.LA[M].AN.NA šu-bat dUTU [š]á KISAL É.ZALAG.GA "Emelamanna, the seat of Šamaš in the courtyard of Ezalagga."<sup>99</sup> These sites were perhaps intended as temporary residence for the god Šamaš of Larsa, who may have visited the gods of Uruk on certain ritual occasions. There is as yet no conclusive evidence for a cult of Šamaš at Uruk during the early periods.<sup>100</sup>

## 7.29. Usmû

Usmû (or Isimu), known as the Janus-faced vizier of Ea, may appear in the ritual *LKU* 51: 16. dŠA-ia; and in *YOS* 15, 10: 30. šá dŠA-me, but the interpretation of these two passages is uncertain.<sup>101</sup>

## 7.30. Zababa

Zababa, the patron god of Kish, was worshiped at Uruk during the Neo-Babylonian period in his own temple (É dza-ba<sub>4</sub>-ba<sub>4</sub>), which was one of the small independent sanctuaries of Uruk (*ekurrātu*). Allotments of barley to the brewers and bakers in connection with this sanctuary are attested in *SWU* 35: rev. 5'. [o o] 'É' dza-ba<sub>4</sub>-ba<sub>4</sub> É d'lugal-bàn-da É d[o o o]; *SWU* 42: rev. 5'. É dza-b[a<sub>4</sub>-ba<sub>4</sub> o o o]; and *SWU* 72: rev. 12'. [o o] 'šá É d'a<sup>1</sup>-nu É den-líl É AN.ŠĀR É dza-ba<sub>4</sub>-ba<sub>4</sub> x'[o o o]. *SWU* 101 mentions the sanctuary of Zababa, but the nature of the delivery is unknown: rev. 3'. [o o É d'a-nu É den-líl] É dAMAR.UD šá É.KISAL É dza-ba<sub>4</sub>-ba<sub>4</sub> [o o o]. Offerings of sacrificial animals for the temple of Zababa are recorded in *SWU* 160: 6. In the letter *TCL* 9, 139 the king orders the administrators of Eanna to deliver barley for the offerings of Zababa (12. gi-né-e 13. šá dza-ba<sub>4</sub>-ba<sub>4</sub>), but this need not be Zababa of Uruk.<sup>102</sup> *YBC* 3853 mentions one Ana-ili-taklak, pontiff (*šangû*)<sup>103</sup> of Zababa: 6. 10 GUR (ZÚ.LUM.MA) 'a-na-DINGIR-tak-lak 'É!MAŠ dza-ba<sub>4</sub>-ba<sub>4</sub> "10 kurrus (of dates), Ana-ili-taklak, the

<sup>99</sup> Edition in GEORGE 1992, pp. 198–201.

<sup>100</sup> Discussion in RICHTER 1999, pp. 275–276.

<sup>101</sup> The Old Babylonian version of the series *Diri* from Nippur has the following entry in section 10, line 28, manuscripts K<sub>1</sub> and L<sub>1</sub>: dŠA = uš-mu-ú (courtesy of M. Civil). For other references to dŠA (dAra) = Usmû see BORGER 1978, p. 145, no. 353.

<sup>102</sup> The name of the sender is lost, but the style of the address formula indicates that the letter emanates from the king. Since the names of the recipients can be restored as officials of the Eanna temple during the reign of Nebuchadnezzar II, it is almost certain that he should be identified as the sender: 1'. [dMAŠ]-LUGAL-URI 2'. [dA-na]-din-MU 3'. u dAMAR.UD-SUR "Ninurta-šar-ušur, Nabû-nâdin-šumi, and Marduk-ētir." Another royal letter, SMITH 1926, p. 442, is addressed to the same officials (§ 7.11.4).

<sup>103</sup> The scribe wrote dSANGA.MAŠ dza-ba<sub>4</sub>-ba<sub>4</sub>, evidently a mistake for dÉ!MAŠ.

pontiff of Zababa." Finally one text mentions the tiara or another piece of paraphernalia belonging to the god Zababa of Kullab, *UCP* 9/2, 53: 2. 30 ar-za-la-a-nu 3. šá 'AGA? KÙ?GI? šá' dza-ba<sub>4</sub>-ba<sub>4</sub> 4. šá kul\*-a[ba<sub>4</sub>ki] "30 *arzallu* jewels belonging to the golden(?) tiara(?) of the god Zababa of Kullab."<sup>104</sup> It is uncertain whether all these references are to the same god. There is no evidence for a cult of Zababa at Uruk before or after the Neo-Babylonian period.

<sup>104</sup> OPPENHEIM 1949, p. 178, n. 17, discusses this passage. The tablet was collated by Dr. Laurie Pearce, who confirmed the reading kul\*-a[ba<sub>4</sub>ki]. The reading of the object on line 3, however, must remain hypothetical since the tablet is quite damaged at that point. It should be noted that a large number of *arzallu* jewels are also recorded in the text describing the tiara of the goddess Ušur-amāssu (§ 4.4.2.1, *YBC* 11390).

## 8. NON-ANTHROPOMORPHIC DEITIES

In spite of the fact that the ancient Mesopotamians conceptualized their gods on the human model, they also accorded divine status to a number of beings which were partly or completely non-anthropomorphic. In Neo-Babylonian Uruk there is evidence for the existence of deified pieces of cultic paraphernalia, as well as of deified composite creatures (*Mischwesen*) which were partly theriomorphic, partly anthropomorphic.<sup>1</sup> Given their close cultic and symbolic connection with Ištar and the Eanna temple it is probable that these minor numinous beings all resided in Uruk's main sanctuary.

### 8.1. Deified Paraphernalia

The Divine Chariot (<sup>d</sup>*narkabtu*), a deified item of cultic paraphernalia which appears in the offering lists of Group A, has been discussed earlier (§ 5.7). Five more such deities appear in the archive: <sup>d</sup>*huṭāru*, the Divine Staff, <sup>d</sup>*išpatu*, the Divine Quiver, <sup>d</sup>*kakkabtu*, the Divine Star-Shaped Branding Iron, <sup>d</sup>*urigallu*, the Divine *Urigallu* Standards, and <sup>d</sup>*zaqiptu*, the Divine *Zaqiptu* Standards. Deification of cult objects and divine emblems is attested in all periods of Mesopotamian history,<sup>2</sup> and their importance in late Babylonian temple ritual has recently become better documented with the publication of a ritual for the month Šabātu in Babylon, which lists a number of deified weapons, scepters, and emblems taking part in processions.<sup>3</sup> As expected, in Neo-Babylonian Uruk it is mostly symbols and paraphernalia of the goddess Ištar which attain divine status.

#### 8.1.1. *Huṭāru*, the Divine Staff

The word *huṭāru* is known from late editions of lexical texts, where it is equated with various terms for "staff" and "scepter."<sup>4</sup> In the Eanna archive the Divine Staff (<sup>d</sup>*huṭāru*) appears in a few texts, notably in the following records of legal proceedings:

#### YOS 7, 15

1. [<sup>1</sup>*ki*]-*rib-ti* A-šú šá <sup>1d</sup>KÁ-URU<sub>4</sub>-eš šá a-na
2. [<sup>1n</sup>]-*din-ti*-<sup>d</sup>EN <sup>1d</sup>ŠÀ.TAM É.AN.NA A-šú šá
3. <sup>1d</sup>NA-<sup>DU</sup>-NUMUN A <sup>1d</sup>da-bi-bi u <sup>1d</sup>NA-ŠEŠ-MU
4. LÚ SAG LUGAL <sup>(1d)</sup>EN <sup>1d</sup>pi-qit-ti É.AN.NA <sup>1d</sup>iq-bu-ú
5. <sup>1d</sup>um-ma <sup>1d</sup>UTU-MU A-šú šá <sup>1d</sup>NA-na-din-MU
6. a-na i-di-ia it-ti-šú\* <sup>1d</sup>ki i-bu-ka-an-ni
7. <sup>d</sup>hu-ta-ri it-ti-šú ù <sup>1d</sup>U<sub>8</sub>.<sup>1d</sup>JA er-bi

<sup>1</sup> I am excluding from the present discussion the symbols (*kakku*) of Bēl and Nabū (§ 5.1), which were substitutes for the anthropomorphic image.

<sup>2</sup> The deification of paraphernalia in the 3rd millennium is discussed by SELZ 1997, pp. 167–179.

<sup>3</sup> BM 32516 and BM 41239, published by GEORGE 2000, pp. 292–299.

<sup>4</sup> CAD U, p. 265, s.v. *huṭāru* A, lex. section.

8. *ša* <sup>d</sup>GAŠAN *ša* UNUG<sup>ki</sup> *i-te-si-ir ù ina É-šú*  
 9. *ig-da-za-az ù ši-in-du ša* U<sub>8</sub>.HÁ-šú  
 10. *ina\** *sa\*-ar*!(na)-ti il-te-mit

(Concerning) Kiribtu, son of Ba'u-ēreš, who declared to Nidintu-Bēl, the *šatammu* of Eanna, son of Nabû-mukīn-zēri, descendant of Dābibi, and Nabû-aḥ-iddin, a royal servant, the commissioner of Eanna, as follows: "When Šamaš-iddin, son of Nabû-nādin-šumi, took me away with him as hired man, he had the Divine Staff with him, and he collected the ewes (which are) the income of the Lady-of-Uruk but sheared them in his own house and unlawfully branded them with the ownership mark (used) for his own ewes."

## YOS 7, 146

1. <sup>la</sup>a-nu-LUGAL-ŪRI A-šú *ša* <sup>la</sup>in-nin-MU-MU <sup>la</sup>NA.GADA *ša* <sup>la</sup>INNIN UNUG<sup>ki</sup>  
 2. *ša* *še-e-nu qa-bu-tu* NÍG.GA <sup>la</sup>INNIN UNUG<sup>ki</sup> *i-na pa-ni-šú i-ku-lu ù iḫ-li-iq*  
 3. *ù ba-al* <sup>la</sup>NĀ-DU-IBILA <sup>la</sup>ŠĀ.TAM É.AN.NA A-šú *ša* <sup>la</sup>na-din A <sup>la</sup>da-bi-bi  
 4. <sup>la</sup>NĀ-ŠEŠ-MU LÚ SAG LUGAL <sup>la</sup>EN SIG<sub>5</sub> É.AN.NA ù <sup>la</sup>DUB.SAR.MEŠ *ša* É.AN.NA  
 5. <sup>la</sup>ḫu-ḫu-ru iḫ-šú-u'-ma *še-e-nu muš-šú-re-e-ti ul-tu* EDIN  
 6. <sup>la</sup>i-na ŠU.MIN<sup>1</sup> <sup>la</sup>DUMU-DŪ-<sup>la</sup>meš *i-bu-ku-ma*<sup>1</sup> a-na NÍG.GA É.AN.NA *la id-di-ni*

Concerning Anu-šar-ušur, son of Innin-šum-iddin, the herdsman of Ištar-of-Uruk, who took for himself sheep and goats from the fold, the property of Ištar-of-Uruk, which were under his responsibility, and then disappeared, and who carried the Divine Staff without the authorization of Nabû-mukīn-apli, the *šatammu* of Eanna, son of Nādin, descendant of Dābibi, of Nabû-aḥ-iddin, a royal servant, the commissioner of Eanna, and of the scribes of Eanna, and took away from the countryside, from the *mār-banīs*, sheep and goats which had been released (for grazing) and did not deliver them back to the property of Eanna.

In these two texts the Divine Staff appears as a symbol with which representatives of the temple assert their authority in the countryside of Uruk, specifically in connection with the gathering of sheep and goats for grazing and shearing.<sup>5</sup> In both cases the Divine Staff had been misappropriated by dishonest individuals in order to embezzle sheep belonging to the Eanna temple. Considering the function of the Divine Staff, it is not surprising to find that it sometimes traveled by boat, as we learn from the following letters; BIN 1, 19: 7. <sup>la</sup>ḫu-ḫa-ri qal-la KŪ.GI 8. *ša it-ti* <sup>la</sup>ḫu-ḫa-ri GAL-ú 9. *ša ina* É GUR<sub>7</sub>.MEŠ 10. *šak-na a-na* <sup>la</sup>A-a 11. *u* <sup>la</sup>gi-mil-lu 12. *in-na-a-ma it-ti-šú\*-nu* 13. *ina lib-bi* <sup>la</sup>šMÁ\*-šú\*-nu\* 14. *liš-šú-ú* "(As for) the small Divine Staff of gold which is deposited in the storehouses together with the large Divine Staff, give it to Aplā and Gimillu so that they will carry it with them in their boat;" and YOS 3, 71: 27. <sup>la</sup>ḫu-ḫa-ri it-ti 28. *ši-pir-tuq ša* EN-la 29. *lil-li-kam-ma* 30. *ina* <sup>la</sup>šMÁ *lu-ši-ib* "Let the Divine Staff come with the message of my lord and let it be set up in the boat."

PTS 3230 records the receipt of woven cloth to make a garment named *talbuštu* for the Divine Staff: 4. 1 MA.NA 52 GÍN <sup>la</sup>mi-iḫ-šú 5. *ša* <sup>la</sup>ḫÉ.ME.DA <sup>la</sup>šHAB *u* <sup>la</sup>šZA.GÍN *ša-pi-i ruq-qu* 6. 6 <sup>la</sup>ga-di-lu *ša* <sup>la</sup>gu-za-ra-a-tú 7. *ša* <sup>la</sup>UR.IDIM.MEŠ 2 <sup>la</sup>gal-bu-uš-tú 8. *ša* <sup>la</sup>ḫu-ḫa-ru "1 mina and 52 shekels of woven cloth of red-colored wool (died) with *ḫūratu*, and of blue-colored wool, (of both) thick (and) thin (fabric, for) 6

<sup>5</sup> One is reminded of the journey of the Divine Weapon to administer oaths, studied by HARRIS 1965.

tassels(?) for the *uzāru* garments of the Divine *Urdimmus*, (and for) 2 *talbuštu* garments for the Divine Staff." The Divine Staff is also mentioned in the letter YOS 3, 8: 21, but in an uninformative context.

8.1.2. *Išpatu, the Divine Quiver*

There are two uncertain mentions of the Divine Quiver in the ritual *LKU* 51: obv. 15. <sup>la</sup>iš-pa-<sup>la</sup>tu<sup>4</sup> and 16. [<sup>la</sup>i]š-pa\*-<sup>la</sup>tu<sup>4</sup>\*<sup>1</sup>. The quiver was an emblem of Ištar as goddess of warfare, and therefore its presence as a deified piece of paraphernalia in the Eanna temple would not be surprising.

8.1.3. *Kakkabtu, the Divine Star-Shaped Branding Iron*

The word *kakkabtu* refers to a branding iron in the shape of a star, the symbol of Ištar. Texts from the archive frequently mention the branding of slaves and domestic animals with the *kakkabtu* iron. The Divine Star-Shaped Branding Iron is attested only once with the determinative for gods in the offering list YOS 17, 345, where it is granted the honor of a sacrificial sheep together with the Divine *Urdimmus*: 6. 1 a-na <sup>la</sup>ur-dim<sup>meš</sup>\* 7. *u* <sup>la</sup>kak-kab-ti "1 (sheep) for the Divine *Urdimmus* and the Divine Star-Shaped Branding Iron." This document is dated to the 3rd day of the month Addaru, which was the cultic date with the largest yearly increase in sheep offerings in the Eanna temple.<sup>6</sup> On that day 95 sheep were sacrificed, a figure more than ten times larger than that of the basic *ginū* offerings of 9 sheep on a normal cultic day. Therefore it is not a coincidence that the only text recording an offering to the Divine Star-Shaped Branding Iron should be dated to that day, for only on cultic dates with such huge increases can we expect offerings to have been directed to the minor numinous beings residing in the temple.

8.1.4. *The Divine Urigallu Standards*

Standards in Mesopotamia are attested in all periods as symbols of the divine or royal presence.<sup>7</sup> In Uruk there is evidence for a cult of various Divine Standards designated by the word *urigallu* and preceded with the divine determinative. Two discrete standards are known: the Divine *Urigallu* Standard of Ištar, and the Divine *Urigallu* Standard of Ušur-amāssu. A Divine *Urigallu* Standard not connected with a specific deity is mentioned in *ARRIM* 7, 47: 17. <sup>la</sup>iri-gal-[lum], an offering list of sacrificial animals belonging to Group B. The ritual selection of animals for the Divine *Urigallu* Standard of Ušur-amāssu is mentioned in NCBT 625: 1. <sup>la</sup>x x SAL<sup>1</sup>.MÁḪ a-na 6 UDU.N[TA.MEŠ] 2. [*ša*] <sup>la</sup>pa-ra-su *ša* [<sup>la</sup>iri-gal-lum] 3. [*ša*] <sup>la</sup>URI-a-mat<sup>1</sup>-su <sup>la</sup>GI-<sup>la</sup>AM[AR.UD] 4. [*A-šú ša*] <sup>la</sup>IR-<sup>la</sup>NĀ(?)<sup>1</sup> *i-ta-bak* "x x x x" for 6 sh[eeep, belonging to] the ritual selection for the Divine *Urigallu* Standard of Ušur-amāssu, brought by Mušallim-Mar[duk, son of] Arad-Nabû(?)."

<sup>6</sup> ROBBINS 1996, p. 70.

<sup>7</sup> See PONGRATZ-LEISTEN, DELLER, BLEIBTREU 1992. On the earliest evidence for the use of standards in the cult see SZARZYŃSKA 1996.



which bears a depiction of two *Urdimmus* facing each other.<sup>19</sup> A seal impression from Hellenistic Uruk has also recently been assessed as a representation of the *Urdimmu*.<sup>20</sup> There is possibly one additional depiction of the *Urdimmu* dating to the Kassite period.<sup>21</sup> Ehrenberg has recently identified a representation of an *Urdimmu* in a seal impression on a text from the Eanna archive, thus providing iconographic correlation to the epigraphic evidence for their presence at Uruk during the Neo-Babylonian period.<sup>22</sup>

Textual references are almost as scarce. One of the earliest appearances of the *Urdimmu* is in Enūma eliš, where it belongs to the army of monsters launched by Tiamat in her conflict against Marduk.<sup>23</sup> After defeating these monsters Marduk sets them up at the gate of Apsū as trophies and eventually guardians, turning them from malevolent into benevolent protective creatures.<sup>24</sup> According to the inscription of Agum-kakrime *Urdimmus* were depicted on the gates of the Esagil temple in Babylon.<sup>25</sup> This has been confirmed by a recently published inscription of Nebuchadnezzar II.<sup>26</sup> Since the Esagil temple was considered, according to Enūma eliš, to be the terrestrial counterpart of Apsū,<sup>27</sup> it appears that the poem provides an etiology for the depiction of the creatures at the gates of the temple. Sennacherib adorned the gateways of the temple of the god Aššur with representations of similar creatures, including *Urdimmus*.<sup>28</sup> The usurpation of the mythology of Enūma eliš by the god Aššur was an important aspect of his theological reforms.

The role of *Urdimmus* as door guardians is emphasized in the apotropaic rituals which prescribe the fashioning of figurines depicting them and their burial under thresholds and gateways to ensure the protection of buildings. In other rituals the *Urdimmu* appears as intercessor with Marduk and Zarpanītu on behalf of the sick, a role possibly derived from his function as their gatekeeper. He is also invoked in the litanies of absolution of various apotropaic rituals.<sup>29</sup> *Urdimmus* are mentioned in an acrostic hymn to Marduk

<sup>19</sup> HERBORDT 1992, pp. 90–91, seal impression Ninive 94 (pl. 5, no. 2 for a drawing; pl. 22, no. 4 for a photo). This impression represents two *Urdimmus* facing each other. They have human upper bodies, and animal, perhaps leonine lower bodies. They both carry a staff surmounted with a moon-crescent and ending with a spade at the bottom. They both wear a tiara and their tail is curled.

<sup>20</sup> WALLENFELS 1994, p. 41, contains one seal impression depicting an *Urdimmu* (no. 191) which has a curled tail but carries no staff.

<sup>21</sup> SEIDL 1989, pp. 41–42, fig. 10, on the left side in the middle register. The interpretation of the figure is uncertain: it could also be a scorpion-man, depending on the interpretation of the tail, which is only partly visible.

<sup>22</sup> The tablet is PTS 2567, dated to the 25th year of Nebuchadnezzar II. Discussion in EHRENBURG 1995. The impression is also published in EHRENBURG 1999, p. 100, and pl. 27, no. 212.

<sup>23</sup> Tablets I, 141–43; II, 27–29; and III, 31–33, 89–91.

<sup>24</sup> Tablet V, 73–76.

<sup>25</sup> V R 33, col. IV, 53; latest translation and discussion in FOSTER 1993, pp. 273–277. Brief discussion and further references in HOROWITZ 1998, p. 108, n. 2.

<sup>26</sup> GEORGE 1988, p. 143, line 39' (BM 45619 col. I), and pp. 150–151 for discussion.

<sup>27</sup> Tablet VI, 62.

<sup>28</sup> ENGEL 1987, pp. 89–90 for discussion of *Urdimmu*, and pp. 174–177 for edition of the relevant passages of the Prism of Sennacherib: 21. ZAG u GÜB šá KÁ UR.IDIM u GÍR.TAB.LÚ.U<sub>18</sub>.LU kul-lu ší-ga-ri KÁ šu-nu-l[u] "Right and left of the gate an *Urdimmu* and a Scorpion-Man hold the locks of the gate."

<sup>29</sup> The attestations are collected by WIGGERMANN 1992, pp. 173–174, and by GEORGE 1988, p. 151. To these should be added a ritual to avert the hostility of an enemy published by MAYER 1990, pp. 15–16, line 11. ina APIN 15 ina muḫ-lī UR.IDIM ŠINIG 'A'.[MEŠ T]U<sub>5</sub> "In the month Araḫsamnu, on the 15th (day), he washes himself on an *Urdimmu* of tamarisk." See also MAYER 1999, p. 151, line 46, where the fashioning of an *Urdimmu* figurine of cedar wood is prescribed in a ritual against the "hands" of various gods, demons, and spirits.

and Zarpanītu attributed to Assurbanipal, but this material is obviously derivative of Enūma eliš.<sup>30</sup> The creature also gave its name to a constellation, the MUL UR.IDIM.<sup>31</sup>

Texts from the Eanna archive contain a substantial number of references to the Divine *Urdimmus*. The latest mention of the creature in the archive occurs in PTS 2180: 69, dated to the 29th year of Darius I. Analysis of the Eanna material confirms the role of the creature as door guardian, and also underscores the important place held by the Divine *Urdimmus* and other *Mischwesen* in late Babylonian religion.<sup>32</sup>

### 8.2.1.1. Writing and Etymology

In texts from Uruk the various spellings of the word fall into two broad categories: logographic and syllabic. The former group includes spellings with the signs UR and IDIM, also attested in the plural (with ME or MEŠ). The group with syllabic spellings includes all forms with the signs UR and DIM pronounced phonetically /urdim/ and sometimes provided with the nominative ending /u/ or with the Sumerian plural indicators ME and MEŠ, such as *ur-dim<sup>meš</sup>* or *ur-dim-mu<sup>meš</sup>*. The anomalous spelling *nu-ur-dim-mu* in one text is probably a scribal mistake.<sup>33</sup> These phonetic spellings corroborate Lambert's hypothesis, based at the time on the single occurrence of the spelling *ur-dim<sup>me</sup>* in a ritual text, that the pronunciation of the word was /urdimmu/ rather than /uridimmu/.<sup>34</sup> One last and important observation must be made: with only one exception, the word is always prefixed with the divine determinative in Neo-Babylonian Uruk. This was not the case in earlier texts. Examples of the various spellings found in the archive are as follows.

#### 1. Logographic Spellings

UR.IDIM (AnOr 9, 8: 63\*; PTS 3117: 2)

UR.IDIM.ME (NCBT 245: 10; YBC 7436: 43)

UR.IDIM.MEŠ (NCBT 155: 9; NCBT 779: 9)

#### 2. Syllabic Spellings

ur-dim (YBC 7409: 15)

ur-dim-mu (NCBT 543: 1; TCL 13, 167: 4; YBC 6937: 12)

ur-dim-mu<sup>meš</sup> (Cincinnati 20: 2)

nu-ur-dim-mu (YOS 6, 240: 16)

<sup>30</sup> LIVINGSTONE 1989, no. 2, verse 16.

<sup>31</sup> GÖSSMAN 1950, pp. 67–68.

<sup>32</sup> Preliminary study by BEAULIEU 1990b. Some of my conclusions in this note are modified here. A recent study incorporating additional material and giving new insights into previously published material is KESSLER 1997. As noted by Kessler, Freydank reads the three attestations in the *SWU* texts as UDU.IDIM.MEŠ, although he copied the initial sign as a clear UR in two cases (*SWU* 44 and 124), while in the third case the sign is copied as UDU but is shaded. KÜMMEL 1979, p. 47, interpreted the divine element in the name Ina-šilli-Urdimmu as a form of Tašmētu: ur-idim = *taš-mit*, ur-dim = *taš-tim*, and ur-dim-mu = *taš-tim-mu*, hence his reading of the name as Ina-šilli-Tašmētu. This doesn't seem very convincing as it would imply an unusual form of metathesis.

<sup>33</sup> The proposal by ZADOK 1981, who explains it as a form of the divine name Ninurta, seems too contrived.

<sup>34</sup> LAMBERT 1957–1958, p. 112.



An ancient explanation of the word UR.IDIM is preserved in *Har-ra=hubullu* XIV, 95. *ur.idim=kā-bu še-gu-ú*, which means “mad dog.”<sup>35</sup> In spite of this gloss most scholars have preferred to identify the *Urdimmu* as a lion-man rather than a dog-man. This opinion is not unreasonable in view of the fact that in Sumerian taxonomy lions belonged to the general category of canines, as evidenced by the main Sumerian name of the lion, *ur.maḥ*, which literally means “big dog” (cf. *Har-ra=hubullu* XIV: 61. *ur=kā-bu* “dog” 62. *ur=lab-bu* “lion, lion-serpent” 63. *ur=né-e-šú* “lion” 64. *ur.[m]aḥ=né-e-šú* “lion”). However, the Akkadian language does draw a sharp distinction between dogs (*kalbu*) and lions (*nēšū*, *labbu*). Therefore, unless one is willing to see in the equation *UR.IDIM=kā-bu še-gu-ú* a mindless literal translation, it is more likely that *UR.IDIM* means “mad dog,” not “mad lion.” This is one of the arguments which prompt Ellis, in a future publication, to question the current interpretation of *Urdimmu* as “lion-man.” While accepting the iconographic identification of the *Urdimmu* proposed by Wiggermann, he argues that the supposed leonine features of the creature could also be those of a dog. Therefore the *Urdimmu* could just as easily be a dog-man, and the equation *UR.IDIM=kābu šegū* be literally exact.

### 8.2.1.2. The Divine *Urdimmu* in Personal Names

The Divine *Urdimmu* appears in two personal names: *Urdimmu-ilū'a* “the Divine *Urdimmu* is my personal god,” and *Ina-šilli-Urdimmu* “Under the protection of the Divine *Urdimmu*.” The personal name *Urdimmu-ilū'a* appears in the following texts, but it is uncertain whether they all refer to the same individual. This seems assured only for PTS 2182 and YBC 7409, where the man named *Urdimmu-ilū'a* is in both cases designated as a leather worker.

PTS 2182: 23. *ur-dim-DINGIR-ú-a u ur-UTU-a-a* *lūAŠGAB.ME*

PTS 2190: 45. *ur-dim-DINGIR-ú-a* *lū[ó o]*

PTS 3263: 1. *DINGIR-dan-nu-ŠEŠ.ME-šú-DÙ 2. u ur-IDIM-DINGIR-ú-a 3.DUMU.*

*ME šá ana-ma-ka-ni-šú 4. saḫa-ki-tu<sub>4</sub>*

YBC 7409: 15. *ur-dim-DINGIR-ú-a* *lūAŠ[GAB]*

YOS 6, 184: 2. *ur-dim-DINGIR-ú-a* (also line 5)

YOS 6, 240: 16. *nu-ur-dim-mu-DINGIR-ú-a*

YOS 7, 120: 9. *[ur-IDIM-DINGIR-ú-a A ur-UTU-DÙ*

Individuals named *Ina-šilli-Urdimmu* appear in GCCI 2, 366: 11. *ina-GISSU-ur-dim* (no filiation or occupation), in YOS 19, 297: 2. *ina-GISSU-ur-IDIM lūHUN.GÁ* (no filiation), and *SpTU V*, 291: 8. *ni-din-tu<sub>4</sub> A-šú šá ina-GISSU-ur-dim-mu A [ó o o]* 9. *ú tu-rin-ni-tu<sub>4</sub> DAM-šú* “Nidintu, son of *Ina-šilli-Urdimmu*, descendant of [ó o o], and his wife *Turinnitu*” (also line 13). Another *Ina-šilli-Urdimmu*, son of *Nabû-bāni-aḫi*, descendant of the doorkeeper, appears in the following texts:

<sup>35</sup> MSL 8/2, p. 14, line 94. *ur-idim=šU-mu (ur-idim-mu)* 95. *ur-idim=kā-bu še-gu-ú*.

AnOr 8, 56: 20. *ina-GISSU-ur-IDIM DUMU-šú šá 21. ina-NÀ-DÙ-ŠEŠ DUMU lūI.DU<sub>8</sub>*  
GCCI 2, 97: 8. *ina-GISSU-ur-dim 9. A-šú šá ina-NÀ-DÙ-ŠEŠ A lūI.DU<sub>8</sub>*  
TCL 12, 117: 13. *ina-GISSU-ur-IDIM A-šú šá ina-NÀ-DÙ-ŠEŠ A lūI.DU<sub>8</sub>*  
YOS 7, 178: 1. *ina-GISSU-ur-dim-mu DUMU-šú šá 2. ina-NÀ-DÙ-ŠEŠ A lūI.DU<sub>8</sub>*  
YOS 19, 65: 1. *ina-GISSU-ur-IDIM A-šú šá ina-NÀ-DÙ-ŠEŠ 2. A lūI.DU<sub>8</sub>*  
*Dar.* 77: 3. *KI-a-nù-TIN A-šú šá 4. [ina]-GISSU-ur-dim A lūI.DU<sub>8</sub>*  
*Dar.* 524: 4. *KI-a60-TIN A-šú šá 5. (<šá>) ina-GISSU-ur-IDIM 6. A lūI.DU<sub>8</sub>*

The name pattern *Ina-šilli-DN* “Under the protection of (such and such) god” is not infrequent in Neo-Babylonian onomastics. It suggests that the Divine *Urdimmu* could, like any deity, extend his protection to the newborn. Perhaps this name was given to a child who escaped a grievous disease at birth and was saved because of the intercession of the creature. As seen above, this is one of the functions of the *Urdimmu* in some rituals to cure the sick. *Ina-šilli-Urdimmu*, father of *Itti-Anu-balāṭu* and son of *Nabû-bāni-aḫi*, presents an interesting case. His ancestral name derived from a professional occupation, that of doorkeeper (*atū*). This might furnish another possible explanation for the choice of the name *Ina-šilli-Urdimmu*. Because of his role as guardian of the gate, the Divine *Urdimmu* possessed the ideal attribute to become a patron deity of temple doorkeepers, and indeed it appears that *Ina-šilli-Urdimmu* and his family still engaged in the professional activity of their ancestor. In text *Dar.* 77, dated to the 3rd year of Darius the Great, the son of *Ina-šilli-Urdimmu* takes a loan of silver and puts as collateral a share in his prebend of doorkeeper, the office of *atūtu*.<sup>36</sup>

### *Dar.* 77

1. 1 1/3 MA.NA KÙ.BABBAR *šá ba-ba-a*
2. DUMU.MÍ-su *šá ur-EN A ši-gu-ú-a*
3. *ina UGU KI-a-nù-TIN A-šú šá*
4. *[ina]-GISSU-ur-dim A lūI.DU<sub>8</sub>*
5. *[ó o] x' GIŠ.ŠUB.BA-šú lūI.DU<sub>8</sub>-ú-tu*
6. *[šá KÁ.G]AL-i maš-ka-nu šá [ba-ba]-a'*

1 1/3 minas of silver, belonging to *Babâ*, the daughter of *Arad-Bēl*, descendant of *Šigū'a*, credited against *Itti-Anu-balāṭu*, son of *Ina-šilli-Urdimmu*, descendant of the doorkeeper, [ó o] of his prebend of doorkeeper [at the gate] is the security held by *Babâ*.

### 8.2.1.3. Offerings

Several texts mention offerings for the Divine *Urdimmu* of Uruk. These lists record offerings of sheep, and possibly other sacrificial animals as well, in addition to offerings of salt, sesame, and barley. In many cases the offerings of the Divine *Urdimmu* are delivered in conjunction with those of the god *Nusku*. If we are to judge only from these

<sup>36</sup> This, however, is not the mandatory explanation, since he is the only doorkeeper bearing a theophoric name with *Urdimmu* and since such names are borne by individuals who were not necessarily doorkeepers.

documents, the treatment accorded to the Divine *Urdimmus* is no different from the care fostered on the other gods of Uruk. It is probable, however, that offerings were made to them only sporadically.

## 8.2.1.3.1. Salt

Offerings of salt to the Divine *Urdimmus* are mentioned in two texts. In both cases a man named Bāniya is in charge of the offerings; NCBT 155: 8–11 (40 minas for Nusku and the Divine *Urdimmus*, from the month Tašrītu until the month Ṭebētu, Bāniya), and NCBT 779: 8–10 (30 minas for Nusku and the Divine *Urdimmus* for the months Nisannu, Ayaru, and Simānu, Bāniya).

## 8.2.1.3.2. Barley

Three *SWU* texts record allotments of barley for the offerings of the Divine *Urdimmus*. *SWU* 44 is an allotment of barley to the brewers: rev. 6'. [o o]+3 GUR šá dUR.IDIM.ME dUTU-MU-MU "[o o]+3 *kurrus* (of barley) for the Divine *Urdimmus*, Šamaš-šum-iddin;" *SWU* 72 is an allotment to the bakers: rev. 11'. [o o šá d]NUSKU lzu-um-bu u ŠEŠ.MEŠ-šú 5 (GUR) 2 (PI) dUR.IDIM.MEŠ' l[o o o] "[o o for] Nusku, Zumbu and his brothers, 5 (*kurrus* and) 2 *pānus* (of barley) for the Divine *Urdimmus*, [o o o];" and *SWU* 124 records an allotment to both: rev. 9'. 12 šá dNUSKU u dUR.IDIM.MEŠ "12 (*mašīhus* of barley) for Nusku and the Divine *Urdimmus*." PTS 2180, dated in the 29th year of Darius I, records an allotment of barley to the bakers as *maššartu*: 69. [o] 3 (PI) 3 BĀN šá dUR-dimmes "[o] 3 *pānus* (and) 3 *sātus* (of barley) for the Divine *Urdimmus*." Kessler quotes an unpublished text which mentions allotments of barley for the Divine *Urdimmus*, W 20000,202: 5–6. 16 GUR ŠE.BAR šá É dNUSKU u dUR.I[DIM].ME "16 *kurrus* of barley for the temple of Nusku and the Divine *Urdimmus*;" the text probably dates to the later years of the reign of Darius I.<sup>37</sup>

## 8.2.1.3.3. Oil

An allotment of oil for the Divine *Urdimmus* is mentioned in NCBT 245: 10. 1 SĪLA (Ī.GIŠ) a-na dUR.IDIM.ME dEN-DA "1 *qū* (of oil) for the Divine *Urdimmus*, Bēl-le'i." There is no indication as to the purpose for which the oil was disbursed, whether to prepare food offerings or for ritual use.

## 8.2.1.3.4. Meat

Some of the offering lists of Group B record allocations of sacrificial animals for the Divine *Urdimmus*. Sacrificial sheep are mentioned in YOS 17, 345: 6. 1 a-na dUR-dimmes\*. One other list is probably concerned with sacrificial animals, *SWU* 160: obv.(?) 1. [o o] IGI dUR'.IDIM.ME. As seen above the offerings listed in YOS 17, 345 were presented on the 3rd day of the month Addaru, which witnessed the largest annual increase in sheep sacrifices in the Eanna temple (§ 8.1.3). Only during such days of sacrificial bounty were sheep offered to minor deities like the Divine *Urdimmus*.

<sup>37</sup> KESSLER 1997, pp. 155–156.

## 8.2.1.4. Garments

The following texts refer to textiles and articles of clothing for the Divine *Urdimmus*:<sup>38</sup>

## Cincinnati 20

1. 8 GÍN KÙ.BABBAR 2 <sup>u</sup>gBABBAR.RA.'MEŠ'
2. šá qab-lu šá <sup>u</sup>ur-dim-mu'<sup>meš</sup>
3. šá! KÁ.GAL-ú SUM-nu

8 shekels of silver has been allotted (for) two light-colored waistbands for the Divine *Urdimmus* (stationed) at the gate.<sup>39</sup>

## YBC 7436

33. 1 1/2 MA.NA <sup>u</sup>gmi-iḫ-ši šá BABBAR-ú <sup>sig</sup>HÉ.ME.D[A o o]
34. <sup>sig</sup>ZA.GĪN.KUR.RA šá ŠEN <sup>gada</sup>u-ma-nu-u <sup>sig</sup>[o o]
35. ana <sup>u</sup>ga-di-i-l il <sup>u</sup> <sup>sig</sup>gi-pi šá dUR.ID[IM.MEŠ]
36. lSUM.NA-ŠEŠ <sup>u</sup>UŠ.BAR bir-mu ma-ḫe-[er] ...
42. [o <sup>u</sup>gKUR.RA.ME <sup>u</sup> <sup>u</sup>9' <sup>u</sup>gšir-a-am [o o o]
43. [o] a-na <sup>u</sup>gNĪG.ĪB.LÁ.ME šá dUR.IDIM.ME 'x' [o o]

33. 1 1/2 minas of white woven cloth, red wool [o o],
34. blue-colored wool, waistband, linen, wool [o o],
35. for a tassel(?), and šīpu wool for the Divine *Urd[immus]*;
36. recei[ved] by Nādin-aḫi, the weaver of colored fabrics ...
42. [o] KUR.RA garments and 9 jackets [o o o]
43. [o] for the sashes of the Divine *Urdimmus* x [o o]

## PTS 3230

4. 1 MA.NA 52 GĪN <sup>u</sup>gmi-iḫ-šu
5. šá <sup>sig</sup>HÉ.ME.DA <sup>gis</sup>HAB u <sup>sig</sup>ZA.GĪN šá-pi-i ruq-qu
6. 6 <sup>u</sup>ga-di-lu šá <sup>u</sup>gū-za-ra-a-tú
7. šá dUR.IDIM.MEŠ 2 <sup>u</sup>gta-l-bu-uš-tú
8. šá dḫu-ṭa-ru <sup>u</sup>gin-nin-MU-ŪRI
9. A dDUG.GA-UNUG<sup>ki</sup> ma-ḫe-er ...
16. 2 MA.NA 5 GĪN 6 <sup>u</sup>ga-di-lu <sup>sig</sup>HÉ.ME.DA <sup>gis</sup>HAB u <sup>sig</sup>ZA.GĪN.KUR.RA
17. šá <sup>u</sup>gū-za-ra-a-tú šá dUR.IDIM.ME
18. <sup>u</sup>gin-nin-NUMUN-GÁL-šī
19. 'ma'-ḫe-er

<sup>38</sup> One may add NCBT 543: 1. [o o o R]A šá dUR-dim-mu, which can perhaps be restored as [<sup>u</sup>gKUR.R]A. The context of the document, however, is uninformative.

<sup>39</sup> The word <sup>u</sup>gBABBAR.RA is a hapax and could therefore be an error for <sup>u</sup>gKUR.RA, although the garment <sup>u</sup>gKUR.RA ša qabli is otherwise unknown (see CAD Q, p. 12, s.v. qablu A in ša qabli). At the beginning of line 3 the copy has the number 7, but this is probably a scribal error for šá since only two waistbands are mentioned in the text, presumably one for each *Urdimmu* posted at either side of the gate.

1 mina (and) 52 shekels of woven cloth of red-colored wool (dyed) with *hūratu*, and of blue-colored wool, (of both) thick (and) thin (fabric, for) 6 tassels(?) for the *uzāru* garments of the Divine *Urdimmus*, (and for) 2 *talbuštu* garments for the Divine Staff, received by Innin-šum-ušur, son of Tāb-Uruk ... 2 minas (and) 5 shekels of red-colored wool dyed with *hūratu*, and of blue-colored wool, (for) 6 tassels(?) for the *uzāru* garments of the Divine *Urdimmus*, received by Innin-zēr-ušabši.

The allocation of garments for the clothing of the Divine *Urdimmus* took place on days which coincided with the clothing ceremony of various other deities in the Eanna temple. These correlations were discussed in chapter 1 (§ 1.7.1; § 1.7.2; § 1.12.1). We must also conclude that the Divine *Urdimmus* of Uruk were represented as gate guardians in round sculpture, not in relief, otherwise one can hardly see the purpose of delivering articles of clothing to them.<sup>40</sup> The garments allocated for the Divine *Urdimmus* of Uruk consist mostly of waistbands and sashes, and this accords perfectly well with iconographic representations of *Urdimmus* which show them almost naked, wearing only a thin belt around the waist.

#### 8.2.1.5. The Gate with a Divine *Urdimmu*

TCL 13, 167, dated to the 5th year of Cambyses, records a legal prohibition issued by the *šatammu* of the Eanna temple to an oblate of the goddess Ištar in which he orders him not to stand at the gate of the temple flanked with a Divine *Urdimmu* and disturb public peace:

##### TCL 13, 167

1. <sup>10</sup>NĀ-DU-IBILA <sup>10</sup>ŠĀ.TAM É.AN.NA DUMU-šú
2. *ša* <sup>10</sup>na-din DUMU <sup>10</sup>da-bi-bi *ina* <sup>10</sup>EN <sup>10</sup>NĀ
3. *u a-di-i ša* LUGAL *a-na* <sup>10</sup>e-rib-šú DUMU-šú *ša* <sup>10</sup>re-ge-e-ti
4. <sup>10</sup>ši-rik <sup>10</sup>INNIN UNUG<sup>ki</sup> <sup>10</sup>ir-te-me ki-i *ina* KĀ É <sup>10</sup>ur-<sup>10</sup>dim<sup>10</sup>-mu
5. *ta-at-ta-ši-iz* <sup>10</sup>ti-ru-tu
6. *ina* lib-bi *te-te-ép-šú*

Nabû-mukîn-apli, the *šatammu* of Eanna, son of Nādin, descendant of Dābibi, has sworn by Bēl, Nabû, and the majesty of the king to Erībšu, son of Reḫēti, an oblate of Ištar-of-Uruk, thus: “(Malediction upon you) if you stand (again) at the temple gate (flanked with) a Divine *Urdimmu* and cause mayhem!”

Texts from Uruk frequently mention a cash-box of the gate, the *quppu ša bābi*. These were collection boxes placed at the gates of the temple to receive the offerings of worshipers, or perhaps to collect a compulsory tariff from those entering the temple precinct.<sup>41</sup> Two

texts mention the official in charge of the “cash-box of the Divine *Urdimmu*,” the *quppu ša Urdimmu*. Kessler has proposed to see in the *quppu ša Urdimmu* a cash-box for the needs of the cult of the Divine *Urdimmu*.<sup>42</sup> I am not convinced that the evidence presently available bears this out. More probably these were regular collection boxes placed at gates flanked with statues of Divine *Urdimmus*. In view of the fact that representations of door guardian deities holding offering boxes were found at Hadatu (Arslantash) in Syria, it is even possible that some of the Divine *Urdimmus* standing at the gates of Uruk might have held such boxes in their hands.<sup>43</sup> The denomination *quppu ša Urdimmu* might therefore just be a functional equivalent of *quppu ša bābi*. Such cash-boxes occur in PTS 3117: 1. 1/3 5 GÍN KÙ.BABBAR *er-bi* 2. *ša* <sup>10</sup>qu-up-pi *ša* <sup>10</sup>UR.IDIM 3. *ša* TA U<sub>4</sub> 21-KAM <sup>10</sup>ša ITI<sup>10</sup> ŠU 4. *a-di* U<sub>4</sub> 1-KAM *ša* ITI KIN “1/3 (mina and) 5 shekels of silver, the income of the cash-box of the Divine *Urdimmu*, from the 21st day of Dūzu until the 1st day of Ulūlu;” AnOr 9, 8 (collated): 63. PN *ša ina* UGU *qu-up-pu* *ša* <sup>10</sup>UR\*.IDIM “PN, the man in charge of the cash-box of the Divine *Urdimmu*,” and YBC 9541: 10. PN 11. [*ša* UG]U <sup>10</sup>qu<sup>10</sup>-up-pu *ša* <sup>10</sup>UR.IDIM.<sup>44</sup> The official called *ša (ina) muḫḫi quppi ša bābi* (or *Urdimmu*) was probably in charge of collecting this income.

YOS 17, 255 mentions personnel stationed at a gate flanked with a Divine *Urdimmu*. The text records a withdrawal of a KUR.RA garment for a man named Ištar-rēšū’a who is posted “before” the Divine *Urdimmu*. It is certain from the context that the garment was for the personal use of Ištar-rēšū’a, not for the Divine *Urdimmu*.

##### YOS 17, 255

1. *1-en* <sup>10</sup>gKUR.RA *ša ina* <sup>10</sup>gKUR.<sup>10</sup>RA.MEŠ\*
2. *ša ina* IGI <sup>10</sup>(ina)-É\*.AN\*.NA\*-bu-<sup>10</sup>di<sup>10</sup>-iá
3. *a-na* <sup>10</sup>INNIN-re-šu-ú-a
4. *ša ina* IGI <sup>10</sup>ur-dim-mu
5. *ku-mu* <sup>10</sup>gKUR.RA-šú
6. *it-ta-ši*

One KUR.RA garment, withdrawn from the KUR.RA garments which are at the disposal of (Ina)-Eanna-būdiya, for Ištar-rēšū’a, who is stationed before the Divine *Urdimmu*, in replacement for his (old) KUR.RA garment.

#### 8.2.1.6. Donation of a Field to a Divine *Urdimmu*

YBC 6937, dated to the 41st year of Nebuchadnezzar II, records the donation of a portion of a field located at one of the gates of Uruk, the gate of Amurru. The beneficiary of the donation is none other than a Divine *Urdimmu*, who is referred to as “his lord” by the donor.

<sup>40</sup> One could of course argue that the texts discussed here refer to miniature garments intended to clothe figurines of *Urdimmus* to be buried under the thresholds of gates, but the quantities recorded seem definitely more in accordance with larger statues. One text from Nimrud (CTN III, no. 95, B, 4–8) might contain a description of a large statue of an *Urdimmu*, but the reading of the word is uncertain: UR.ID[IM]. The same text describes statues of a merman (*kulillu*) and a mermaid (*kulilnu*) which are also full-size.

<sup>41</sup> See OPPENHEIM 1947.

<sup>42</sup> KESSLER 1997, p. 156, “dieser Kult wie andere eine eigene ‘Kasse’ besaß.”

<sup>43</sup> See WEISS 1985, p. 352.

<sup>44</sup> The personal name is lost in both texts.

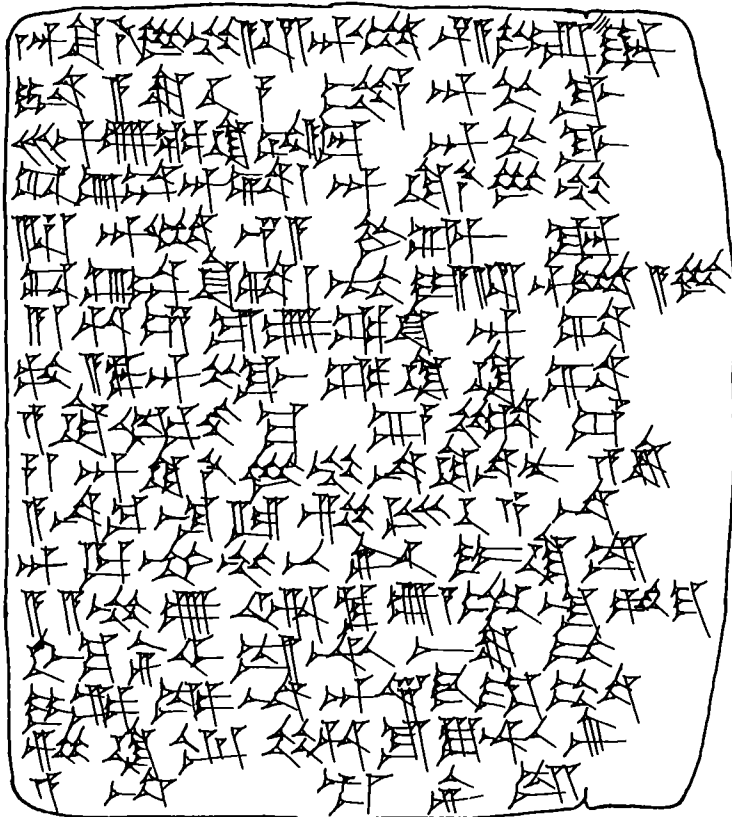


Plate 30. YBC 6937 (obverse)



Plate 31. YBC 6937 (reverse)

YBC 6937 (plate 30, 31)

1. <sup>14</sup>DI.KUD-ŠEŠ-MU A-šú šá <sup>14</sup>AMAR.UD-SUR A <sup>16</sup>SANGA BÁRA
2. i-na A.ŠÁ-šú šá KÁ <sup>4</sup>KUR.GAL
3. 30 1/2 KÙŠ SAG.KI GÚ ÍD <sup>4</sup>KUR.GAL
4. ÚS.SA.DU AN.TA <sup>14</sup>DI.KUD-ŠEŠ-MU
5. A-šú šá <sup>14</sup>AMAR.UD-SUR A <sup>16</sup>É.MAŠ BÁRA
6. ÚS.SA.DU KI.TA <sup>14</sup>NUMUN-ia A-šú šá <sup>14</sup>AMAR.UD-A-ÚRI
7. A <sup>14</sup>hu-un-zu-ú SAG.KI AN.TA
8. GÚ ÍD <sup>4</sup>KUR.GAL SAG.KI KI.TA
9. a-di muḥ-ḥi ma-kal-le-e
10. šá <sup>14</sup>DI.KUD-ŠEŠ.MEŠ-MU na-di-na-nu A.ŠÁ
11. a-na ba-la-tu ZI.MEŠ-šú a-na
12. <sup>4</sup>ur-dim-mu be-lí-šú i-qi-iš
13. a-a-mu-ú ar-ku-ú šá il-la-am-ma
14. mim-ma ni-ši-iš-ti ina lib-bi
15. i-šak-ka-na <sup>4</sup>15 GAŠAN ra-bi-tú
16. zi-ki-ru-us-su lu-ti-ir
17. a-na si-ni-iš
18. ina ka-nak IM.DUB MU.MEŠ

19. IGI <sup>14</sup>[in-n]in-<sup>14</sup>MU-ÚRI<sup>1</sup> A-šú šá <sup>14</sup>il-la-a
20. <sup>1</sup>A<sup>1</sup> <sup>14</sup>é-kur-za-kir
21. <sup>1</sup>[DÚ?-DINGIR? o o o o]-<sup>1</sup>x<sup>1</sup>-NUMUN A <sup>14</sup>é-kur-za-kir
22. <sup>1</sup>[SUM?.NA? o o o o o o]MU-<sup>4</sup>KUR.GAL
23. <sup>1</sup>[o o o o o o o o n]a-<sup>1</sup>NUMUN-DÚ A <sup>1</sup>SUM.NA-a
24. u <sup>14</sup>[UMBISAG o o o o o o] <sup>1</sup>A<sup>1</sup>-šú šá <sup>1</sup>NÍG.DU A <sup>14</sup>é-kur-za-kir
25. UNUG<sup>ki</sup> <sup>1</sup>ITI<sup>1</sup> ŠE U<sup>4</sup> 14-KAM MU 41-KAM
26. <sup>4</sup>NA-NÍG.DU-ÚRI LUGAL TIN.TIR<sup>ki</sup>

Madānu-aḥ(hē)-iddin, son of Marduk-ēṭir, descendant of the pontiff of the dais, has donated to the Divine *Urdimmu*, his lord, for the preservation of his life, a portion of his field (located) at the gate of Amurru, (which measures) 30 1/2 cubits<sup>45</sup> (on its longest side, which is) the upper front<sup>46</sup> along the banks of the canal of Amurru; (whose) upper flank (adjoins the property of) Madānu-aḥ(hē)-iddin, son of Marduk-ēṭir, descendant of the pontiff of the dais; (whose) lower flank (adjoins the property of) Zēriya, son of Marduk-aplu-ušur, descendant of Ḫunzū; (whose) upper front (adjoins) the banks of the canal of Amurru; (and whose) lower front (adjoins the land) up to the mooring place of Madānu-aḥ(hē)-iddin, the donor of the field. Whoever in the future comes up and brings about any reduction<sup>47</sup> in size (of the land), may Ištar, the great lady, turn his manhood into the state of a woman.<sup>48</sup> (Witnesses, scribe, date formula).

The purpose of donating the field was presumably to provide for the cult of this Divine *Urdimmu*, which is to say, the offerings and other care fostered on the creature. It may not be accidental that the parcel donated was located at one of the city gates, the gate of Amurru; perhaps the Divine *Urdimmu* in question was the guardian spirit of that gate.

### 8.2.1.7. The Divine *Urdimmu*: A Full-Fledged Deity

The evidence just discussed demonstrates the importance acquired in late Babylonian religion by the Divine *Urdimmu*, who is treated like a god. This is clearly emphasized by the scribes, who consistently write his name with the divine determinative. This, however, was not the case before the Neo-Babylonian period, although the divine character of the *Urdimmu* and other *Mischwesen* is already clearly expressed in Enūma eliš, which states that Tiāmat “clothed them with fearsomeness, made them wear radiance, (and thus) made them like gods” (Tablet I, 137. *pul-ḥa-ta ú-šal-biṣ-ma* 138. *me-lam-ma uš-taš-šá-a i-li-iš um-taš-šil*). The personal name *Urdimmu-ilū’a* “the Divine *Urdimmu* is my personal god,” confirms the full divine status of the creature in Neo-Babylonian Urūk. Moreover, in an unpublished letter from the archive, YBC 11322, the Divine *Urdimmu* is invoked as divine intercessor in a position which is usually occupied, in similar epistles, by Ištar, Nanaya, or another deity. The name of the sender of this letter is lost and the recipients are Nādin, Mūrānu, and Balātu, who are well-documented high officials of Eanna. They are referred to as “my fathers” (AD.MEŠ-e-a) by the sender, who concludes his letter with the following formula: “Now, daily do I pray to the Divine *Urdimmu* on behalf of my fathers” (rev. 4’. *a-mur u<sub>4</sub>-mu-us-su* 5’. *ur-dim-mu* 6’. *a-na* UGU AD.MEŠ-e-a 7’. *ú-šal-li*). This document provides the first textual correlation to a scene found in the glyptic art of the Neo-Babylonian and Achaemenid periods which typically represents a worshiper raising his hand in the gesture of prayer to a *Mischwesen*. No depiction of the *Urdimmu* in that iconographic setting has survived, but we have such depictions of the Merman (or Fish-Man: *kulullu*) and the Bird-Man with scorpion tail.<sup>49</sup>

### 8.2.2. The Divine *Urmahlūlu*

The *Urmahlūlu* has been identified as a “Lion-centaur,” a *Mischwesen* with the full body of a lion and the torso and head of a man, and crowned with a horned tiara.<sup>50</sup> There are four attestations of this Lion-centaur in texts from the archive, all prefixed with the divine determinative. Two texts record deliveries of gold to the goldsmiths Bēl-ibni and Ištar-šum-ibni for work to be performed on the Divine *Urmahlūlu*. In YOS 6, 3 the reference could be to a figurine made of gold (3. *ur-maḥ-lū-u<sub>18</sub>-lu*). In CDCPP 6, however, the mention of a balustrade (*tallu*) flanked with a Divine *Urmahlūlu* suggests a more imposing, perhaps full-size representation: 1. [o o o] 9 GÍN <sup>1</sup>4<sup>1</sup>-tú KÙ.GI 2. [o o]-<sup>1</sup>ši<sup>1</sup> <sup>8</sup>štal-lu 3. šá *ur-maḥ-lū-u<sub>18</sub>-lu*. The offering list of Group B *ARRIM* 7, 47,

<sup>49</sup> Examples from iconography: WUNSCH 1995–1996, p. 60, no. 10, copy of BM 33932 (Babylon, Egibi archive, year 32 of Darius I), left edge, seal of Rīmūt-Bēl, bearded man praying to fish-man (*kulullu*); p. 63, no. 12, copy of BM 33933 ([Babylon], Egibi archive, year 33 of Darius I), upper edge, man praying to scorpion bird-man.

<sup>50</sup> BLACK, GREEN 1992, pp. 119–120, and WIGGERMAN 1992, pp. 181–182 and 186–188.

<sup>45</sup> It is not clear whether one should read, on line 3, 30 1/2 KÙŠ (30 1/2 cubits), or 30 *ina* 1 KÙŠ (30 cubits).

<sup>46</sup> The word *pātu* (SAG.KI) normally denotes the short side in Neo-Babylonian land sales, but there are exceptions to this, as noted by CAD Š/II, p. 407, s.v. *šiddu* A. In this case, however, the field may have been perfectly square since they give the measurements of only one side. It is not clear whether UŠ must be read *šiddu* or *itū*.

<sup>47</sup> The word is *niširtu*, here with /š/ instead of /r/.

<sup>48</sup> Compare the hymn to Inanna, Innin-šagurra, edited by SjöBERG 1975a, pp. 190–191, verse 120: [nita] munus-ra munus nita-ra ku<sub>4</sub>-ku<sub>4</sub>-dē <sup>4</sup>inanna za-kam zi-ka-ra-am a-na si-ni-iš<sup>1</sup>-tim si-ni-iš<sup>1</sup>-a-na zi-ka<sup>1</sup>-ri-im tu-ru-um ku-um-ma eštar “To turn a man into a woman and a woman into a man are yours, O Inanna.”

probably a list of sacrificial animals, records offerings to a Divine *Urmahlûlu*: 18. 1 *a-na* *ur-mah-lû-(u<sub>18</sub>-lu)*. Finally NBC 4598, dated to the 5th year of Cyrus, possibly contains references to a gate flanked with representations of Divine *Urmahlûlus*. It is a list of temple slaves and craftsmen assigned to the watch at various gates of Eanna,<sup>51</sup> including two cleaners standing next to the Divine *Urmah[lûlus]*: 35. *IR-ia A* *UTU-MU* 36. *u* *na-na-a-MU* *PAP* 2 *pu-ša-a-a* 37. *ina* *DA* *ur-<sup>a</sup>maḥ<sup>1</sup>-[lû-u<sub>18</sub>-lu]* “Ardiya, son of Šamaš-iddin, and Nanaya-iddin; total: 2 cleaners next to the Divine *Urmah[lûlus]*.”<sup>52</sup> During the Seleucid period *Urmahlûlus* are mentioned in the “Fête d’Ištar” as taking part in a procession: 4’. 4 *ur-mah-lû-u<sub>18</sub>-lu* “4 *Urmahlûlus*,” but here the word is no longer prefixed with the divine determinative.

<sup>51</sup> See for instance, KÁ *pa-pa-ḥa šá* *GAŠAN šá* *UNUG<sup>ki</sup>* (lines 7, also perhaps 11, and probably 15).

<sup>52</sup> The word *urmahlûlu* is only partly legible in this text. The sign *maḥ* is not fully preserved and its reading is not entirely certain, but traces seem better for *maḥ* than for *dim*, which is the only other possibility.

## APPENDIX 1. SYNTHETIC LIST OF THE GODS

Here all the deities appearing in the Eanna archive are listed according to their cultic location or place of residence. First are listed the residents of the Eanna temple, second the gods residing in the small sanctuaries (*ekurrātu*) of Uruk and its immediate vicinity, then other deities residing in Uruk and its vicinity but with uncertain cultic locations, and finally the residents of other cities.

## 1. Residents of the Eanna Temple

## 1.1. Deities of Group A

Symbol of Bēl (probably Enirgalanna)

Ištar-of-Uruk, the lady of Uruk (Enirgalanna, *papāḥu ša* DN; *bīt-akīti ša* DN)

Symbol of Nabû (probably Eḫilianna)

Nanaya, the queen of Uruk (Eḫilianna, *papāḥu ša* DN; *bīt-ḫilši ša* DN)

Bēltu-ša-Rēš

Ušur-amāssu (*bīt* DN, *papāḥu ša* DN; *bīt-akīti ša* DN; *bīt-ḫilši ša* DN)

Urkayītu (worshiped together with Ušur-amāssu)

Gula (*bīt* DN)

IGI.DU (*bīt* DN)

## 1.2. Minor Goddesses

The Goddesses (might refer to Goddesses of Group A)

Aḫlamayītu

Anunītu

Bānītu

Bēlet-balāṭi

Gula-of-the-Courtyard (probably worshiped in temple of Ninurta-of-the-Courtyard)

Kanisurra

Kaššītu

Kilīlu and Barirītu

Kurunnītu

Nin-zizli (known only from name of a gate)

## 1.3. Minor Gods

Adapa

Dumuzi

Madānu

Marduk-of-the-Courtyard (*bīt* DN)

Ningišzida (*bīt* DN)

Ninurta-of-the-Courtyard (*bīt* DN)

Šîn-of-Heaven

Šîn-of-the-Courtyard (*bīt* DN)

Dais of Šamaš (*parakki* DN)  
Usmû

1.4. Non-Anthropomorphic Deities  
*Ħuṭāru*, the Divine Staff  
*Išpatu*, the Divine Quiver  
*Kakkabtu*, the Divine Branding Iron  
The Divine *Urigallu* Standards  
The Divine *Zaqiptu* Standards  
The Divine *Urdimmus*  
The Divine *Urmaḥlûlus*

## 2. Patron Deities of the Small Sanctuaries of Uruk and its Immediate Vicinity

2.1. Deities of Group A  
Marduk (*bīt* DN)  
Sîn (*bīt* DN)  
The Divine Chariot (perhaps *bīt* DN)  
Nergal and Ereškigal (*bīt* DN)  
Ninurta (*bīt* DN)  
Nusku (*bīt* DN)

2.2. Minor Goddesses  
Gula of Bīt-Gula (*bīt* DN)

2.3. Minor Gods  
Adad (*bīt* DN)  
Anu (*bīt* DN)  
Aššur (*bīt* DN)  
Bēl-SA-našru and Gula (*bīt* DN)  
Ea (*bīt* DN)  
Enlil (*bīt* DN)  
<sup>d</sup>BE (*bīt* DN)  
Lugalbanda (*bīt* DN)  
Lugalirra (*bīt* DN)  
Nabû (*bīt* DN; *bīt ḫilši ša* DN)  
Zababa (*bīt* DN)

## 3. Residents of Uruk and its Immediate Vicinity, but with Uncertain Cultic Locations

3.1. Minor Goddesses  
Aššurītu (known only from toponyms)  
Šarrat-Kullab  
Šerua

3.2. Minor Gods  
Gilgameš (known only from name of a garden)  
Meslamtaea (known only from name of a gate)

## 4. Residents of Other Cities

4.1. Deities of Group A  
Bēlet-Eanna and <sup>d</sup>IGI.DU (Eanna and *bīt* DN, respectively; Udannu)  
Šamaš and Aya (Larsa)

4.2. Minor Goddesses  
Antu (probably Larsa)  
Mārāt-Ebabbar (Larsa)

4.3. Minor Gods  
Amurru and Innin-galga-sud (*bīt* DN; Sealand)  
Bēl (of Babylon)  
Bēl-āliya (probably Larsa)  
Bunene (Larsa)  
Ea of Eridu, Ea of Nēmed-Lagūda  
Gašru (*bīt* DN; probably Opis)  
Ilū-ša-māt-tāmti (probably in the Sealand)  
Lugal-Marada (Marad)  
Mār-bīti (probably Larsa)  
Sîn (of Ur)

## APPENDIX 2. LKU 51

The following ritual, originally copied by Falkenstein and published as *Literarische Keilschrifttexte aus Uruk*, no. 51, is the only ritual that has survived from Neo-Babylonian Uruk. The tablet is preserved in Berlin's Vorderasiatisches Museum as VAT 14524. I collated it on 12 March 1997, but Falkenstein's copy has proven to be nearly impeccable. Because of the numerous breaks at the beginnings and ends of lines it is almost impossible to make continuous sense of most of the cultic episodes described in this ritual. Dividing lines were incised on the tablet to separate each month.

### LKU 51

obv.

- 0'. [i-na ITI SIG<sub>4</sub> o o o o o o o o o o o o o o o]  
 1'. [o o o o o o o o o o o] 'URI-a-mat-su' [o o o o]  
 2'. [o o o dā]š-ka-a-a-i-tu<sub>4</sub> i-'x'-[o o o o o o o o]  
 3'. [o o o dURI-INI]M-'su' uš-šá-'ab dURI'-a-mat-su ku-tal-la (É).AN.NA at 'x' [o o o]  
 4'. [o o o] par-rat ina lib-bi dURI-a-mat-su a-na É.AN.NA ir-ru-ub-ma [o o o]  
 5'. [dāš-ka]-a-a-i-tu<sub>4</sub> ul-tu É ħi-il-ši a-na 8<sup>18</sup>KIRI<sub>6</sub> ut-[o o o]  
 6'. [o o o] 'x' šá ba ina UGU 8<sup>18</sup>pa-ṭi-ri nap-ta-nu i-qar-ru-ub ina ku-ku-[bi? o o o]  
 7'. [o o o] šī U<sub>4</sub> 9-KAM ina bé-ri u<sub>4</sub>-mu ul-tu É ħi-il-ši uš-ša-a[m-ma o o o]  
 8'. [o o o nap]-ta-nu i-qar-ru-ub šá na-pi-šú ina UGU sig<sup>4</sup>ga-ra-ak-ka 'x' [o o o]  
 9'. [o o o] 'x' ma-a' 8 UDU.SIZKUR ina KÁ.MEŠ šá É.AN.NA ina IGI-šú ut-lak-k[a-su o o o]  
 10'. [o o o]-ši a-na sig<sup>4</sup>ga-rak-ka U<sub>4</sub> 15-KAM dugkar-pa-ta na-[o o o]  
 11'. [o o o] 'x' eš-šú udu<sup>18</sup>pu-ḥa-du u na-an-ša-bu a-na dGAŠAN šá UN[UG<sup>ki</sup> o o o]  
 12'. [o o o U<sub>4</sub>] '15-KAM' il-ki šá lúMAŠ lúGALA u lúN[AR o o o]  
 13'. [i-na ITI ŠU] U<sub>4</sub> 1-KAM U<sub>4</sub> 1+[x KA]M 'U<sub>4</sub>' 1-KAM 8<sup>18</sup>GU.ZA a-na É [ḥi]-'il-ši' [o o o]  
 14'. [o o o] ut-ter-ri 'd'[URI-a-ma]t-su u dāš-ka-a-'a'-[i-tu<sub>4</sub> o o o]  
 15'. [o o o dGAŠA]N šá UNUG<sup>ki</sup> 'il'-[o o o Š]U.MIN diš-pa-'tu<sub>4</sub>' [o o o]  
 16'. [o o o] 'ḥu?' U<sub>4</sub>.ME i-tib-ba-'a-ma' [di]š-pa\*-'tu<sub>4</sub>\*' dŠA-ia a-na [o o o]  
 17'. [o o o] i-lam-ma-a-ni 8 UDU.'SIZKUR.MEŠ ina KÁ'.MEŠ šá É.AN.NA 'x' [o o o]  
 18'. [o o o]-'a'-ma lúKUR.GAR.RA SAG-su i-rak-ka-as ki-na-a-a-ta ina 'x'[o o o]  
 19'. [o o o] rik-su ul-tu É ħi-il-ši a-na BÁRA ki-na-a-a-ta [o o o]  
 20'. [o o o] ina UGU BÁRA-an-zu-ú a-na dna-na-a i-maḥ-ḥa-aš-'ma' [o o o]  
 21'. [il-k]i šá lúGALA u lúNAR a-ki-i šá ITI-ut-su i-na bi-ri 'u<sub>4</sub>'-[mu o o o]  
 22'. 'd'na-na-a i-tib-bi-ma a-na É te-rit ir-ru-ub-ma il-'lak-ku' [o o o]  
 23'. 'É'.GE<sub>6</sub>.'PÁR'.IMIN.BI i-lam-ma-am-ma a-na MIN.EŠ šá dGAŠAN šá UNUG<sup>ki</sup> uš-[ša-ab li-li-si]  
 24'. iš-šak-kan li-li-si UD.KA.BAR i-tib-bi-ma i-ši-ru TAR A.MEŠ 'x'[o o o]  
 25'. li-li-si ina UGU šu-uh-ḥu ina IGI-šú iš-šak-kan nap-ta-nu i-qar-r[ru-ub o o o]  
 26'. ra-bu-ú šá bi-ri u<sub>4</sub>-mu ina sig<sup>4</sup>za-ra-tu<sub>4</sub> i-qar-ru-ub i-ši-ru TAR 'A'. [MEŠ o o o]  
 27'. il-li tar-den-nu ina É pa-pa-ḥi i-qar-ru-ub U<sub>4</sub> 17-KAM dIGI.DU i-[o o o]  
 28'. li-li-si iš-šak-kan U<sub>4</sub> 27-KAM dāš-ka-a-a-i-ti a-na 'É' [o o o]



- 29'. *i-ni-iḫ-ḫi-su* ALAM <sup>d</sup>*dumu-zī uš-ša-am-ma ina KÁ.GAL-i in-na-an-<sup>r</sup>bi<sup>r</sup>*-[o o o]  
 30'. *a-na* IGI <sup>d</sup>GAŠAN *ša UNUG<sup>ki</sup> ul-ter-riḫ ina UGU <sup>u</sup>šp[a-á]š-ka in-na-an-*[o o o]  
 31'. <sup>l</sup>GALA IM.ŠU.ÍL.TÚG *a-na GEŠTU.MIN ZAG-šú a-na GEŠTU.MIN ḪÚB-šú ú-<sup>r</sup>la-ah<sup>r</sup>*-[ḫaš o o o]

- 32'. *i-na* ITI NE U<sub>4</sub> 1-KAM *lu-bu-uš-tu<sub>4</sub>* U<sub>4</sub> 1-KAM U<sub>4</sub> 2-KAM U<sub>4</sub> 6-KAM U<sub>4</sub> 7-[KAM o o]

- 33'. [*i-na*] ITI KIN U<sub>4</sub> 1-KAM *lu-bu-uš-tu<sub>4</sub>* U<sub>4</sub> 1-KAM U<sub>4</sub> 2-KAM U<sub>4</sub> 6-KAM U<sub>4</sub> '7'-[KAM o o o]  
 34'. [o o o] 'x' U<sub>4</sub> 2-KAM UDU 'SIZKUR <sup>l</sup>ḫa-za-an URU <sup>du</sup>gdan-nu tar-b[a o o o]  
 35'. [o o o *i/ú*]-mál-li 'U<sub>4</sub> 20-KAM' <sup>d</sup>URI-a-mat-'su x x x' [o o o]

rev.

- 1'. [o o o] 'x' [o o o]  
 2'. [o o o] 'x x x' [o] 'x-lap<sup>r</sup>-pa-a[t o o o]

- 3'. [*i-na* ITI DU<sub>6</sub>] U<sub>4</sub> 1-KAM U<sub>4</sub> 2-KAM *il-ki šá* <sup>l</sup>GALA' [o o o]  
 4'. [o o o] 'x šir<sup>r</sup>' *ina UGU <sup>u</sup>špa-áš-ka <sup>l</sup>ŠU.Í ina IGI <sup>d</sup>GAŠAN šá U[NUG<sup>ki</sup> o o o]*  
 5'. [o o o]-<sup>r</sup>šir<sup>r</sup>-i *i-na <sup>du</sup>gkal-lu u <sup>du</sup>gšū-ul-pu šá-niš\** 'x' [o o o]  
 6'. 'nap<sup>r</sup>-ta-nu i-qar-ru-bu <sup>l</sup>NAR ba-ṭi-il li-li-s[i o o o]  
 7'. rik-si i-rak-ka-as 3 nig-na-qu KÚ.BABBAR *i-tar-ra-aš* UDU.NÍTA.ME [o o o]  
 8'. [i]li-si iš-šak-kan U<sub>4</sub> 8-KAM *lu-bu-uš-ti ina bu-un-*[o o o]  
 9'. *a-na* <sup>d</sup>EN *i-tar-ra-ša nap-ta-nu i-qar-ru-ub <sup>l</sup>NAR* [o o o]  
 10'. *i-na* <sup>o</sup>É šá KISAL 'uš-šá-ab<sup>o</sup> U<sub>4</sub> 9-KAM <sup>d</sup>áš-ka-a-a-i-t[u<sub>4</sub> o o o] <sup>oo</sup> readings uncertain  
 11'. 'i x x' [o o o] 'a-na qa-ti-šú il<sup>r</sup>-l[i o o o]

- 12'. [*i-na* ITI APIN] U<sub>4</sub> 1-KAM U<sub>4</sub> 2-KAM U<sub>4</sub> 6-KAM U<sub>4</sub> [o o o] 'x' [o o o]

- 13'. [*i-na* ITI GAN] U<sub>4</sub> 1-KAM U<sub>4</sub> 2-KAM U<sub>4</sub> 6-KAM U<sub>4</sub> 7-KAM [o o o] 'U<sub>4</sub>' 15-KAM *il-ki šá* <sup>l</sup> [o o o]  
 14'. [KI.NE].<sup>r</sup>NE' šá <sup>d</sup>GAŠAN šá UNUG<sup>ki</sup> <sup>d</sup>URI-a-mat-su (<sup>d</sup>)áš-ka-a-a-i-ti i-'x' [o o o]  
 15'. [o o o] šá *ina KISAL a-na ZAG šá <sup>d</sup>GAŠAN šá UNUG<sup>ki</sup> uš-<sup>r</sup>šá<sup>r</sup>-ba nap-ta-nu i-qar-ru-ub* [o o o]  
 16'. [o o o] 'i<sup>r</sup>-šá-ti a-na KI.NE.NE *i-nam-<sup>r</sup>di<sup>r</sup> <sup>d</sup>URI-a-mat-su u <sup>d</sup>áš-k[a-a-a-i-tu<sub>4</sub> o o o]*  
 17'. [o o o] *nig-n*aq-qu É 'x x' KI.NE.NE šá <sup>d</sup>URI-a-mat-su u <sup>d</sup>áš-ka-a-a-[i-tu<sub>4</sub> o o o]  
 18'. [o o o]-a-ta a-na <sup>d</sup>[GAŠAN šá UN]UG<sup>ki</sup> *it-ti* KI.NE.NE.MEŠ šá DINGIR.MEŠ *ka-la-*[ma o o]

- 19'. [*i-na* ITI AB U<sub>4</sub> 1-KA]M U<sub>4</sub> 2 KAM U<sub>4</sub> [o o o U]<sub>4</sub> 7-KAM U<sub>4</sub> 14-KAM U<sub>4</sub> 15-KAM *il-ki šá* <sup>l</sup> [o o o]

- 20'. [o o o] 'x' *uš-ša-ab* 'U<sub>4</sub>' 10-KAM *ina UGU tar-den-nu <sup>d</sup>áš-ka-a-a-i-ti a-na É* [<sup>d</sup>IM *ir-ru-ub*]

- 21'. [o o o] 'i-nam-šir<sup>r</sup>' *i-ni-ḫi-sa-am-ma a-na šu-ub-ti-šú il-l[i o o o]*  
 22'. [o o o] 'x<sup>r</sup>-ú uš-šá-ba GU<sub>4</sub>.MEŠ ù UDU.NÍTA *ina pa-ni-ši-na iḫ-ta-at-*[o o o]  
 23'. [o o o] 'i<sup>r</sup>-tib-bu-ma a-na É <sup>d</sup>U.GUR *i-tar-ra-aš* u 'x' [o o o]

- 24'. [*i-na* ITI ZÍ] <sup>r</sup>Z <sup>l</sup>ŠU\*.I\* U<sub>4</sub> 1<sup>r</sup>-KAM U<sub>4</sub> 2-KAM U<sub>4</sub> 6-KAM U<sub>4</sub> '8?'-KAM U<sub>4</sub> 14-KAM U<sub>4</sub> 15-KAM *il-ki šá* <sup>l</sup>GALA u <sup>l</sup>[NAR]

- 25'. 'u<sup>r</sup>' 1-en *la ba-áš-lu ina KÁ.GAL-i ina IGI <sup>d</sup>URI-a<sup>r</sup>-mat-su i-ḫe-ép-pu-ú-ni iq-bi* 'x' [o o o]

- 26'. *i-na* ITI ŠE U<sub>4</sub> 1-KAM U<sub>4</sub> 2-KAM U<sub>4</sub> 6-KAM [o o o] U<sub>4</sub> 14-KAM U<sub>4</sub> 15-KAM *il-ki šá* <sup>l</sup>G[ALA u <sup>l</sup>NAR]

- 27'. 'e<sup>r</sup>-du-tu i-mál-lu-ú U<sub>4</sub> 2-KAM UDU.SIZKUR [o o o]-bu-ú li-li-si iš-šak-kan [o o o]

- 28'. *ú-ḫa-bu* U<sub>4</sub> 3-KAM <sup>d</sup>GAŠAN šá UNUG<sup>ki</sup> *i-tib-bi-m[a] bi-rit šid-du uš-šab* [o o o]

- 29'. [o] šab <sup>l</sup>GUB.BA 3-šú *it-ti-šú i-lam-ma-a*[' A].<sup>r</sup>MEŠ' [ŠU.MIN] 'i-nam<sup>r</sup>-ši i-tib-bi [o o o]

- 30'. [o o o] 3-šú <sup>l</sup>GUB.BA *it-ti-šú i-lam-[ma-a]* A.MEŠ ŠU.MIN *i-<sup>r</sup>nam-ši i-tib<sup>r</sup>!*-[o o o]

- 31'. [li-li-si] 'UD.KA'.BAR *iš-<sup>r</sup>šak-kan* [*nap-t*]a-nu *i-qar-ru-ub-bu* UDU.SIZ[KUR o o o]

- 32'. [o o o] 'li<sup>r</sup>-li-si iš-šak\*-kan u ri-iq-d[u o o o]

- 33'. [o o o] 'nig<sup>r</sup>-naq-qu <sup>l</sup>NAR uš-<sup>r</sup>šab<sup>r</sup>-ma i-rag-[gu-um o]

- 34'. [o o o]-az-zu U<sub>4</sub> 5-KAM *nap-ta-nu i-qar-ru-ub* [o o o]

- 35'. [o o o] 'x<sup>r</sup>-az li-li-si UD.KA.BAR *iš-šak-kan ri-[iq-du o o o]*

- 36'. [o o o] 'x' *iz-za-az-zu ina bi-ri u<sub>4</sub>-mu ina UGU* 'li<sup>r</sup>'[o o o]

- 37'. [o o o]-<sup>r</sup>mi<sup>r</sup>-tu<sub>4</sub>-<sup>r</sup>ma kan-kan<sup>r</sup>-na u AN.DUL<sub>7</sub> *ina U[GU o o o]*

- 38'. [o o o] 'uš<sup>r</sup>-šá-ab 'x' [o o o]

obv.

- 0'. [In the month Simānu o o o o o o o o o]

- 1'. [o o o o o o o o o] Ušur-amāssu [o o o o]

- 2'. [o o o U]rkayītu x [o o o o o o o o o]

- 3'. [o o o Ušur-amāssu]su takes a seat; Ušur-amāssu x [o o o] behind the (E)anna temple

- 4'. [o o o] a female lamb from it; Ušur-amāssu (re)enters Eanna and [o o o]

- 5'. [Urka]yītu x [o o o] from the *bīt-ḫilši* to the garden;

- 6'. [o o o] x x the sacred meal is offered on the presentation altar, in a *kukku*[*bu* container(?) o o]

- 7'. [o o o] x. On the 9th day, on the (first double)-hour of the day she comes [out] of the *bīt-ḫilši* [and o]

- 8'. [o o o] the sacred meal is offered; the censer on the brazier x [o o o]

- 9'. [o o o] x x x 8 sacrificial sheep are slaugh[tered] at the gates of Eanna in her presence [and o]

- 10'. [o o o] x to the brazier. On the 15th day a pot x [o o o]

- 11'. [o o o] x new, a lamb and a *naššabu* to the Lady-of-Uruk [o o o]

- 12'. [o o o] On the 15th [day], duties of the exorcist, the cultic singer, and the musician [o o o]

- 13'. [In the month Dūzu], on the 1st day and the 'xth' day. On the 1st day the throne to the *bīt-ḫilši* [o o o]

- 14'. [o o o] is returned(?); [Ušur-amā]ssu and Urkayītu [o o o]

- 15'. [o o o] the Lad[y]-of-Uruk x [o o o] ha[nds], the Divine Quiver [o o o]

- 16'. [o o o] x days they proceed and the [Divine Q]uiver (and) Usmū(?) to [o o o]

- 17'. [o o o] they circumambulate(?); 8 sacrificial sheep at the gates of Eanna x [o o o]

- 18'. [o o o] x x the *kurgarrū* binds his head; the *kīnayātu* offerings in x [o o o]

- 19'. [o o o] the *riksu* offering; from the *bīt-ḫilši* to the dais the *kīnayātu* offerings [o o o]

- 20'. [o o o] on the Dais of Anzū for Nanaya he strikes/kills(?) and [o o o];

- 21'. [duties of the cultic singer and musician according to the monthly custom on the (first double)-hour of the day [o o o]

- 22'. Nanaya proceeds and enters the temple of omens and goes [o o o];  
 23'. she circumambulates the Egipariminbi and tak[es a seat] to the left of the Lady-of-Uruk; [the kettledrum]  
 24'. is played; the copper kettledrum proceeds and they go directly, TAR A.MEŠ [o o o];  
 25'. the copper kettledrum is played/placed in her presence on the *šuhhu* stand and the sacred meal is off[ered o o o];  
 26'. the main sacred meal of the (first double)-hour of the day is offered in the tent; they go directly, TAR A.[MEŠ o o o]  
 27'. and she goes up; the second sacred meal is offered in the inner cella. On the 17th day <sup>d</sup>[GI.DU x [o o o]  
 28'. the kettledrum is played. On the 27th day Urkayītu [o o o] to the temple;  
 29'. they return; the image of Dumuzi comes out and x x [o] at the gate [o o]  
 30'. and is introduced into the presence of the Lady-of-Uruk; he x x [o] on a log of wood [o o];  
 31'. the cultic singer murmu[rs] the incantation Imšu-iltug into his right ear and into his left ear [o o].

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32'. In the month Abu, on the 1st day, clothing ceremony. On the 1st, 2nd, 6th, 7[th days o o o].

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33'. [In] the month Ulūlu, on the 1st day, clothing ceremony. On the 1st, 2nd, 6th, 7[th days o o o];

34'. [o o o] x. On the 2nd day, offering; the mayor of the city x x [o o o] a vat

35'. [o o o] f[ills/is filled]. On the 20th day Ušur-amāssu x x x [o o o]

rev.

1'. [o o o] x [o o o]

2'. [o o o] x x x [o] he/she touch[es o o o]

---

3'. [In the month Tašrītu], on the 1st (and) 2nd days, duties of the cultic singer [o o o]

4'. [o o o] x x on a log of wood the barber [o o o] before the Lady-of-U[ruk o o o]

5'. [o o o] x x in the bowl and the *šulpu* vessel a second time x [o o o]

6'. the sacred meals are offered; the musician remains silent; the kettledr[um o o o]

7'. he prepares the *riksu* offerings; he sets up 3 silver censers; sheep [o o o]

8'. the kettledrum is played. On the 8th day, clothing ceremony; in the [o o o]

9'. they come to Bēl; the sacred meal is offered; the musician [o o o]

10'. <sup>a</sup>takes a seat in the temple of the courtyard<sup>a</sup>. On the 9th day Urkayītu [u o o o] <sup>a</sup>uncertain<sup>a</sup>

11'. 'x x x' [o o o] to his hand x [o o o]

---

12'. [In the month Araḥsamnu], on the 1st, 2nd, 6th, [o]th [o o o days o o o]

---

13'. [In the month Kislīmu], on the 1st, 2nd, 6th, 7th [o o o] (and) 15th days, duties of the [o o o]

14'. [*kinū*]nu ritual of the Lady-of-Uruk, Ušur-amāssu, Urkayītu, x [o o o]

15'. [o o o] they take a seat in the courtyard to the right of the Lady-of-Uruk; the sacred meal is offered; [o o o]

16'. [o o o] he throws fire on the kiln; Ušur-amāssu and Urk[ayītu o o o]

17'. [o o cen]sers (in) the temple x x; *kinūnu* ritual of Ušur-amāssu and Urkayītu [o o o]

18'. [o o o] x x to the [Lady-of-Ur]uk with the *kinūnu* rituals of all the gods [o o].

19'. [In the month Tebētu, on the 1s]t, 2nd, [o]th, 7th, 14th, (and) 15th days, duties of the [o o o]

20'. [o o o] takes a seat. On the 10th day Urkayītu [enters] the temple of [Adad] for the second sacred meal;

21'. [o o o] she/he carries; she returns and x x [o o] to her seat;

22'. [o o o] x they take a seat; oxen and sheep are slaugh[tered o o] in their presence;

23'. [o o o] they proceed and she goes to the temple of Nergal, and [o o o]

---

24'. [In the month Šabāṭu], (of?) the barber, on the 1st, 2nd, 6th, 8th(?), 14th, (and) 15th days, duties of the cultic singer and [musician],

25'. and 1 uncooked (sheep?) is cut in half in the presence of Ušur-amāssu; he has said (?) [o o o].

---

26'. In the month Addaru, on the 1st, 2nd, 6th, [o o o], 14th, (and) 15th days, duties of the cultic [singer and the musician];

27'. the *edūtus* are filled. On the 2nd day an offering [o o] x x; the kettledrum is played; [o o o]

28'. they purify. On the 3rd day the Lady-of-Uruk proceeds and takes a seat between the dividing curtains [o o o]

29'. [o] x; the ecstatic circumambulates three times with(?) her, carries the water basin (and) proceeds [o o o]

30'. [o o o] three times the ecstatic circumambulates with(?) her, carries the water basin (and) pro[ceeds o o o]

31'. the copper [kettledrum] is played; [the sacred m]eals are offered; an off[ering o o o]

32'. [o o o] the kettledrum is played and the dancing platform(?) [o o o]

33'. [o o o] censer; the musician takes a seat and sho[uts o o o]

34'. [o o o] x x. On the 5th day the sacred meal is offered [o o o]

35'. [o o o] x x; the copper kettledrum is played; the dancing plat[form o o o]

36'. [o o o] they stand up; on the (first double)-hour of the day on the [o o o]

37'. [o o o] x x and the pot stand and the canopy o[n o o o]

38'. [o o o] she/he takes a seat [o o o]

### APPENDIX 3. PHILOLOGICAL DISCUSSIONS

**aḥānu** “winged(?)” (syll.). This word describes a breast ornament of the goddess Uṣur-amāssu in NCBT 380: 6. GABA *a-ḥa-nu* KÙ.GI. It is a plural form in *-ānu* derived from the word *aḥu* “arm, side, flank, wing, sleeve, handle,” hence the tentative translation “winged (breastplate).”

**algame/išu** “steatite” (UD+SAL+ḪUB=ALGAMES). The identification of this stone followed here is the one proposed by DEGRAEVE 1996.

**apsasû** “sphinx” (syll.). This word appears in *irtu ša apsasî* “breastplate with a representation of a sphinx.” The *apsasûlapsasātu* has been identified by Russell as the human-headed winged lion colossi found in the royal palaces at Nineveh.<sup>1</sup>

**argamannu** “red purple wool” (SĠG SAG). This is the reddish variety of purple (burgundy). Normally, according to CAD A/II, p. 253, s.v. *argamannu*, the logogram for this word is SĠG ZA.GĪN.SA<sub>5</sub>.

**aspu** “cleft” (syll.). This word qualifies the bracelet (*semeru*) and the neck-ring (*semeru ullu*). The word *aspu* normally denotes the sling,<sup>2</sup> but it is attested a few times from the Middle Babylonian period onward as a type of bracelet (*semeru aspu*); PBS 13, 80, rev. 6. 2 ḪAR.ŠU KÙ.GI SA<sub>5</sub> *as-pi* “two *aspu* bracelets of red gold” (Nippur, reign of Nazi-Maruttaš); OIP 2, p. 45, col. V, 86. *i-na* ḪAR.MEŠ *as-pi* KÙ.GI *ru-uš-ši-i* 87. *ruk-ku-sa rit-ti-šu-un* “whose wrists are bound with *aspu* bracelets of glowing red gold” (Sennacherib); CT 55, 311; 9. 8 *se-me-e-ri ina lib-bi* 2 šá NA<sub>4</sub> 10. 2 šá *as-pi* “8 bracelets, including 2 set with stones, 2 of the *aspu* type” (Neo-Babylonian Sippar); NCBT 1066 (BEAULIEU 1989a, p. 62); 11. 1-*en se-me-ri* 12. *as-pu* 13 1/2 GĪN ù 4 *ma-ḥat* KÙ.BABBAR “one *aspu* bracelet (weighing) 13 1/2 and 1/3 shekels of silver” (Seleucid Uruk). The latter example indicates that *aspu* qualifies the bracelet, not a type of gold. Therefore *semeru aspu* must be a cleft bracelet, and as such reminiscent of a sling. Similarly *semeru ullu aspu* would denote a cleft neck-ring, i.e. a torque.

**ašgikû** “turquoise” (na<sup>4</sup>AŠ.GĪ.GĪ; na<sup>4</sup>AŠ.GĪ<sub>4</sub>.GĪ<sub>4</sub>; na<sup>4</sup>UGU.AŠ.GĪ.GĪ). The identification of this stone as turquoise is proposed by VALLAT 1983. His identification is supported by the foundation tablet of Darius I for the palace of Susa: the Old Persian version gives, as equivalent of Akkadian *ašgikû* (na<sup>4</sup>AŠ.GĪ.GĪ), the word *axšaina*, which is cognate with the word for turquoise in some Indo-European languages. Vallat also notes that Achaemenid sources insist that turquoise was imported from Khwarizm, which included part of contemporary Uzbekistan, where rich mines of turquoise are found in the Kyzyl Kumy. Vallat suggests that na<sup>4</sup>AŠ.GĪ.GĪ and na<sup>4</sup>UGU.AŠ.GĪ.GĪ are just two varieties of turquoise: blue and green. The latter is indeed compared with green obsidian in the series *abnu šikinšu* (quoted in CAD A, p. 427, s.v. *ašgikû* l.b). MOOREY 1999, pp. 101–103, concurs with this identification. See also BEAULIEU 1999, pp. 149–150.

<sup>1</sup> RUSSELL 1991, pp. 99 and 181–183. Russell suggests that these sphinxes may derive from North Syrian palace architecture.

<sup>2</sup> On *aspu* and slings in general see SALONEN 1965, pp. 133–137. Slings were made of wood or leather. YADIN 1963, p. 364, depiction of a sling man on an relief from Tell Halaf.

**attaru** “ceremonial wagon” (syll. with det. GIŠ). According to *CAD* A/II, p. 510, s.v. *attartu* (also *attaru*), *AHw*, p. 1493a, s.v. *wattartu*, and SALONEN 1951, pp. 36–37, this word designates a type of wagon or chariot. The word occurs in a Neo-Babylonian marriage contract edited by JOANNES 1989, p. 237, text L 1634: 10. 1-en ‘at-ta’-ri šá hi-le-pu “one wagon of willow wood,” who expresses some reservations as to the currently accepted meaning. The *attaru* wagon is sometimes attested as a piece of cultic paraphernalia, for instance in *SpTU* II, 31 (votive tablet of Assurbanipal?): rev. 6. [e]-nu-ma <sup>giš</sup>at-ta-ri šu-a-ti in-na-ḥ[u]-ma DU-ku la-ba-ri[š] 7. [an-ḥ]u-ut-su lu-ud-di-iš “when that wagon falls into disrepair and grows old, may he restore its disrepair,” and *Nbn*. 1012: 4. <sup>giš</sup>at-ta-ri 5. šá dIR.RA.GAL “the wagon of the god Irragal.”

**ayaru pānū** “frontal rosette” (syll. and a-a-ri IGI). These rosettes were fastened to the frontal area of the tiara or the crown of the deity. Some iconographic representations of them have survived (OPPENHEIM 1949, p. 182, fig. 1, and p. 183, fig. 11). For a mention of a frontal rosette belonging to a crown in a text from Uruk dated to the Seleucid period see BEAULIEU 1989a, pp. 62–63, NCBT 1066: 6. KÙ.GI šá l-et a-a-ri 7. pa-ni “the gold for a frontal rosette.”

**binītu** “fish-roe-shaped beads” (syll. and ZIZNA). This word means both “egg” and “fish-roe.” Since the “egg-shaped bead” is called *erimmatu* (na<sup>4</sup>NUNUZ) it is likely that *binītu* denotes minuscule beads recalling the appearance of fish-roe. This seems confirmed by the characterization of a necklace of *binītus* as šá ZIZNA in YBC 4174. The logogram ZIZNA (TUR+ZA over TUR+ZA) is equated with *binītu* and *nimšulu* “fish roe” in various lexical texts and commentaries (*CAD* s.v., lex. sections), and with such adjectives as *daqqaqu* “small” and *duququ* “very small” in *Diri* I, 305–306 (*CAD* s.v., lex. sections). See also BEAULIEU 1999, p. 150.

**da’mu** “dark-colored fabric” (MUD). The logogram MUD qualifies *guḥalšu* in YOS 7, 183: 7. 1 gu-ḥal-ša šá MUD ù ti-mu; 13. 1 gu-ḥal-ša šá MUD. The only reading of this logogram which fits the context is MUD=da’mu “dark,” hence the word might refer to threads dyed with dark hues. The expression *ša da’mu* might therefore be the functional antonym of *ša pēšu* and mean “of dark-colored fabric.” According to *CAD* D, pp. 74–75, s.v. *da’mu* “dark-colored, dark red,” this word is written syllabically and with the logograms MUD, SIG<sub>7</sub>.SIG<sub>7</sub> and DARA<sub>4</sub>. It is said, among other things, of “a dark red earth used as a dye” (fem. plur. only, *da’mātu*); and in *Ḥar-ra*=*ḥubullu* XIX of a variety of wool: 92. sīg.dara<sub>4</sub>=da’-ma-a-tum.

**dēpu** (or **ṭēpu**) a weapon (syll. and DUN<sub>4</sub>). In the Eanna archive this word is attested in NCBT 2338: 4. PAP 2 šal-ḥu šá it-ti 5. de-pu-ú a-na AN-e 6. šá dGAŠAN šá SAG na-saḥ; and YOS 19, 245: 4. (gold to repair) DUN<sub>4</sub> KÙ.GI 5. šá dÜRİ-INIM-su. A *de-e-pu* AN.BAR is mentioned in UCP 9/3, pp. 269–277, line 9, a text from the Murašû archive listing weaponry. Otherwise *dēpu* occurs only in hepatoscopic texts, where it describes a “weapon” mark on the exta (e.g. STARR 1990, p. 130, rev. 14. <sup>giš</sup>TUKUL dē-pi; and the Middle-Babylonian text CBS 10493, published in GOETZE 1957, p. 104, 6. <sup>giš</sup>TUKUL *de-e-pu* ša-ki-in 7. e-li-tum il-li-ik “a *dēpu* weapon was placed and went upward,” also discussed by KRAUS 1985, pp. 145 and 194). Most interesting is the hepatoscopic report found in the Nabonidus inscription 5 R 63, which explains *dēpu* as the “weapon of Ištar.” 29. BE ina MURUB<sub>4</sub> EDIN ŠU.SI MURUB<sub>4</sub>-i <sup>giš</sup>TUKUL GAR-ma KI.TA IGI <sup>giš</sup>TUKUL d15 30. Á.DAḤ.MU ZI KÚR suḥ-ḥur šá-niš <sup>giš</sup>TUKUL *de-e-pi* MU-šú “If in the middle of the back of the middle finger there is a weapon

mark and it faces downward, this is the weapon of Ištar, my helper: the onslaught of the enemy is turned back. Furthermore: its name is the *dēpu* weapon.” This is congruous with the fact that in the Eanna archive the *dēpu* occurs as an insignia of Bēltu-ša-Rēš and Ušur-amāssu, two goddesses belonging to the immediate circle of Ištar. In YOS 19, 245: 4 the *dēpu* weapon is written with the sign DUN<sub>4</sub> (UR-gunū-šeššig). This is probably by assonance with the verb *dēpu* “to shove” (MSL 3, 132: 9. du-un DUN<sub>4</sub> de-e-pu), although Von Soden considers the possibility that *dēpu* is simply derived from that verb (hence the meaning “shoving weapon” tentatively suggested in *AHw*, p. 167, s.v. *dēpu* II “eine Stoßwaffe?”). One could also argue that DUN<sub>4</sub> must in this instance be read *nīru* (BORGER 1978, no. 348), usually written with the sign ŠUDUN (ŠÚ+DUN<sub>4</sub>), but this seems incompatible with the occurrence of *dēpu* written syllabically in NCBT 2338: 5. The sign DUN<sub>4</sub> sometimes denotes the *nīru* in extispicy, a part of the liver (STARR 1990, p. LXXII, n. 159).

**dudittu** “fibula” (syll.). This word is attested since the third millennium. Since it denotes an ornament worn on the chest, *dudittu* was ascribed the conventional meanings of “pectoral” and “breast ornament” for a long time. KLEIN 1983 has argued for the meaning “toggle-pin” (Verschlussnadel), a type of needle used to fasten garments and widely used in the Near East during the third and second millennia B.C. In the first millennium the word probably shifted its meaning to “fibula,” which was introduced in the Near East during the Iron Age.<sup>3</sup> Further references in SJÖBERG 1996, p. 224; and LYCZKOWSKA 1998, pp. 51–53. See also BEAULIEU 1999, p. 150.

**ebbu** “lustrous, pure, glowing” (DADAG). This adjective probably denotes a specific type of gold, but its precise meaning is unknown. It is also known from Neo-Assyrian inventories of jewelry (FALES, POSTGATE 1992, p. 79, line 12, and p. 80, line 6).

**elletu** an ornament (syll.). This piece of jewelry occurs only in NBC 4894: 68. 1 sic-ta el-lit; and 70. 2-ta el-lit NA<sub>4</sub> KÙ.GI na<sup>4</sup>GUG na<sup>4</sup>ZA.GÌN NA<sub>4</sub> [o o o] “2 *elletus* made of gold beads, carnelian beads, and lapis lazuli beads [o o o].” It might be a feminine form of *ellu* “pure,” often said of stones, gold, and other decorations. See also BEAULIEU 1999, p. 150.

**gidlû** “door curtain” (syll., occ. with det. TÚG). This word is read *bulû* (*bu-lu-ú*) in *CAD* B, p. 313, s.v. *bulû*, and *AHw*, pp. 137–138, s.v. *bulû*, but the spellings found in the following unpublished texts indicate a reading *gidlu*: *gid-da-lu-[ú]* (NBC 8350: 2, 5); *gi-da-lu-ú* (PTS 2038: 1); *gid-a-lu-ú* (PTS 2491: 1); and *gi-da-la-né-e* (YBC 3715: 8). The determinative is GADA, not GIŠ as suggested in *AHw*, although the two signs are easily confused in this period and may have been allographs (see BEAULIEU 1998a, pp. 187–188). This is probably the same word which also appears in CT 56, 10: 1. 2 ‘kuš’šid-da-nu 2. a-na gi-di-il’ 3. šá dLUGAL-A.TU.GAB.LIŠ. The new attestations of *gidlû* confirm the meaning “curtain” proposed by *CAD*. The meaning “door curtain” proposed here is based on texts which clearly indicate that the *gidlû* hung at the gate of the sanctuary (PTS 2038; PTS 2094; PTS 2491; and YBC 3715, where the curtain stands at the KÁ pa-pa-ḥu or KÁ É pa-pa-ḥu “gate of the inner cella”), or in front of the deity (UCP 9/1, 68; NBC 8350; PTS 2522, where the curtain stands šá IGI DN or šá pa-ni DN “before DN”). It is probably identical with the <sup>u</sup>gadalû (*CAD* G, p. 8, q.v.),

<sup>3</sup> See FARBER 1987, pp. 96–99.

which is also a curtain in front of the divine image, although a derivation from *gidlu* “braid” is also possible, in which case the word might refer to a braided curtain (see below under *šuppu*).

**ḫalmad/tru** a component of the tiara (syll.). This word appears only in YBC 11390: 5. 5/6 MA.NA 8 GÍN (KÙ.GI) *ḫal-la-ma-ad-ri*. It is perhaps the same word as *ḫalmadru*, which describes a component of the chariot at Nuzi and in lexical texts (*CAD* H, p. 48, q.v.), but with a different meaning, possibly an object with the same shape or function but of much smaller size.

**ḫašḫūru** “apple-colored dye for wool” (syll. with det. Ú). According to *CAD* H, p. 140, s.v. *ḫašḫūru* “apple” section c, this word also describes a dye for wool in the Neo-Babylonian period. Since the lexical text *LTBA* 1, 91, rev., col. II, 10–11 lists *ḫaš-ma-nu* and *ḫaš-ḫu-ru* in succession and equates them with *urṭu*, a yellowish hue, it is probable that *ḫašḫuru* denotes, like *ḫašmanu*, a type or range of green. The word also occurs in the Neo-Babylonian text VS 6, 16: 3. *e-šip ḫaš-ḫu-ru* “a (twisted) cord of apple-colored wool.”

**ḫašû** a sequin (syll.). Since the word otherwise denotes “thyme” and “lung,” OPPENHEIM 1949 posited that for the use of *ḫašû* as a designation of a gold sequin we have to assume a third homonymous expression, but the shape of the object remains unknown. See also MATSUSHIMA 1995b, p. 177.

**ḫuddušu** “to restore” (syll.). Presumably the West Semitic cognate of Akkadian *uddušu* “to renew, restore,” Akkadianized as a D-stem infinitive.

**(ḫ)ullu** “neck-ring” (HAR.GÚ.GIL). This word means “neck-ring” according to Harra = *ḫubullu* XII 112. [ḫar.gú.gil zabar] = [MIN (*si-me-ru*) *ul-lu*], which is restored from Hh XVI 35. na<sub>4</sub>.ḫar.gú.gil.du<sub>8</sub>.ši.a = MIN (*si-me-ru*) *ul-lu*. Hh XII mentions neck-rings of silver and gold: 206. ḫar.gú.gil kù.babbar, and 307. [ḫar.gú].gil [kù.gi] (restored from context). The words *ullu* and *ḫullu* are allomorphs. The word appears in GCCI 2, 49: 1. 1 HAR.GÚ.GIL KÙ.GI *as\*-p[u\*]*, and, as argued above (s.v. *aspu*), the word *(ḫ)ullu aspu* probably denotes a cleft neck-ring, i.e. a torque.

**in šēri** “snake-eye ornament” (IGI.MUŠ). There is a stone na<sub>4</sub>IGI.MUŠ and a plant ṽIGI.MUŠ (*CAD* I, p. 157, s.v. *inu*, section 2'), but this is the first occurrence of the word to designate an ornament.

**irtu ša blrīt qātī** “breast ornament located between the hands” (GABA *ša bi-rit* ŠU.MIN.ME). As its name indicates, this breast ornament must have been set between the hands of the goddess, which were therefore presumably placed close to her breast (in a typical pose for holding symbols such as weapon and scepter) rather than stretching out or hanging alongside her body.

**išḫe/anabe** a garment (*ḫiḫ-ḫa-be*; *ḫiḫ-ḫé-be*). The fuller spelling of this word in Neo-Babylonian Uruk occurs in NCBT 323: 3. 1 *ḫiḫ-ḫa-an-na-be*. It is possibly a Hittite or Hurrian loanword (*AHW*, p. 394, s.v. *išḫe/anabe/aš*; and *CAD* I/J, p. 241, s.v. *išḫenabe*).

**iš/tuḫḫu** “whip (as insignia), whip-shaped counterpoise for necklace” (syll.). The meaning “counterpoise for necklace” is here deduced from context and possibly designates a counterpoise consisting of a handle fastening the wires of the necklace, and thus reminiscent of a whip.

**kitinnû** “linen towel” (syll.). This word is also attested with the water basin (*mê-qālī*) in Neo-Babylonian Sippar (CT 22, 35: 40), and therefore must denote a towel used in the hand washing ritual.

**kumāru** “frame, framed ornament” (syll.). This word is also attested in contemporary jewelry inventories from Sippar in connection with *šam/nšu* “sun disk ornament” (e.g. CT 55, 309: 3. [o šā]-*an-šumēš šā ku-mar-ra-a-tū*). A similar meaning has generally been accepted for the Old Babylonian form of the word, *kawārum*, which is well attested at Mari as a component of ornaments.<sup>4</sup> This meaning is compatible with the occurrence of a *kumāru* with inlaid work in PTS 2950: 14. [o o] *ku-ma-ru* KÙ.GI *šā tam-le-e*, which may be translated as “framed ornament with inlaid work.”

**kunukku** “cylinder-seal-shaped bead” (na<sub>4</sub>KIŠIB; na<sub>4</sub>IM.KIŠIB). This category of beads may have included, besides true cylinders, bicones and elongated barrels. They could be mounted with gold caps, as shown by BIN 1, 132: 1. 52 *man-da-a-ta* KÙ.GI *šā* na<sub>4</sub>KIŠIB.MEŠ “52 gold caps for cylinder-seal-shaped beads.” See also BEAULIEU 1999, p. 150.

**kuršû** “link” (syll.; plural in *-ānu*). YOS 6, 216 describes two necklaces belonging to Nanaya, one of which has the same number of gold links and beads (71), and the other one a little more than twice as many gold links (118) as beads (58). This seems to confirm the meaning of *kuršû* as a “link,” a small gold bead inserted between larger beads on a necklace.

**kutallu** “counterpoise” (syll.). The meaning is deduced from context and the common meaning of *kutallu* as “rear part, back,” which would apply well to a necklace provided with a counterpoise falling on the nape.

**lā-āšû** an ornament or piece of jewelry (syll.). Outside Uruk this word occurs only once in a Neo-Babylonian jewelry inventory from Sippar (*CAD* A/II, p. 384, s.v. *āšû*, section 3b).

**lubāru** a piece of clothing and type of garment (syll. with det. TÚG; TÚG.ḫÁ). The word *lubāru* denotes either a general word for clothing, with the same semantic range as *lubūšu*, or a specific piece of the apparel of male and female deities (*CAD* L, p. 231, s.v. *lubāru*, which applies the latter meaning only to female deities), the *lubāru* garment (e.g. YBC 9030, *passim*, as well as several other texts).

**lubāru kulūlu** “head scarf” (syll. with det. TÚG). In Neo-Babylonian texts from Sippar this garment is written TÚG.ḫÁ *kulūlu*, which could have the readings *lubāru kulūlu* or *kulūlu*, depending on whether we interpret TÚG.ḫÁ as a determinative (see also *lubāru mēṭu*).

**lubāru mēṭu** a garment (TÚG *lu-bar me-ṭu*; TÚG.ḫÁ *me-ṭu*; TÚG.ḫÁ dGIŠ.KU.AN; TÚG *lu-bar* GIŠ.KU.AN). *CAD* M/II, pp. 45–46, s.v. *mēṭu* “a piece of apparel, part of the divine wardrobe,” with examples from Sippar where the word is preceded by TÚG.ḫÁ, TÚG *lubāru*, *lubāru*, or TÚG.UD.A. The word *mēṭu* is a form of *miṭtu* “mace,” which is explained as a “divine weapon” is the series Proto-Diri 162: *mi-tum* ḫi<sup>8</sup>TUKUL DINGIR (or GIŠ.KU.AN) = *ka-ak-ku ša i-lim*, and Diri II 258: *me-eṭ-ṭu* ḫi<sup>8</sup>TUKUL DINGIR = MIN (= *kakku*) *ša* DINGIR (*CAD* M/II, p. 147, s.v. *miṭtu*, lex. section). On this word see VELDHUIS 1997, pp. 98–100, with discussion of the lexical evidence. What relation there is between this garment and the weapon *miṭtu*, if any, seems elusive. The logographic writing dGIŠ.KU.AN for the garment *mēṭu* could be purely based on assonance.

<sup>4</sup> See DURAND 1990a, pp. 145–146, and JOANNÈS 1992, pp. 174–175: “clôture”.

**maknaktu** “seal” (syll. with det. NA<sub>4</sub>). This word is exclusively attested in Neo-Babylonian and can be preceded by the determinative NA<sub>4</sub> (CAD M/1, pp. 137–138, q.v.). In jewelry inventories it possibly denotes the real cylinder or stamp seal, as opposed to the word <sup>na4</sup>KIŠIB (*kunukku*) which refers to cylindrical or barrel-shaped beads used in jewelry (JOANNES 1992, p. 176). See also BEAULIEU 1999, pp. 150–151.

**mitru** a piece of jewelry or ornament (syll.). This word is otherwise unknown. Perhaps related to the Middle-Babylonian word *mitrû*, which denotes a metal tool (CAD M/II, p. 140, s.v. *mitrû*).

**mušālu** “cosmetic jar” (syll.). The word *mušālu* appears in three texts from Uruk; NBC 4894: 74. 1 *mu-ša-lu* K[Ü.GI?]; TCL 12, 39: 2. 1 *mu-ša-lu* KÜ.GI; and NCBT 72: 1. 1 KÁ *mu-ša-lu-ú* KÜ.GI<sup>2</sup> 2. šá dGAŠAN šá UNUG<sup>ki</sup> “a gold lid for the cosmetic jar of the Lady-of-Uruk.” CAD M/II, pp. 256–257, s.v. *mušālu* A, proposes the meanings “mirror” and “palette for cosmetics,” but FARBER 1987 argued for the meaning “cosmetic jar,” already proposed by Durand for an occurrence in the Mari text ARM 21, 222: 29. 1 GAL *mu-ša-lum* ša <sup>na4</sup>MUŠ “un vase à onguent en serpentine.” Since NBC 4894 mentions a gold mirror (*namāru hurāši*) together with the gold *mušālu*, the meaning “cosmetic jar” seems indeed more appropriate. See also BEAULIEU 1999, p. 151.

**muttabiltu** a recipient (syll.). The word *muttabiltu* probably denotes a small recipient, such as a cosmetic jar, since it could be made of glass according to PTS 3238: 11. [o] *mut-ta-bil-ti* šá <sup>na4</sup>za-ku-ku-ú “[o] *muttabiltu* of glass.” The same object made of gold occurs in NBC 4894: 76. 1 *mut-tab-bil-tu* KÜ.GI; and one finds in the series *šumma ālu* many protases describing the finding of lizards and insects in a *muttabiltu* (CAD M/II, p. 302, q.v.). See also BEAULIEU 1999, p. 151.

**nabāsu** “red-colored wool” (syll. *na-bal-su*, possibly a scribal error). This word occurs in YOS 17, 307: 1. 1 <sup>si8</sup>HÉ.ME.DA *na-bal-su* 2. 4 <sup>u8</sup>MÁŠ.ME “One (mina?) of red-colored wool (for) four *šibtu* garments.” Since <sup>si8</sup>HÉ.ME.DA (= *tabarru*) denotes “red-colored wool,” it is possible that the word *nabāsu* is redundant or indicates a further nuance in color. The words *tabarru* and *nabāsu* are generally synonymous, but *nabāsu* is almost never used in the Neo-Babylonian period, *tabarru* being the common word for red-colored wool.

**nurmû** “pomegranate-shaped bead” (NU.ÚR.MA; *nu-úr-mu*; *nu-úr-mu-ú*; *nu-úr*; *nu-úr-ú*; <sup>na4</sup>*nu-úr-mu-ú*). The word *nurmû* is normally written *nu-úr-mu-ú*. The spellings *nu-úr* and *nu-úr-ú*, however, suggest the following stages in the phonological evolution of the word in Neo-Babylonian: \**nurumû* > \**nuruwû* > \**nurû* > *nur*, with breaking of the consonantal cluster, mutation of intervocalic /m/ to /w/, and loss of final vowel, processes which are well documented in Neo- and late Babylonian. Thus in Greek transcriptions of Akkadian the word *āmu* “day” is denoted simply by the letter omega, representing /ō/.<sup>5</sup>

**pālilu** a component of jewelry (syll.). Perhaps to be connected with *pālilu* “watchman” (AHw, p. 816, s.v. *pālilu*), if it denotes a safeguard attachment.

**pappardilû** “banded agate” (BABBAR.DIL; <sup>na4</sup>BABBAR.DIL). The identification of *pappardilû* as banded agate and any stone with the same appearance is discussed in § 1.6.4, and in BEAULIEU 1999, pp. 151–154.

<sup>5</sup> GELLER 1983. On Greek and West Semitic transcriptions of Akkadian words as evidence for the m > w mutation see also MAYER 1992, pp. 48–54, who lists analogous forms, such as *kīmu* written *ku-ú*, and *šumu* written *šu-ú*.

**paruktu** “canvas” (syll.). This word also appears in NCBT 1069: 8. 2 <sup>gada</sup>šal-ḫu šá *pa-ru-uk-ti* “two *šalḫu* cloths for a canvas.”

**paššūru** “offering table” (ēšBANŠUR; ēšURUGU; ēšURUGA). The reading of the logograms URUGU and URUGA as ŠAKIR and ŠĀKIR is found in the series Aa VI/4 (MSL 14, 442): 43. [šá-ki-ir] URUGU = *šá-ki-ru-ú* 44. [MIN] URUGA = *šá-ki-ru-ú*. In Neo-Babylonian texts from the archive these logograms obviously function as allographs for BANŠUR (URUGURUDU). Collations of the relevant passages indicate that in all cases but one the previous readings URUGURUDU must be replaced by URUGU or URUGA, while at the same time the meaning *paššūru* must be maintained. The collated passages are GCCI 1, 370: 1. (gold for) 2 *me-e* 2. šá ēšURUGU\* *šá ḫa-na-a*; and 5. (gold) *a-na* 6. *bat-qa šá me-e šá* ēšURUGU\*; and YOS 7, 185: 20. 1 ēšBANŠUR KÜ.BABBAR šá d30 šá AN-e; and 26. 3 *me-e* KÜ.BABBAR *ina* ēšURUGA\* *šá* d30 LÁ-ti. The sign was correctly copied in VS 20, 2: 2. (gold) *a-na bat-qa* 3. [šá] ēšURUGA *šá ḫa-na-a*. New texts are NCBT 120: 9. PAP 8 *ma-šah* (ZÚ.LUM.MA) *a-na* KAŠ.[HÁ SU]M.NA 10. šá ēšURUGU! *šá* u<sup>4</sup>-*mu*?<sup>7</sup> *den-lil* “Total, 8 measures (of dates) allotted for beer, for the offering table of the offering days(?) of Enlil,” NCBT 380: 2. (gold) *šá* ēšURUGA *šá* dGAŠAN šá SAG; and PTS 3315: 13<sup>1</sup>. 1 ēšURUGU KÜ.BABBAR šá d30 šá AN-e.<sup>6</sup>

**pazūzu** “Pazuzu (head pendant)” (syll.). This word, which appears in NBC 4894: 65. *pa-zu-zu* KÜ.GI<sup>1</sup>, refers probably to an amulet representing the head of the demon Pazuzu. This piece of jewelry is quite common in the first millennium, much more so than full length figurines of the demon. Two Neo-Babylonian Pazuzu head pendants of bronze were found at Uruk.<sup>7</sup> This seems to be the first instance of a Pazuzu head made of gold. See also BEAULIEU 1999, p. 154, to which add CURTIS, READE 1995, p. 111, fig. 64, for a Pazuzu head probably suspended close to a woman in labor for protection against Lamaštu; and BRAUN-HOLZINGER 1984, pp. 74–79, pls. 53–55, who discusses Pazuzu head pendants made of bronze. Pazuzu incantations are reconstructed by BORGER 1987.

**pinnu** “button” (syll.). This word of unknown origin (AHw, p. 864b, s.v. *pinnu*) probably designates an attachment or button to fasten the components of jewels. It is attested in NBC 4894 in connection with necklaces (24. *pi-in-ni*<sup>1</sup>-šú KÜ.GI; 27. *pi-in-ni*-šú<sup>1</sup>-nu KÜ.GI<sup>1</sup>) and finger rings (67. *pi-in-ni*-šú<sup>1</sup>-nu KÜ.GI). See also BEAULIEU 1999, p. 154.

**pukuru** “to fasten” (syll.). This is the D-stem of the verb *pakāru*, which Von Soden derives from the Aramaic root PKR “to chain, fetter” (AHw, p. 812a, s.v. *pakāru*). The root PKR in Syriac means “to bind” (PAYNE-SMITH 1903, p. 445b).

**qablu** (in ša *qabli*) “waistband” (syll. and ŠEN). This article of clothing is attested in Cincinnati 20, 1. 8 GÍN KÜ.BABBAR 2 TÚG BABBAR.RA. MEŠ<sup>1</sup> 2. šá *qab-lu*; and YBC 7436: 34. <sup>si8</sup>ZA.GÍN.KUR.RA šá ŠEN. The logogram for *qablu* in the meaning “waistband” is usually ša MURUB<sub>4</sub>, while ŠEN is the logogram for *qablu* in the meaning “combat.” However, MURUB<sub>4</sub> is also sometimes used for the latter. In YBC 7436: 34 we have the converse case, where ŠEN denotes “waistband.” On this garment see KESSLER 1999, p. 252.

<sup>6</sup> The same text mentions 2 <sup>si8</sup>URUGU KÜ.GI on line 21<sup>1</sup>.

<sup>7</sup> See LEMPER 1988, p. 45, nos. F 480 and 481, and photographs on pl. 34, nos. 207 and 208.

**qilpu** “piece of plating” (syll. and BAR). The logogram BAR (or MAŠ) can be read either *qilpu* “piece of plating,” or *išpallurtul/pallurtu* “cross,” which can denote a cross-shaped object, and indeed corresponds to the shape of the sign. The reading *qilpu* seems more likely because the word occurs written syllabically in another inventory of jewelry from the archive (YBC 7383: 3, 14 and 18, written *qi-il-pi*), while *išpallurtul/pallurtu* is not attested as a piece or component of jewelry.

**raqqatu** a component of the necklace (syll.). In Neo-Babylonian texts from Sippar this word occurs in inventories of sacred jewelry (CAD R, p. 170, s.v. *raqqatu* A, 2. “a metal object”). At Uruk it is attested as a component of the necklace, or of the counterpoise of the necklace, in PTS 2950: 34. 9-*ši raq-qa-a-ta* KÙ.GI *ša ku-tal-la*; and YOS 17, 246: 14. [o G]Ú *ša raq-qa-a-ta* KÙ.GI.

**ruhhu** meaning uncertain (syll.). The word *ruhhu*, which appears in NCBT 862, qualifies animals in other Neo-Babylonian texts, but its precise meaning remains elusive. The translation proposed by CAD R, p. 407, s.v. *ruhhu* “high quality, select,” does not really agree with the context of NCBT 862: 20. 2' GU<sub>4</sub> NÍNDA.MEŠ KÙ.ME 21. *ana ru-uh-hu* 22. *ša* 10ŠÚ-LUGAL-*a-ni* 23. A 1BA-*ša-a* 24. 1 KÙ *ana ru-uh-hu* 25. *ša* 1NÍG.DU A 1*šu-ma-a* “2 unblemished calves for the *ruhhu* of Marduk-šarrani, son of Iqīša; 1 unblemished (calf) for the *ruhhu* of Kudurru, son of Šumā.” Therefore a D-stem infinitive of *rehû* “to inseminate” (CAD R, p. 254, s.v. *rehû* 4.) seems more appropriate here, with a possible translation “2 unblemished calves, for insemination, for Marduk-šarrani, son of Iqīša; 1 unblemished (calf), for insemination, for Kudurru, son of Šumā,” assuming that these “calves” were mature enough for reproduction.

**sādu** a gold alloy (syll.). The same word seems to occur in connection with silver in JAS 1996, p. 32, no. 16, line 8. 1/2 MA.NA 5 GÍN KÙ.BABBAR *sa-du* “1/2 mina (and) 5 shekels of *sādu* silver.”

**samaḥalu** a catch, hook, or attachment for jewelry (syll.). This word is not listed in the dictionaries and is so far attested exclusively in Neo-Babylonian jewelry texts from Uruk and Sippar. At Uruk it occurs in BIN 1, 132: 4; NCBT 1018: 4; PTS 2950: 12, 19, 23, and 31; NBC 4894: 71, 72, and 74; YBC 4174: 16, 18, 20, and 21; and YBC 11390: 3. At Sippar it is attested only in CT 55, 311: obv. 4' and rev. 8'.<sup>8</sup> The attestations from Uruk ensure that the first sign is SA rather than GÁ, although the interpretation of the second one as MA will be open to question until a satisfactory etymology of the word is offered because of the allographic character of MA and BA is that period. The spelling *sa-ma-ḥa-li-šu-nu* in NCBT 1018: 4 confirms that the sign HAL is to be read /ḥal/ rather than as the plural indicator DIDLI. Contexts suggest that the *samaḥalu* was a small catch, hook, or attachment used to link or fasten a piece of decoration to a wire or a larger ornament. According to YBC 4174 the *samaḥalu* seems to have been a small catch used to fasten the breastplate to its suspension string. Actual breastplates have been found with holes pierced along their edge. Rather than passing the suspension string directly through these holes, it is possible that *samaḥalus* were inserted in them and then attached to the string. See also BEAULIEU 1999, p. 154.

**sāmtu** “carnelian” (na<sup>4</sup>GUG; GUG). The logogram GUG must be an abbreviation for na<sup>4</sup>GUG=*sāmtu* “carnelian.” In the Neo-Assyrian inventories published by FALES,

<sup>8</sup> CT 55, 311: obv. 4'. [1 a]-*gu-ú* 6 *sa-ma-ḥal* 6 *ku-bu-uš*; rev. 8'. [o o o] 6 *sa-ma-ḥal-šu-nu*, edition by JOANNES 1992, p. 179.

POSTGATE 1992 the logogram GUG is used more frequently than na<sup>4</sup>GUG to denote carnelian.

**sūtu** an attachment, catch, or hook for jewelry (syll. and 8isBÁN). The plural form *sūtātu*, spelled syllabically, indicates that this word is different from *sūtu* “measuring vessel,” whose plural form is *sātu*. Therefore the use of the logogram 8isBÁN to write this word must be analogical. For a word *sūtu* with plural *sūtātu*, but with probably different meaning, in Neo-Assyrian texts, see DELLER, FINKEL 1984, p. 89.

**šabītu** “gazelle figurine” (MAŠ.DĀ; perhaps also MAŠ.TA). This word occurs in YBC 11649: 2. MAŠ.DĀ.MEŠ, and possibly in PTS 2264: 11. 11 MAŠ.TA.ME *ša ku-(ša)-ma-rat* KÙ.GI, if we understand MAŠ.TA as an approximate phonetic spelling of the logogram.

**šuppu** “braided curtain” (syll. with det. GADA). CAD Š, p. 249, s.v. *šuppu* C suggests the meaning “strip of carded wool.” Textual evidence indicates that the *šuppu* was used as a curtain, hence the meaning “braided curtain” proposed here.

**šalāmu, šal(l)im** (*šal-lim* and GI). The logogram GI qualifies the *samaḥalu* in YBC 4174: 16, 18, 20, and 21 (*sa-ma-hal-šu* GI). The reading *šalāmu* for the logogram GI, attested mostly in Neo-Babylonian personal names, is ensured in this case by the syllabic spelling in PTS 2950: 12. *sa-ma-ḥal-šu šal-lim* (also lines 19 and 23). The form and meaning of the word present some problems. The D stative would be semantically appropriate in the meaning “to repair, restore” (CAD Š/I, p. 223, s.v. *šalāmu* 8e), but the expected form should be *šullim* “repaired, restored.” While the G stative *šalim* should not be spelled with a doubled second radical, the meaning “in good condition” (CAD Š/I, s.v. *šalāmu*, pp. 212–213, 2a3') seems the most appropriate one and is therefore adopted here.

**šamšu/šanšu** “sun-disk ornament” (syll. with plur. in -*ānu* and -*ātu*; [aš]-*mu*; AŠ.ME). The complex history of this ornament, attested from the 3rd millennium until the Neo-Babylonian period, and abundantly documented by inventories from Mari and Qatna, has recently been studied by DURAND 1990a. He concludes that the ornament called MUNŠUB.ME or GUR<sub>7</sub>.ME in the Mari texts is probably one and the same with AŠ.ME, although the meaning of these logograms still eludes us. At Sippar in the Neo-Babylonian period *šam/nšu* is often written *aš-mu*, which represents the Akkadianized form of the logogram AŠ.ME (JOANNES 1992, p. 174). This form also occurs at Uruk in PTS 2950: 15. [o aš]-*mu ša zi-mu* KÙ.GI. This ornament is listed in the jewelry sections of Har-ra=*hubullu* (CAD Š/I, p. 335, s.v. *šamšu* lex. section).

**šapū** “thick (woven fabric)” (syll.). This word usually qualifies hides and textiles, but is otherwise attested only in Old Assyrian, at Mari, at Boghazköi, and in the lexical tradition (CAD Š/I, p. 487, s.v. *šapū* A). The fact that *šapū* is paired with *ruqu* “thin” in PTS 3250: 5 leaves little doubt, however, as to its meaning. In Har-ra=*hubullu* XIX 106–107 *šapū* is similarly paired with *raqqatu*, derived from the same root (106. *túg.bar.dul<sub>5</sub>.sal.la=raq-qa-tum*, 107. *túg.bar.dul<sub>5</sub>.ša.ba.tuk=ša-pi-tum*).

**ša-salā'-mê** “water sprinkler” (syll.). A number of attestations of this previously little known word have recently surfaced in published and unpublished texts from the Neo-Babylonian period. Extensive discussion with references to texts in BEAULIEU, MAYER 1997, p. 158, to which add the following new attestation: BONGENAAR et al. 1993–94, p. 140, text 19, 3. *ša sa-la-'i* KÙ.BABBAR. The word is composed of the



particle *ša*, the construct infinitive of the verb *salā'u* “to sprinkle,” and the genitive of *mū* “water,” and means literally “that of sprinkling water.”

**šihittu** a plant-shaped ornament (?) (syll.). This word occurs in GCCI 2, 261: 4. 36 *šu-la-pu* KÙ.GI 5. *ša pu-uk-ku-ru ša\* šī\* -hi-it-ti* 6. *ša* AGA *ša* dUNUG<sup>ki</sup>-i-ti. It might be the same word which occurs in VS 6, 314: 5. *kan-kan-nu šī-hi-it-tu<sub>4</sub>*. Von Soden relates it to the name of a garden plant which occurs in lexicographical texts only (AHw, p. 1232, s.v. *šihittu* II), but CAD separates the two words (CAD Š/II, p. 415, s.v. *šihittu* and *šihittu* C). The present evidence is not decisive, but it is possible that *šihittu* refers here to an ornament in the shape of the plant *šihittu*.

**šikaru** “beer” (KAŠ, KAŠ.SAG). KAŠ is the basic logogram for *šikāru*. The logogram KAŠ.SAG, which originally denoted a premium quality of beer (*šikāru rēštū*), became interchangeable with KAŠ after the Old Babylonian period. Thus KAŠ.SAG in the late periods can mean both *šikāru* and *šikāru rēštū*. Latest discussion by STOL 1994, pp. 161–164.

**šipītu** (syll.). Possibly the same word as *šibītu* “suture, seam” (CAD Š/II, p. 381, q.v.), since it qualifies the *sītu* attachment in NBC 4503: 7. 9 *šīBÁN*.ME 8. *ša šī-pi-ti*.

**šīpu** a type of wool (s<sup>1</sup>g<sup>1</sup>šī-pi). To be connected possibly with CAD Š/III, p. 72, s.v. *šippu* “(red) decoration of garments;” with ibid, p. 93, s.v. *šīpu* A “orpiment(?),” in which case the word would refer to a yellowish or gold color of wool; or with ibid., p. 94, s.v. *šīpu* C, a word of uncertain meaning qualifying a garment.

**šisītu** a kind of attachment for jewelry (syll.). Perhaps same as the word *šisītu* (CAD Š/III, p. 124, s.v. *šisītu* B), which denotes a joint in the body, and by extension possibly an attachment for jewelry.

**šubbāru** “a wooden object” (syll. with det. GIŠ). This is a hapax, and CAD Š/III, p. 171, q.v., suggests to emend the word and read *šubtu* “altar” in the plural.

**šulāpu** an ornament (syll.). The meaning of this word is uncertain, although it usually occurs in lists of sacred vessels from the Eanna temple (JOANNES 1981, pp. 143–50). The word is spelled *šul-pu* in a similar list, YOS 19, 267: ‘14’ *šul-pu* KÙ.GI, hinting at a possible occasional confusion with the vessel named *šulpu* (see below). OPPENHEIM 1949, p. 178, n. 17 proposed the meaning “handle,” positing that the word describes, *pars pro toto*, a vessel with a handle, but this does not agree with the following texts, where *šulāpu* seems to denote either an ornament, which is the meaning proposed by CAD Š/III, p. 239, s.v. *šulāpu*, or an attachment; GCCI 2, 261: 4. 36 *šu-la-pu* KÙ.GI 5. *ša pu-uk-ku-ru ša\* šī\* -hi-it-ti* 6. *ša* AGA *ša* dUNUG<sup>ki</sup>-i-ti “36 *šulāpus* of gold for affixing the *šihittu*-plant ornament(?) of the tiara of Urkayītu.” See also BEAULIEU, MAYER 1997, p. 163.

**šulpu** a vessel (syll.). This vessel often occurs in conjunction with the *kallu* bowl. See also BEAULIEU, MAYER 1997, p. 163.

**šussulu** “fish-box” (syll.). CAD lists this word under *sussullu*, but in Neo-Babylonian texts this word is almost always spelled with the initial grapheme (š). Discussion in BEAULIEU, MAYER 1997, p. 164.

**tabarru** “red-colored wool” (syll., occ. with det. SÍG; s<sup>1</sup>g<sup>1</sup>HÉ.ME.DA). The syllabic spellings in NBC 4750: 9. 11 *šūg<sup>1</sup>hu-ša-né-e* 10. *ina ŠA 1 ša ta-bar-ri*; and YOS 17, 307: 3. *s<sup>1</sup>g<sup>1</sup>ta-bar-ru* suggest that s<sup>1</sup>g<sup>1</sup>HÉ.ME.DA must be read *tabarru* in the Neo-Babylonian period, rather than *nabāsu*, as suggested in AHw, p. 697, q.v. According to CAD N, pp. 21–22, s.v. *nabāsu*, the logogram s<sup>1</sup>g<sup>1</sup>HÉ.ME.DA should be read *tabarru* from the

Middle Babylonian period onwards. In YOS 19, 290: 1, however, s<sup>1</sup>g<sup>1</sup>HÉ.ME.DA seems to be glossed with *nabāsu* (q.v. above).

**takiltu** “blue-colored wool” (syll. with det. SÍG; s<sup>1</sup>g<sup>1</sup>ZA.GÌN.KUR.RA). This is possibly the blue-colored variety of purple (French “violet”), as opposed to *argamannu* (s<sup>1</sup>g<sup>1</sup>ZA.GÌN.SA<sub>5</sub>), which is burgundy, the red-colored variety (French “pourpre”).

**tariktu** meaning uncertain (syll.). See AHw, p. 1329b, s.v. *tariktu* “a metal object.” The word is also attested in YOS 6, 175: 4. *ta-rik-tu<sub>4</sub>*, and in Nbn. 591: 3. *ta-ri-ka-tu<sub>4</sub>*, in the latter case in connection with the ornaments of the goddess Lady-of-Sippar.

**tarkīsu** an ornament (syll.). This word is translated “ein Gebinde,” in AHw, p. 1330, but this seems to be based solely on the meaning of the root RKS “to bind.” It occurs also in a contemporary jewelry inventory from Sippar: CT 55, 311: obv. 14'. 2 *taš-ki-su*, and rev. 3'. 1 *taš-ki-su*, and is tentatively translated “ornement de liaison” by JOANNES 1992, p. 179. The writing *taškis* reflects the sound shift /r/ > /š/ before /k/ and the loss of the final vowel. See also BEAULIEU 1999, p. 154.

**tenšū** a sequin (syll.). This sequin is made of gold. According to MATSUSHIMA 1995b, pp. 175–176, *tenšū* possibly denotes a square ornament since rosettes and squares frequently alternate on iconographic representations of sacred and royal garments, just like *ayaru* and *tenšū* in the texts. See also BEAULIEU 1999, p. 154.

**t/dubk/qātu** a stone or bead (na<sup>4</sup>*dub-ki-’ti*; na<sup>4</sup>*dub-kát*; na<sup>4</sup>*dub-ka-a-ta*; *dub-qa-a-ta*). This word is attested once at Sippar in CT 55, 311: obv. 11'. 4 *dub-qa-’a-ti*. Joannes interprets it as a metathesis of *tukpitu* (JOANNES 1992, p. 175, n. 73). Such metathesis definitely occurs in CT 55, 318: 10. 2-*ta tup-ki-tu<sub>4</sub>*. The forms *dub-qa-a-ta*, *dub-ka-a-ta*, and *dub-qa-’a-ti*, however, probably belong to another word.

**tukpītu** “kidney-shaped bead” (syll. with det. NA<sub>4</sub>; na<sup>4</sup>BIR). The commonly accepted meaning has been challenged by Durand in ARM 21, pp. 226–228, who prefers to translate it as “round bead.” See BEAULIEU 1999, pp. 154–155.

**turinnītu** a component of the tiara (syll.). This is possibly a plural form of \**turittu* or \**turintu*. It could also be the same word as *turunnu*, a gold attachment which occurs in the Qatna inventories (AHw, p. 1373b “eine Goldfassung,” discussed by DURAND 1990, pp. 155–156), but then the /t/ ending would pose a problem unless one explains it as a feminine plural form. It is perhaps related to the Neo-Babylonian female personal name Turinnītu (JOANNES 1989, p. 425), which also occurs in a text from Uruk dated to the 12th year of Darius I (*SpTU* V, 291: 9. *tu-rin-ni-tu<sub>4</sub>*, also on lines 14, 20, and 45). **turru** “string” (syll. and DUR). The reading of the logogram DUR as *turru* rather than *riksu* when denoting the string on which the beads of the necklace are held is supported by the two syllabic spellings found in PTS 2950: 13. [*ina* *tū*]*r-ru* GADA.HÁ *ša-ab-ti*; 30. [*i*]*na* *tū**r-ru* GADA.HÁ *ša-ab-ti*.

**uppētu** an attachment for jewelry (syll.). Possibly a feminine plural form of *uppu* “reed, pipe,” describing an attachment reminiscent of a small pipe (AHw, p. 1424, s.v. *uppu* I).

**urat bābl** meaning unknown (*ú-rat* KÁ). Since this word occurs in three texts it is probably not a mistake for *ú-rak* KÁ (GCCI 2, 141: 2; NCBT 324: 5; and YBC 11504: 2).

**zakukū** “glass” (syll. with det. NA<sub>4</sub>). The form *zakukū* is new, but it is obviously related to *zūkū* and *zakakatul/zakukutu*, the common designations for frit and glass.

**zaratu** “tent” (syll., occ. with det. TÚG). The door of a tent is mentioned in a text from the archive, NBC 4652: 1. 9 MA.NA 2/3 5 GÍN *šūmi-iḫ-šu* 2. 1 *dal-ti ša* *šūga-ra-ti* “9 2/3 minas and 5 shekels of woven cloth (for) one door for a tent.”



**zēr qiššē** “melon-seed-shaped bead” (NUMUN ÚKUŠ). Outside the Eanna archive the same word is attested once in a description of a stone; OIP 2, p. 132: 72. <sup>na4</sup>pindū ša kīma zēr qiššē šikinšu “pindū-stone, whose appearance is like cucumber seeds” (quoted in CAD Z, p.92a, s.v. zēru).

**zīmu** “garment decoration” (syll.). The word occurs with that meaning in the Nabonidus stela VAB IV, Nab. 8, col. VIII, 4.’ [ni]-siq-ti NA<sub>4</sub> u KÜ.GI 5’. nu-um-mu-ru zi-mu-šu “its appearance (of the garment) was made bright with choice stones and gold.”<sup>9</sup> A similar usage is found at Mari, where zīmu seems to denote the embroideries and decorations affixed to a garment.<sup>10</sup>

<sup>9</sup> See OPPENHEIM 1949, pp. 172–173.

<sup>10</sup> See ARM 23, 134: 1. 1/3 MA.NA <sup>na4</sup>ga-bi-i 2. a-na ša-ka-an zi-mi 3. ša <sup>nu</sup>juš.A “one-third mina of alum to install the embroideries of a garment;” and DURAND 1983, p. 137, n. 42.

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### **Temples**

Names of temples and cultic locations are studied on pp. 29–33; they also occur in the lists found on pp. 96–98. All the gods of Uruk are listed with their residential and cultic locations in Appendix 1.

### **Words**

Akkadian words occurring in the texts studied in this volume are listed by topic in Chapter 1, pp. 6–16, 28–29, and 34–36 (cultic paraphernalia, ornaments and jewelry, clothing, offerings, prebends, cultic personnel, ceremonies). Each word is listed with the deities in connection with which it is attested. Individual attestations of these words can be found in the relevant sections in the discussions of each deity in Chapters 3 to 8. All philological discussions of individual words are assembled by alphabetical order in Appendix 3.